THE ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1778.



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PREFACE.

THE Hiſtory of the year 1778, is more connected in its nature than that of many others. It is more properly the Hiſtory of the Britiſh Nation, however ſeparated, or however diviſions unhappily throw it out of that of the world in general, or of Europe in particular. If it is therefore leſs intereſting to Foreigners, it is proportionally the more ſo to Engliſhmen. It records matters in which they are all concerned. No man, nor no faction, can be free from their conſequences. No common apathy can afford an indifferent ſpectator. We are exhibited upon the grand theatre of action, to perform a part equally conſpicuous and perilous, and the world is full in a gaze for the event.

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Although it be a year which has not afforded thoſe great and ſignal actions, which throw a faſcinating ſplendour over the face of Hiſtory, it has abounded with buſineſs of leſs luſtre, but of the moſt important nature, in a degree, perhaps, unequalled, in our annals. Our attention to domeſtic matters, has not, however, prevented our paying a due regard to that war, which was commenced with ſuch tremendous appearances in Germany, and ſo ſpeedily and happily concluded. The extraordinary bulk of our Hiſtory, notwithſtanding our utmoſt endeavours (both for our own ſake and that of our Readers) to compreſs it within more moderate limits, will, we hope, afford an unqueſtionable teſtimony to the Public, that neither our zeal, nor our induſtry, are ſlackened by their favour.

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THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1778.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Germany. Some observations on the political state of that country. Death of the Elector of Bavaria. Some account of the character and disposition of his successor, the Elector Palatine. Austrian troops seize upon the Lower Bavaria, and upon the Upper Palatinate. Substance of the convention concluded between the Elector and the court of Vienna. Various claims notwithstanding left open. Short view of the history of the two great branches of the Bavarian or Palatine line, so far as it relates to the present contest. Claims of the House of Austria controverted. Claims of the Prince of Deuxponts; of the Electress Dowager of Saxony; and of the Dukes of Mecklenburg. Protest entered by the first against the late convention; and an appeal to the Diet of the empire against the conduct of the court of Vienna. King of Prussia espouses the cause of the Princes who supposed themselves injured. Various memorials and documents laid before the Diet by the Prussian and Austrian ministers. Memorial of complaint of the Elector of Bavaria. Will of the late Elector laid before the Diet. Declaration to the Prussian Minister at Vienna. Fresh remonstrances on the other side. Memorial by Prince Kaunitz to the Prussian Minister. Direct correspondence between the Emperor and the King of Prussia in Bohemia, and a negociation opened in consequence at Berlin. Negociation fruitless. New proposals for an accommodation, transmitted by the King to Vienna. Proposals rejected. Other propositions on both sides ineffectual. Prussian manifesto.

MANY appearances have for a long time seemed to indicate, that however the scale of war or peace might happen to predominate in the other parts of Europe, the tranquillity of Germany could scarcely be of a very lasting nature. Besides the

conclusions which might at other times be drawn from the particular circumstances of government, the multitude of men, and the military genius which has in all ages characterized that nursery of soldiers, other more immediate circumstances were not wanting to render the prospect of peace precarious.

The vast and continually increasing armies, which have been kept up since the conclusion of the late war, by the two powers, who with a decisive controul now sway the motions of the other members of the Germanic body, were of a magnitude far beyond all the interests of peace, and if not absolutely beyond the abilities of their respective countries to support, were totally inconsistent with the ease and prosperity of the people for whose protection they were supposed to be formed. Indeed these powers seem so sensible of the fatal consequences of such a drain from population, and such a withdrawing of strength from the labours of the earth, that both of them have adopted the remedy of encouraging matrimony in their armies; and one allows his soldiers, in rotation, to apply their hands to the necessary occupations of field labour. Thus we may in time behold hereditary armies; and the countries of Europe may see a new order of men grow up amongst them, who, from father to son, inherit manners, principles, and interests, separate and distinct from those of the community at large.

Nor did the increase of those armies exceed the constant attention which was paid to their perfection in military skill, and in the dexterity of military evolution; whilst the abundant provision for war which was made in their respective states kept pace with both. It might indeed have been imagined upon a slight view, that the sudden friendship which sprung up between the two great monarchs in question, would have been in some degree a pledge for the public quiet and security; but to those of a shrewder turn and closer observation, it is probable that their friendship appeared more dangerous than their enmity.

Some particular circumstances perhaps preserved the tranquillity of Germany for a longer space of time, than the appearances of things seemed to indicate, or men in general to expect. The near equipoize of power, military strength, and of the means and resources of war, between the houses of Austria and Brandenburg, might produce, for some time, and in some degree, similar effects, with those which would have arisen from a state of mutual inability. The affairs of Poland, which seemed at first calculated to scatter firebrands and desolation over every part of the North, produced a directly contrary effect. They not only drew off for some years the attention of those great powers from domestic, or other matters, and at the same time occupied the hands of a dangerous and equally great neighbour; but the share which they all obtained in the partition of that ancient kingdom, would have seemed well calculated to appease the insupportable cravings of ambition, if long experience had not demonstrated, that the appetite in that distemper becomes more insatiate, in proportion to the greater quantity of food which is administered to its supply.

The King of Prussia seems the only power to whom the independent

ent Princes and free cities of Germany can, with any degree of certainty, look up for support against the great and increasing strength of the House of Austria; a house, to which the prerogatives, the peculiar powers and undefined claims, appertaining to the title and office of Emperor, may now be nearly considered as an appendage. No union of the lesser states, could now, as heretofore, form a sufficient weight to counterbalance in any degree that power. Besides the natural imperfection and instability which must necessarily attend such an union, composing an ill-connected body, with a number of disunited heads, it would undoubtedly be found greatly deficient in the mere article of strength.

On the other hand, the House of Austria is at present a necessary curb on the suddenly grown power, and the ambitious views of that of Brandenburg. Between both, the lesser states, by a prudent and watchful attention to the preservation of that ballance of power in Germany, which has so unaccountably, and perhaps fatally, been worn out of memory in the general system of Europe, may still long continue to preserve their independence. A neglect of this political principle, will probably occasion one of the scales to preponderate, which, in the nature of things, must prove dangerous, if not ruinous, to the independency of the Germanic body.

But, if that rage of dominion, and spirit of arbitrary power and encroachment, which seem at present so generally prevalent in Europe, should unite those two great powers in a common league against the independency of the other Princes, and the liberties of the free cities, it seems evident that no force within the empire could preserve the Germanic body in its present form. Poland has afforded a recent instance, that quietness, an inability to offer injury or wrong, with many useful and valuable properties of good neighbourhood, afford no protection against the lust of power, and the rage of ambition; whilst Dantzick presents an yet living example to the free cities, that the rust of parchments, and the venerable antiquity of immunities, offer no better defences against such enemies. From what every body has seen, and from a state of public affairs and general disposition, which cannot escape common observation, it seems not impossible, that the greater part of Europe might continue indifferent spectators of such an event. Nor does it seem less probable, that Russia, though destitute of liberty herself, (and perhaps, at present, incapable of it) would, notwithstanding, be the only power which would interfere in such a cause, and to whom the Germanic body might owe the preservation of its independence and liberties.

The extinction of the male *William* line of Bavaria in the person of the late Elector, opened a new scene in the affairs, and may possibly mark an interesting period in the history of Germany. At least this event has opened the way to claims and pretensions which had not been before generally thought of, and in a great measure withdrawn the veil from political views and designs of the greatest importance to the Germanic body, and

which, otherwiſe might for ſome time longer have been reſerved in darkneſs.

Maximilian Joſeph, the late Elector of Bavaria, died Dec. 30th, of the ſmall-pox at Munich, in the 51ſt year of his age, and on the laſt day but one of the old year. The death of this Prince, without iſſue, totally extinguiſhed the male Guillielmine or Ludovician line of Bavaria, which had been in poſſeſſion of that dutchy for near five hundred years. This Prince was ſucceeded, both in the electoral dignity, and his dominions at large, by his general heir, Charles Theodore, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine. The large allodial eſtates of Bavaria, with ſeveral particular territorial acquiſitions, which were obtained at different times, and held by different tenures, from that of the grand fief, were alſo open to ſeveral claimants, whoſe titles were to be diſcuſſed, and rights legally determined, according to the general laws and conſtitutions of the empire.

1777.

The Elector Palatine, at the time of his acceſſion to the Bavarian dominions, was newly entered into the 54th year of his age, and having no iſſue, the large poſſeſſions of the double electorate, with the dignity appertaining to one, were in the expectation of his apparent heir, the Duke of Deuxponts, who was the neareſt relation in the male Palatine line. The preſent Elector is much celebrated for the liberality of his ſentiments and diſpoſition; for his affection to learning and the fine arts; and for that happy ſtate of freedom and eaſe, in which men of genius of all kinds, and of all countries, have for many years, amidſt the hoſpitality and pleaſures of his elegant court at Manheim, forgotten all the inequalities of fortune and condition. The particular circumſtances of ſituation, the temper and diſpoſition we have deſcribed, with the habits of life conſequent of them, will ſerve to explain ſome parts of his ſubſequent conduct, and account for that flexibility, with which he ſeemed to ſacrifice his rights to the love of eaſe, and deſire of tranquillity.

As the courſe of the ſucceſſion to Bavaria had been ſettled for ages, was known to every body, and had been even prepared for by the late Prince, the Elector found no difficulty in taking poſſeſſion of that dutchy with the Upper Palatinate, and of receiving the willing homage of his new ſubjects. But before he could feel his new ſituation, he unexpectedly found that he had a rival of ſuch ſuperior power and greatneſs to encounter, that all competition on his ſide would not only be futile, but that the diſparity was ſo great, as to render all appearance of oppoſition even ridiculous. He had ſcarcely arrived in his new capital of Munich, before the Auſtrian troops, who had been evidently ſtationed on the frontiers for the purpoſe, and only waiting for an account of the event of the late Elector's death, poured on all ſides into the Lower Bavaria, and ſeized upon every place they came to. In the mean time, another ſtrong body advanced on the ſide of Egra to the Upper Palatinate, where the regency in vain pleaded the laws of the empire, and the rights of ſovereignty, againſt the entrance of foreign troops.

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We have obſerved, that it was not in the character of this Prince to enter willingly into the animoſity of conteſt. He accordingly ſubmitted to the neceſſity of the times, with a facility for which he has been blamed, as committing an act which was injurious to his heirs as well as to himſelf. He has ſince juſtified his conduct, on the ground of that neceſſity which he ſtates to be invincible, in a letter to his kinſman and heir apparent, the Duke of Deuxponts. He could yet have no knowledge of what ſupport he might receive, or indeed whether he would be at all ſupported. He ſaw, that inſtead of loſing a part by compromiſe, a fruitleſs oppoſition to the court of Vienna would inſure the loſs of the whole ſucceſſion. But that was not the only ſtake that was at hazard. He was threatened with an army of 60,000 men, though he was not able to reſiſt the force which was already ſeizing his territories. If things were carried to the utmoſt extremity, the loſs of his old dominions might ſpeedily follow the loſs of his new; and life would be ſpent before he could have a hope of redreſs. At any rate, he knew that no act of his could in any degree injure the rights of his ſucceſſors; that a more favourable opportunity than the preſent might occur for eſtabliſhing them; and that unleſs the conſtitution of the empire, and the Germanic ſyſtem were entirely overthrown, ſuch a violence muſt ſooner or later be redreſſed.

A convention was accordingly concluded and ratified before the middle of January, between the court of Vienna and the Elector, by which the latter gave up the better half of his new poſſeſſions, and left claims open, which might have ſwallowed a great part of the remainder. The articles of this convention were indeed of an extraordinary nature; and it may be doubted whether any public inſtrument has appeared for many years, which carries in its own face more glaring marks of violence and compulſion. In a word, it bore a complexion of ſuch a caſt, as if it had never been intended to come under any other cognizance than that of the contracting parties.

By theſe articles, the Elector acknowledges the claims and pretenſions of the Houſe of Auſtria upon the Lower Bavaria, without knowing the titles, or ſeeing the documents, upon which theſe claims were founded. It is true, it was ſuppoſed in the treaty, that theſe material articles were to be afterwards produced; but we alſo find the Elector, long after, under a neceſſity of applying to the Diet of the empire to obtain that ſatisfaction. He agrees that they ſhall take poſſeſſion of all the eſtates which compoſed the patrimony of Duke John of the line of Straubingen, who died early in the 15th century; and that they ſhall alſo be entitled to all thoſe diſtricts to which Duke John had even any doubtful claim. Theſe articles, which contain claims founded on ſo remote and doubtful a period, and which muſt neceſſarily refer to many facts and circumſtances, which at this diſtance of time it muſt be equally difficult, if not impoſſible, either to aſcertain or diſprove, were accompanied with no ſpecification, either of the poſſeſ-

ſions which Duke John actually holds, or of thoſe to which it was ſuppoſed he might have claims.

A more extraordinary article (if poſſible) ſtill remained. It was agreed, that if the Elector ſhould claim any particular diſtrict which he wiſhed to retain, as not belonging to the Duke John, the proof of the negative ſhould reſt upon himſelf. Thus, beſides a renunciation of the better part of his new dominions, the taſk was impoſed upon him, of proving his title to, and juſtifying the limits of the remainder, againſt unknown claims, which might extend to any part or to the whole of his poſſeſſions. In the ſame ſpirit, he acknowledged the rights of the court of Vienna to the county of Cham, and to ſuch parts of the Upper Palatinate as had been fiefs of the kingdom of Bohemia; an undefined claim, which might take in any part or the whole of that country. Other claims were recognized with reſpect to the principality of Mindelheim, and to various other poſſeſſions, both fiefs and allodial eſtates. In a word, an inſtrument under the name of a convention or treaty was concluded, which ſeemed to leave nothing as a matter of right or certainty to one of the contracting parties, but to throw him entirely on the grace, moderation, or favour of the other. Such are ſome of the conſequences, whether in public or private life, of living in the neighbourhood of the great and powerful.

It will be neceſſary for the explanation of this ſubject, to take a ſhort view of the hiſtory of the Bavarian or Palatine family, ſo far as it relates to the principal grounds of the preſent controverſy.

The two houſes of Bavaria and the palatinate of the Rhine, derived their origin from the ſame common ſtock. Their great anceſtor Otto, Count Palatine of Wittleſbach, upon the expulſion, under the ban and proſcription of the empire, of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, from his dominions, received the dutchy of Bavaria as a male fief in the year 1180, from the Emperor Frederick the Firſt. Lewis the Firſt of Bavaria, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Otto, brought by marriage, on the extinction of the male line in the ancient family, the palatinate of the Rhine, with the electoral dignity, into the Houſe of Bavaria.

Theſe great poſſeſſions, along with the dignity of the firſt ſecular electorſhip, would have given a decided lead among the Princes of the empire to this Houſe, if they had been kept undivided. But, according to the faſhion of thoſe times, the two ſons of Lewis the Severe, who died in the year 1294, made a partition of the patrimony; the palatinate of the Rhine, with the electoral dignity, and the Northgow, (or what is ſometimes called the Upper Palatinate, and the Palatinate of Bavaria,) coming to the ſhare of Rodolph the eldeſt ſon, and the dutchy of Bavaria devolving to Lewis the Second. The firſt of theſe Princes was accordingly the founder of the Rodolphine or Palatine line, as the ſecond was of the Ludovician, which has however been more generally called the Guillielmine line of Bavaria.

Some troubles having afterwards riſen between the aforeſaid Lewis, who alſo became Emperor, and his nephews,

nephews, the ſons of Rodolph, the former diviſion of patrimony, and family ſettlement, was fully confirmed, by a public treaty concluded at Pavia in the year 1329, under the ſanction and further confirmation of all the electors. By this treaty, thus confirmed, the contracting parties were reciprocally bound, that when either of the lines ſhould fail of heirs, and become extinct, the eſtates and electoral dignity ſhould fall to the other; and that neither of them ſhould ſell, mortgage, or alienate, any part of their eſtates.

This treaty was conſidered and applied to, as the foundation of all the family compacts and treaties which have ſince taken place between the Palatine and Bavarian Houſes, and was accordingly further ſtrengthened and confirmed by thoſe concluded in the years 1524, 1724, 1746, 1766, and ſo late as 1771. From hence it has been inſiſted on in the preſent controverſy, that the treaty of Pavia, thus concluded by an Emperor, and confirmed by all the electors, and as it were renewed and recorded by ſo many ſucceſſive ſanctions, was really and effectually a fundamental law, and a pragmatic ſanction of the palatinate and Bavarian houſes, by which they are indiviſibly bound to an agreement of mutual ſucceſſion, and which no branch of thoſe houſes, without the conſent of all the heirs, nor even the Emperor himſelf, could arbitrarily aboliſh.

In the viciſſitudes of fortune, temper, and diſpoſition, and the various complexion of a long ſucceſſion of ages, much emulation, jealouſy, and animoſity, ſprung up between thoſe two houſes of the ſame blood. Theſe paſſions aroſe from the envy excited in that of Bavaria, at ſeeing the electoral dignity and the grand vicarſhip of the empire held by the Palatine line, and, in part, from a diſpute that aroſe upon a point of ſucceſſion. But when theſe paſſions were further inflamed, through the rage of civil wars, and the bitterneſs of religious zeal and perſecution, which afforded a colour for every enormity, and a cloak to cover rapacity and ambition, under the guiſe of piety or patriotiſm; in that ſtate of human depravity, which diſſolved all ties of kindred and friendſhip, and which ſo long filled the empire with violence and blood, the moſt mortal enmity took place between the Bavarian and Palatine branches of the ſame houſe.

For when the unfortunate Frederic, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, was in the year 1619 called to the crown, and elected King of Bohemia by the revolted ſtates of that country, Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, in contempt of all ancient ties of treaty and blood, took a decided and fatal part againſt him. That Prince not only entered into the ſtricteſt alliance with the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, but alſo raiſed a conſiderable army at his own expence in his ſupport. From this overweening zeal, being choſen head of the league which was formed againſt Frederic and the Evangelic union, and appointed Generaliſſimo of their forces, and being alſo a better ſoldier than any of thoſe who oppoſed him, he became the principal actor in firſt dethroning the unhappy Frederic; and afterwards, along with the Spaniards, in ſubduing

his hereditary dominions, and chasing him and his family entirely out of Germany.

With such good will was this service executed, and so unequal was the Emperor in himself to the task, that he was under a necessity at its conclusion, of placing the Upper Austria in the hands of Maximilian as a mortgage, for the payment of a debt of thirteen millions of florins, which he had expended on his account, in the prosecution of the war. The Emperor at length, being emboldened by his great and continued success in arms, proceeded to the violent measure, not only of proscribing the Elector Palatine as a rebel, but of extending the penalties of treason to all his posterity, by seizing the Upper and Lower Palatinate as irredeemable forfeitures. The Protestant Princes, some of the Lutheran part of whom, particularly the Elector of Saxony, had assisted him against Frederic, in vain protested against this violence, as being entirely subversive of the laws and constitution of the empire, which admit of no treason or forfeiture to affect the descendants or heirs. To affix a seal, however, to this measure which should render it irrevocable; and at the same time to clear his hereditary dominions, the Emperor, by a formal contract, sold those two countries in the year 1628, together with the electoral dignity annexed to them, to Maximilian of Bavaria, as a discharge of the thirteen millions, for which he held the Upper Austria in Mortgage. Thus the House of Austria paid a debt to that of Bavaria with its own patrimonial inheritance.

This and other violences produced those long and fatal wars, which brought the Swedes and French into Germany, and desolated every part of the empire. The treaty of Westphalia, in the year 1648, at length put an end to the calamities of the country. By the fourth article of that treaty it was stipulated, that Charles Lewis, son of the late unfortunate Frederic, should be re-established in the Lower, commonly called the Palatinate of the Rhine, and that an eighth electorate should be created for him; that he should cede the Upper Palatinate, with the county of Cham, and the ancient electoral dignity, to the Duke of Bavaria; but that if the House of Bavaria, or William line, should become extinct in failure of heirs male, then the eighth electorate should be abolished, and the Rodolphine line should succeed to the ancient electoral dignity, as well as to the possessions which were now ceded; and that all the other rights of the Palatine line should be preserved, excepting only, that they should not affect the rights of the allodial heirs of the elector of Bavaria.

It is necessary here to observe, that during this course of time of which we have been treating, several partitions of territory in favour of younger branches of the family, had taken place at different times in the Bavarian line. And at the time of the great division between that and the Palatine family, the Lower Bavaria was then a separate dutchy in the hands of a younger branch, which becoming extinct in the year 1340, it was again annexed to the Guielmine

lieu in those times. But in some time after, upon the marriage of a younger brother to the Heiress of Holland, the Lower Bavaria was again detached in his favour, from the principal stock, from whence proceeded that branch of the family which was called the line of Straubingen.

This line having become extinct in the person of the Duke John, whom we have before mentioned, and who died without issue male in the year 1425, Sigismond, then Emperor, taking advantage of the confusion and disorder of the times, took some strong measures to transfer the patrimony of that Duke to his own son-in-law, Albert, Duke of Austria, who was also descended from the line of Straubingen, being John's nephew on the mother's side. The measure of transferring a male fief to a female, was, however, so directly repugnant to the constitutions and customs of the empire, and he found so strong an opposition both to that, and an attempt towards a forfeiture which he made, as well from the other Princes, as from the House of Bavaria, that the Emperor, about three years after, was under a necessity of abandoning the design, and in some degree of publicly rescinding his own acts.

The present claims of the House of Austria upon the Lower Bavaria, were founded, at the end of 350 years, upon these abortive attempts of the Emperor Sigismond. A letter of investiture of the Lower Bavaria, said to be granted by Sigismond to Albert, dated on the 10th of March, 1426, and a convention between them concluded on the 25th of the same month, were opportunely discovered in the Imperial Library at Vienna, at the precise time in which they were wanted.

The holding back of these original documents, imperfect printed copies, or abstracts of which had only been exhibited; and that long after the convention with the Elector Palatine had been concluded, and that the rights supposed to be founded upon these instruments had been actually exerted, by a seizure of extensive territorial possessions, concurred not a little with other circumstances, either to render their authenticity in reality doubtful, or at least to afford much open ground for calling it in question. And when these copies or abstracts were published, it was said, that the letter of investiture, and the convention with Albert, so far as it could be gathered from those parts of them which appeared, militated with each other, so that one of them must be a nullity. For whilst the one seemed to admit or confirm Albert's personal right of descent to the Lower Bavaria, the other settled that Dutchy upon his wife (the Emperor's daughter) and her issue, under the pretext of its having become a vacant fief of the empire, through some dissentions which prevailed among the Princes of Bavaria, and some informality or irregularity charged to that House, in making family settlements and divisions of territory, without applying for, or obtaining the Emperor's consent.

The claims under both these heads were combated in the present controversy, with great force of argument, and no less appearance of right, by those who opposed

poſed the views and conduct of the Court of Vienna. Albert's inability to ſucceed to a male fief by a female deſcent, whilſt any, the moſt remote branch of the male line was in being, was inſiſted upon to be a legal fact of ſo incontrovertible a nature, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution, laws, and feudal ſyſtem of the empire, as precluded all argument and diſcuſſion upon the ſubject. The pretence of a vacancy in the fief on the ſcore of forfeiture, was encountered with equal energy. It was contended, that by the conſtitution, laws, and eſtabliſhed uſage of the empire, all the Princes had not only an unqueſtioned right to conclude family compacts and conventions for the ſettlement or diviſion of their eſtates, among thoſe who were entitled to remainder in their fiefs, but that the Emperor was alſo bound, in virtue of his place, to give an official ſanction and confirmation to all ſuch conventions.

Upon the whole it was inſiſted, that no pretence which had been offered, whether in regard to any quarrels that had ariſen among the Princes of Bavaria on points of ſucceſſion, or any family diviſion or arrangement they had made of their eſtates, could afford the ſmalleſt legal or colourable ſanction to the Emperor Sigiſmond, or to any other, for attempting to ſtrip them of their feudal rights and inheritance. But that if this ſtrong ground were even given up, and that it ſhould be admitted, that Sigiſmond, by forfeiture or otherwiſe, had ſome well founded claim upon the Lower Bavaria; that claim or title would have been totally done away and invalidated by a ſubſequent act of his own, three years after the date of the inveſtiture and convention in queſtion. For a meeting of the Princes and ſtates of the empire having been held at Preſburg, in the year 1429, who were aſſembled as arbiters to ſettle the diſputes and put an end to the troubles which had for ſome time agitated Bavaria; Sigiſmond found it not only neceſſary to drop all thoſe claims which he had formerly made, whether in his own right or that of his ſon-in-law, but to join in a definitive ſentence, whereby the Princes of Bavaria were reſtored to or confirmed in all their rights; and this ſolemn act was executed, without any oppoſition from Albert of Auſtria, who was both preſent, and an acting member of the aſſembly.

The induſtry with which the nature of theſe claims was inveſtigated, through all the darkneſs and diſorder of thoſe diſtant times, ſeemed to render it neceſſary to the Court of Vienna, to ſtrengthen them with ſome additional ſupport; or at leaſt by multiplying the objects of controverſy, to prevent the public opinion upon the merits of the cauſe, from reſting on any ſingle point of deciſion. Another claim was accordingly brought of a later date, but of the ſame nature with the former. This was founded on a reverſion of the dominions in queſtion, granted to the Houſe of Auſtria (of which he was himſelf the head) by the Emperor Mathias, in the year 1614. To this claim it was replied, that it was by no means unuſual with the Emperors, in times of difficulty and trouble, to endeavour to aggrandize their families,

families, at the expence, and in the wrong, of other Princes of the empire. That though they too often ſucceeded in ſuch attempts, they were, however, often foiled, which happened to be the caſe in the preſent inſtance; the Emperor Mathias, after the example of his predeceſſor Sigiſmond, being obliged four years after, in 1618, to revoke, and utterly annihilate this act.

The claims ſet up in right of the Crown of Bohemia, to ſeveral parts or the whole of the Upper Palatinate, (for their extent, like thoſe on the patrimony of Duke John, were by no means aſcertained) as ancient fiefs appertaining to that kingdom, were not leſs controverted or oppoſed. It was contended, that thoſe fiefs, ſo far as the extent and direction of the claims were known, were inconteſtibly the ancient domains of the Houſe of Wittleſbach, and which had been for above five centuries incorporated with the Upper Palatinate; that even part of them were expreſsly named in the treaty of Pavia, where they are charged with a perpetual Fidei-commis to the Palatine Houſe, long before any foundation could be laid for the preſent pretenſions. That being thus an integral part of the Palatine poſſeſſions, they were (excluſive of all other rights, and waving the laws and eſtabliſhed uſage of deſcent with reſpect to fiefs, which were, however, fully ſufficient to have eſtabliſhed an irrefragable title) inſeparably attached to that family by the 25th chapter of the golden bull, which ſpecially provides for and ordains the *indiviſibility* of that electorate. That if theſe pretenſions had even a better foundation, they would notwithſtanding have been entirely overthrown by the 4th article of the treaty of Weſtphalia, by which it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that the Upper Palatinate, of which the Electoral Houſe had only been ſtripped by force, ſhould return to it upon the extinction of that of Bavaria. And that this article was the more particularly and concluſively binding upon the preſent Queen of Bohemia, as her anceſtor Ferdinand the third, who was then in full poſſeſſion of all the rights of ſovereignty belonging to that kingdom, was a principal contracting party to the treaty in queſtion, and had not made the ſmalleſt exception with reſpect to theſe fiefs.

We omit a ſpecification of the claims made by the Houſe of Auſtria to the principality of Mindelheim, to the allodial eſtates of Bavaria, and to various other poſſeſſions; as well as thoſe which the Emperor laid by virtue of his official rights to ſeveral places and diſtricts, which were repreſented as vacant fiefs, that had reverted and devolved to the empire by the death of the late Elector.

It could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, and probably was not expected, that in ſuch a republic as that of the Germanic Body, the proceedings of the Court of Vienna, could paſs without diſcuſſion, if not oppoſition. The diſmemberment and ſpoil of two great Electorates, including a number of adventitious poſſeſſions, and involving many foreign claims and titles, and this done without any attention to the uſual forms eſtabliſhed in ſuch caſes, without waiting for any legal ſanction or determination, and without taking the ſenſe

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of their to eſtates, the hereditary conſervators and judges of all rights, and more particularly thoſe of ſucceſſion, could not fail of ſeriouſly alarming all the Princes of the empire. Their tenures were all involved in the darkneſs, uncertainty, and frequent violence of early ages; their titles were to be ſought for amidſt all the rubbiſh of ancient juriſprudence, ſtill more perplexed and confounded by local uſages, particular conventions, and family ſettlements, which it would be now found difficult, if not impoſſible to trace; and all the rights of a family, excepting thoſe derived from preſcription, which were now ſhewn to afford no ſecurity, might depend upon a ſingle record, buried in ſome unknown repoſitory, and in vain ſought for until its diſcovery perhaps became uſeleſs. Nor were the claims upon which theſe proceedings were founded, by any means, even in the moſt favourable point of view, of that clear nature, which might ſerve to palliate any irregularity or violence in the proceedings.

Beſides this general effect, the Duke of Deuxponts, and the Electoral Houſe of Saxony, were deeply and materially affected in their reſpective intereſts by theſe tranſactions; as the Dukes of Mecklenburg alſo were, but in a leſſer degree. The Electreſs Dowager of Saxony, as only ſiſter, and as the neareſt relation and heir of the late Elector of Bavaria, claimed a ſole, and what was repreſented as an indiſputable right in the ſucceſſion to all the allodial eſtates in that dutchy. Though this claim took in very conſiderable territorial poſſeſſions, it was rendered of ſtill greater importance, by its comprehenſion of the purchaſe-money which had been paid by the Houſe of Bavaria, for the Upper Palatinate. For that territory was maintained to be in actual mortgage to her, for the 13 millions of Florins which Maximilian had paid for it to the Houſe of Auſtria; the money being not only to be ſpecifically conſidered as an allodium; but its being alſo ſettled by the contract of ſale with Ferdinand the Second, in the year 1628, that it ſhould be reimburſed to the allodial heirs. As this Princeſs ceded all her right in the allodial eſtates, to her ſon, the preſent Elector of Saxony; he of courſe became the acting party, upon that claim in this conteſt. The claims of the Princes of Mecklenburg, which were probably founded upon the rights of ſucceſſion to a ſeperate fief, diſtinct from the family compacts of the Palatine line, were confined to the Landgraviate of Luchtenburg.

The Prince of Deuxponts, loſt no time in proteſting againſt the preſent proceedings, as well as againſt the late convention between the Court of Vienna and the new Elector of Bavaria; and in calling upon the Princes and ſtates that compoſe the diet, both in their original character, and as Guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, to interfere in the preſervation of his rights. Though the general voice of the empire ſeems, ſo far as it could be known, to be on this ſide of the queſtion; yet it would have been little heard, and leſs attended to, had not one louder, and more aweful, than the reſt united, in ſome degree commanded regard.

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The King of Prussia, who has a jealous eye upon every thing which may aggrandize the House of Austria, and having no common interest, as in the case of the partition of Poland, to tolerate strong acts in favour of that House, undertook the support of the Princes who supposed themselves injured, and the defence of the rights of the Germanic body. His public acts and memorials, whether at Vienna or Ratisbon, were, however, tempered with the greatest moderation, and bore every appearance of respect and deference, as well to the head of the empire, as to his august mother, whilst any hope of an amicable accommodation of the contest seemed to remain.

On the contrary, the Court of Vienna was rather supercilious in her manners and assumed a high, haughty, and decisive tone. She knew her own rights; was the proper judge of them; and shewed little disposition to give any satisfaction to others on the subject. On the whole, though she did not entirely neglect to give answers to the strong memorials made against her, yet she was charged with placing rather more reliance on her power than her arguments.

April 10th. 1778.

In the first formal answer which was laid before the Diet, to a memorial of the Prussian minister, the subject of contest was treated merely as a private arrangement between the Court of Vienna and the Elector Palatine, in which no other state was concerned. The latter having acknowledged the claims of the former, an amicable accommodation relative to the settlement and division of Bavaria, accordingly took place; which afforded no just ground for the interference of any third power, in a business which only properly concerned the contracting parties. That as this transaction did not bear the least shadow of dismembering a Prince of the empire by force, as had been represented by the Elector of Brandenburg, but was founded on just pretensions and a friendly agreement; his Imperial Majesty did not think himself any ways accountable to any Prince of the empire for the measures he had pursued. It concluded, in this early state of the controversy with a declaration, that the Emperor being thoroughly satisfied of the justice of the cause in which he had embarked, was determined to persevere in the measures which he had adopted, and to support his pretensions by arms.

It does not appear that the Court of Vienna was more disposed to admit the nature or foundation of its claims to the cognizance of the Diet. These were communicated only to the public through the letters patent which that Court issued for taking possession of the respective territories in question; or through the medium of the anonymous publications in support or justification of its conduct, which were circulated at Vienna and Ratisbon; and which were accordingly liable to any interpretation or disavowal that might be thought necessary.

On the very day after the delivery of that memorial, which stated the friendly nature of the agreement between the Courts of Vienna and Munich; another was presented from the latter to the Diet, complaining of the late seizure of

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about twenty additional districts by the Austrians, and stating the Elector's right to those places. The will of the late Elector of Bavaria was also laid before the Diet, which afforded the fullest conviction, that that Prince, not only considered the succession to his dominions to be so fully and inherently established in the Palatine line, as the warmest opposers of the present measures could possibly suggest, but that his inclinations also went along with the course of descent; in confirmation of which he adopted a measure, which he perhaps was not legally enabled to do, by devising all the allodial estates of Bavaria to the present Elector. He also bound him and his heirs for ever, to maintain a constant army of 10000 effective men in that Electorate; a clause which would have been equally futile and impracticable under the circumstances of the present subjection of territory.

The King of Prussia was not less fervent in his direct representations to the Court of Vienna, in favour of the Palatine line, and the other claimants of the Bavarian succession, than he was industrious in refuting its pretensions, and laying open the dangerous tendency of the present measures before the Diet of the empire. That Court seemed, however, determined on its measures, and both resolved and prepared to support them at all events.

In answer to the pressing solicitations of that Monarch, for withdrawing the Austrian troops out of the territories of Bavaria, and submitting the different claims upon that succession to a legal enquiry and decision, according to the laws and constitution of the empire; his minister at Vienna received the following declaration, in the beginning of April, from the Imperial Court.

"That they would no longer continue discussing their own rights. —That they would not desist from keeping possession of territories legally acquired. — That justice should be rendered to all who had the least pretensions to it, but that her Imperial Majesty would never admit that a Prince of the empire should arrogate to himself the authority of *judge* or *tutor* in his co-principalities, or to contest about their rights.—That the Court of Vienna knew how to *defend*, and even to *attack him who durst presume to do it*,——That notwithstanding they should adopt every *admissible means* which could be judged proper, to maintain the general tranquillity.

This answer, which can scarcely be considered as less than tantamount to a declaration of war, was not, however, sufficient to overcome that guard and caution, by which his Prussian Majesty seems to have particularly regulated his conduct in this whole business. He still remonstrated, and still sought for explanation. At length the Court of Vienna yielded to some general justification of her conduct, and exposition of her intentions, in a memorial delivered by Prince Kaunitz to the Prussian Minister. May 7th.

The principal ground of justification taken in this piece was, that the Elector Palatine had no complaint of that Court; and that the Prince of Deuxponts had no right to interfere in the business, during the existence of the present

line in poſſeſſion. It was ſaid that her Imperial Majeſty did not oppoſe the pretenſions of the Elector of Saxony, or the Dukes of Mecklenburg; and a deſire, or intention was held out, that all the claims might be examined conjointly with thoſe of the Empreſs Queen, and that a *legal deciſion* might put an end to a conteſtation, which the Court of Berlin had thought proper to excite.

In anſwer to this it was obſerved, that the Court of Vienna was already in the violent and forcible poſſeſſion, which it abſolutely refuſed to relinquiſh, of all the objects of contention; and that though a legal deciſion is talked of, no competent tribunal is mentioned, to which it would ſubmit the award; but that on the contrary, that Court had conſtantly rejected with the utmoſt contempt every propoſal of that nature; ſo that if the expreſſion of *legal deciſion* was intended to mean any thing, it muſt ſignify that the Emperor was to be the judge in his own cauſe. It is eaſily ſeen, that if the Prince of Deuxponts had ſuffered his claims to lie dormant, until the Auſtrian title to Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate was ſtrengthened by length of poſſeſſion and all its conſequences, how futile his attempts of recovering them muſt then prove.

Previous, however, to the delivery of this memorial, a negociation was opened upon new ground; and attended with ſome circumſtances, which ſeemed to afford room for hoping, that theſe differences might be terminated amicably. In the courſe of the diſcuſſion at Vienna and Ratiſbon, and the great preparations for war which were made on both ſides; the great force of the Auſtrian armies was collected in Bohemia and Moravia, which of courſe drew the Pruſſian forces from the diſtant Provinces to the frontiers of thoſe countries. Theſe movements alſo drew the King of Pruſſia into Silеſia, and the Emperor into Bohemia, about the ſame time in the month of April. In this ſituation, a direct correſpondence by letters was opened by the Emperor, and carried on between the two Monarchs, with an apparent view to an accommodation.

A negociation was accordingly opened at Berlin, under the conduct on one ſide of Count Gebentzel, the Imperial Miniſter. The firſt propoſals made by this Miniſter were ſimple and laconic. That the King ſhould acknowledge the validity of the convention which the Empreſs Queen had concluded with the Elector Palatine, and her legal title to thoſe territories which ſhe poſſeſſed in conſequence of that treaty; and that he ſhould alſo leave all other arrangements to be ſettled by theſe two Princes as they liked, whether they might relate to particular diſtricts, or to the whole of the dominion of Bavaria. That it might not be ſuppoſed this uſeful compliance was to paſs without due reward, the Court of Vienna was to be bound, to favour the King's convenience and pleaſure, in all things that related to the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Brandenburg, to the countries of Anſpach and Bareuth, on the failure of iſſue male, in thoſe two younger branches of his own family.

To pave the way for the ſucceſs of theſe propoſitions, the Court of

Vienna

Vienna laid down the following general principles, to govern the conduct of both Courts in their mutual tranſactions, as tending to conciliation, and to equitable concluſions: viz. That each Court ſhould put itſelf in the other's place; that neither ſhould demand any thing contrary to the dignity of the other; nor any thing, if the ſituation was reverſed, which it would not think right to be inſiſted on. The immediate application of theſe principles was, that if his Pruſſian Majeſty, on a principle of political convenience, would not oppoſe the aggrandizement of the Houſe of Auſtria in Bavaria; the latter, on the ſame principle, ſhould not oppoſe the aggrandizement of that of Brandenburg, when a fit opportunity offered, for reuniting the countries of Bareuth and Anſpach in her line; and to give a permanency to this compact, and to render the motives clear and indiſputable, it was propoſed, that theſe reaſons and coalitions of intereſt, ſhould be laid down as the baſis of the preſent convention.

This propoſition ſeemed to breathe the ſpirit, which produced the partition of Poland. But the caſes and times did not reſemble each other. The King of Pruſſia evidently derived more benefit from the character of the Protector of the rights of the Princes of the empire, than from any thing to be acquired in virtue of this offer. He therefore rejected thoſe propoſitions, which evidently tended to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an union between thoſe great powers, founded upon *political convenience*, and mutual *aggrandizement*, as might have been extended in its effects, to the diſmemberment of all the ſtates in Germany, without any ſecurity, after all, for peace or final good intelligence, between the powers who had ſacrificed their neighbours to a preſent and precarious agreement. Unfortunately, however, though the ſcheme has failed for the preſent, the deſign is too ſtrongly ſketched to be worn out of memory, and may be too ſoon adopted in future practice.

The King anſwered, that he oppoſed the diſmemberment of Bavaria, only becauſe he looked upon it as totally unjuſt, and as deſtructive of all liberty and ſafety in Germany. That he was not averſe to the aggrandizement of the Houſe of Auſtria in juſt acquiſitions. That it was wrong to blend the preſent diſmemberment, which the Houſe of Auſtria had no right to do, with a diſtant, but inconteſtible acquiſition belonging to the Houſe of Brandenburg. And, that he could not accept of a treaty, which would overthrow the very butt of his oppoſition, and which ſtated nothing upon the juſt re-eſtabliſhment of the Palatine Houſe in Bavaria, nor towards the ſatisfaction of the Elector of Saxony.

Though the Court of Vienna abſolutely refuſed to propoſe any conditions that ſeemed to the King of Pruſſia, more preciſe or ſatisfactory than thoſe already laid down; the King, ſtill perſevering in his endeavours to prevent a rupture, re- May 26th. mitted to that Court a plan of accommodation. By this it was propoſed, that for the ſake of peace, the Elector Palatine ſhould be engaged to cede to the Court of Vienna; two great diſtricts belonging to Bavaria, which were ſituated contiguous to Bohemia and

Auſtria,

Auſtria, upon the Danube and Inn. That the Empreſs ſhould reſtore all thoſe territories which her troops occupied in Bavaria. And that in return for the ceſſion made by the Elector, the Empreſs Queen and the Emperor ſhould grant ſome renunciations and inveſtitures, with reſpect to diſputable fiefs and claims in his favour.

It was contended, that theſe propoſals exhibited proofs of the greateſt equity and moderation, at the ſame time that they were highly advantageous to the court of Vienna. That court, it was ſaid, had no claim on the Elector, as a matter of right, for any thing. The legal and tranquil ceſſion of two extenſive diſtricts, which interfered ſo much with the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, as to have been the cauſe of frequent diviſions and feuds, and which would have rounded their poſſeſſions, and defined their limits, by great rivers and other diſtinguiſhed boundaries, in ſuch a manner as to prevent all future controverſy on that ſubject, was a matter of great and permanent advantage to that houſe. On the other ſide, nothing was demanded in return, but ſome ſmall and inadequate parcels of territories which lay detached from the body of the Auſtrian dominions, and ſome feudal claims and rights, which inſtead of affording any real advantage, ſerved only as a ſource of continual altercation with the neighbouring Princes.

The court of Vienna not only refuſed to liſten to theſe propoſitions, but to offer any on her ſide, which could in any degree clearly or expreſsly define her preſent, or limit her future claims. Some preliminaries were, however, diſpatched to Berlin by Prince Kaunitz, to ſerve as the baſis of a new plan of conciliation, and in which the ſame undefined principles of reciprocal equity were ſtill held out, or talked of. By one article the court of Berlin was to make no oppoſition to any acquiſition the court of Vienna might make, or was then actually poſſeſſed of in Bavaria. By another, the Palatine Houſe ſhould be ſatisfied by a *voluntary exchange*, upon *agreeable and convenient conditions*.

The court of Berlin, after expoſing and complaining much of what ſhe called the vague, obſcure, and unſatisfactory nature of theſe overtures, demanded a preciſe anſwer, and a clear explanation, on certain points which it ſtated: particularly, What the court of Vienna would keep, and what reſtore, belonging to Bavaria? What equivalents and advantages it would give to the Palatine and to the Elector of Saxony? And, Whether it would enter into an arrangement of all the Bavarian ſucceſſion, relative to the rights of the ſeveral claimants, with the King, as the friend and ally of thoſe Princes, as a member of the empire, and as having, by his other titles, a great right and material intereſt in taking part in the juſt regulation of that ſucceſſion?

This memorial, though accompanied with every verbal repreſentation which apparently could conduce to a friendly arrangement, was but ill received at Vienna, and produced an anſwer, which, after a total cenſure of the Pruſſian propoſitions, concluded with a declaration, That if the Vienna propoſi- June 24th.

tions were not adopted as preliminaries, all friendly arrangements would become impoſſible, and all further eccleirciſſement ſuperfluous.

An end being thus put to all hopes of accommodation, and the vaſt armies on both ſides only waiting the ſignal for action, the King of Pruſſia early in July publiſhed a manifeſto, and other documents, ſtating the unwarrantable, violent, and unjuſt conduct of the court of Vienna, and ſeverely cenſuring that of the Emperor, who was bound by his high office to have acted that very part which the King had been under a neceſſity of undertaking, by preventing or applying a remedy to all ſuch tranſactions within that empire over which he was choſen to preſide. In theſe pieces, after accurately ſtating all the points of conteſt, and the tranſactions on both ſides, he ſhews the neceſſity of his taking up arms, and calls upon the ſtates of the empire to ſecond his efforts, to ſupport and defend the natural and much-injured rights of ſo many eminent and illuſtrious Princes, and in oppoſing the all-aſpiring power and ambition of the Houſe of Auſtria, which if ſuffered to proceed uncontrouled, would ſoon ſet up claims to other dominions, and proceed to the total overthrow of the whole ſyſtem of the German empire.

CHAP. II.

Great preparations for war on both ſides. Conduct of the great neighbouring powers. King of Pruſſia's military ſpeech to his Generals. Preſents to the officers, and a gratification to the ſoldiers. Prodigious artillery. State of Saxony. Neutrality propoſed by the Elector; but ſuch conditions laid down by the court of Vienna, as amounted nearly to a rejection. State and ſituation of the hoſtile armies. King of Pruſſia penetrates into Bohemia from the county of Glatz, and ſeizes Nachod. Emperor's army ſecurely poſted in the ſtrong camp of Koningſgratz, and occupies the paſſes on the Upper Elbe. All the endeavours uſed by the King to bring the imperial army to action, or to induce it to a change of poſition, prove ineffectual. Great prudence and judgment ſhewn by the Emperor in this, his firſt eſſay in war. Operations on the ſide of Saxony. Prince Henry paſſes the Elbe, and penetrates the mountains of Bohemia, on the ſide of Miſnia and Luſatia. Unuſual difficulties in that march. Good conduct of, and great applauſe gained by, General Belling. Defeats General de Vins, at Tollenſtein. Prince Henry advances to Leypa. General Moellendorf, and other detached corps, enter Bohemia in different parts. Marſhal Laudohn breaks up his ſtrong camp at Pleiſſowedel, and falls back to the Iſer; where he takes ſo admirable a poſition, that he effectually prevents the junction of the oppoſite armies, covers the city of Prague, and is himſelf inacceſſible. Prince Henry's army being thrown into ſeveral diviſions, forms a line of great poſts, and of conſiderable extent. Singular ſituation of the four vaſt armies in Bohemia. Effect of the great generalſhip and ſuperior ability diſplayed on both ſides. Another, but ineffectual negociation. Grand movement to the right, by the King. Puſhes on towards the head of the Elbe, by Barkerſdorf, Wiltſchitz,

ſchitz, Hermanſeifen, and Lauterwaſſer. All his movements, and attempts to bring the enemy to an action, prove ineffectual. Bad weather, ſickneſs. Difficult and admirably conducted retreat to Wiltſchitz, to Aliſtadt, and to Schatzlar. King evacuates Bohemia. Various movements of Prince Henry's army, preparatory to its retiring into Saxony. Pruſſians overrun the Auſtrian Sileſia.

WHILST a verbal and literary warfare was thus carried on at Vienna, Berlin, and Ratiſbon, wherein the ſubject of debate, whether hid in the confuſion and darkneſs of violent and ignorant ages, involved in the labyrinths of German juriſprudence, or perplexed by ill defined rights, doubtful records, and ſuſpicious documents, would have afforded room for endleſs litigation, the two great powers who had engaged as principals on the oppoſite ſides of the queſtion, were more ſeriouſly employed in their preparations for that final reſort, which only can generally determine ſuch controverſies between ſuch parties. For though it would ſeem that their ſituation and habits in peace approached ſo nearly to a ſtate of war, that there could be but little difficulty in the tranſition; yet ſo waſteful as well as deſtructive is that inſatiate monſter, and ſo immenſe is the proviſion of every kind neceſſary to be made for the ſupport of thoſe vaſt armies which it is now the faſhion to bring into the field, that the greateſt treaſures, joined to the products of the moſt fertile countries and abundant ſeaſons, cannot preclude ſome delay and extraordinary preparation, at the point of approach to that awful criſis.

The court of Vienna had ſeemed to expect or intend hoſtility, from almoſt the moment that declared the Elector of Bavaria's death. The language of war was every where held in the Auſtrian dominions, and its expectation ſhewn, before the controverſy had riſen on either ſide to ſuch a height, as could ſeem to warrant thoſe ſtrong indications. Among other immediate preparations, agents were very early ſent to Tartary and the Ukraine, to purchaſe 7,000 horſes for the uſe of the cavalry; a number which was ſoon procured in thoſe wide Sarmatic and Scythian regions, whoſe graſſy unbounded plains ſeem in all ages to have been conſidered as the native inheritance of that generous animal. The demand, however, increaſing with the ſupply, the ſame officers were immediately ſent back to procure a ſtill greater number. In the mean time, the troops from the moſt diſtant parts were in motion on their way to Bohemia, whilſt clouds of Croats, and other irregular forces, who are only of uſe in actual ſervice, were puſhed on in conſtant ſucceſſion towards that kingdom; the hereditary ſtates were ordered to furniſh 40,000 recruits; Auſtria to ſupply 300,000 ſacks of oats; and by the end of February, public prayers were put up in the churches of Vienna, for ſucceſs to the Auſtrian arms againſt all the enemies of that houſe.

It appears, however, that this point has been controverted; and that the charge of original preparation, and indication of hoſtility, has been laid at the King of Pruſ-

ſia's door. It is indeed a queſtion of little conſequence; each ſide took every meaſure in its power to be prepared for every poſſible event, whilſt it watched with the moſt jealous attention all the motions of the other; nor will it be eaſily ſuppoſed, that if any negligence afforded a prompt opportunity of advantage, the occaſion would have been overlooked by either. Upon the whole, it does not ſeem, from his conduct, that the King was by any means deſirous of entering into a war, if it could be avoided without giving up the points in conteſt; nor does it ſeem very probable that the Houſe of Auſtria, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, carried her immediate views any farther, than to ſome undefined extenſion of her dominion on the ſide of Bavaria, the limits of which were only to be determined by future circumſtances and events. If the Pruſſian Monarch was determined to thwart her views in this purſuit, ſhe was willing to abide the conſequences, and was exceedingly well prepared for a war; but if his ambition ſhould coincide with her own, ſhe ſeemed much more diſpoſed to enter into ſuch an amicable arrangement and partition of territory with him, as ſhould, at the expence of ſome of the weaker Princes, afford him ſome equivalent in one quarter for what ſhe obtained in another.

It was generally ſuppoſed, that ſome of the neighbouring great powers would have taken a part in this conteſt, and from thence apprehended that the war might by degrees become general. The court of Ruſſia is ſaid to have engaged with the King of Pruſſia by treaty, to aſſiſt him with a ſtrong body of auxiliary forces; and it is certain, that her Miniſter at Vienna expreſſed the ſtrongeſt diſapprobation of the conduct and pretenſions of that court. It is probable, that the expected Ruſſian auxiliaries were in part retarded by the expectation of a Turkiſh war, and in part by the uncertainty of the event in Germany, from the negociations which we have ſeen had been opened, under the immediate auſpices, and through the direct correſpondence, of the great contending powers.

On the other ſide, the court of Vienna is ſaid to have opened a negociation with that of Verſailles, for the march of a French army into Weſtphalia. Whatever motives might have otherwiſe operated upon the conduct of the latter, it could ſcarcely avoid being affected in the preſent inſtance by that extraordinary alliance which France entered into in the beginning of the year, with the, once Engliſh, American colonies. It may, however, be a matter of doubt, what part France, in any ſtate of her affairs, would have taken in this buſineſs; a formal declaration, which her Miniſter has ſince preſented to the Diet of the empire, being by no means favourable to the opinion, that ſhe was any ways diſpoſed to ſupport the pretenſions, or even approved of the conduct, of the court of Vienna; but, on the contrary, held out the firm reſolution of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to adhere religiouſly to his treaties with the Germanic body, and punctually to fulfil his guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia; giving at the ſame time an aſſurance, that his alliance with that

court was founded merely upon thoſe principles.

Upon the whole, it does not appear that the pretenſions and conduct of the court of Vienna have been much more approved of without, than within the empire.

The King of Pruſſia, after a review of that part of his army which lay in the neighbourhood of Berlin, and which was then, as well as himſelf, on the point of ſetting out for Sileſia, made a ſpeech to his general officers, including his brothers, which, as it was ſtrongly marked with the proper character of the veteran hero by whom it was delivered, was not leſs adapted to that of the veteran chiefs to whom it was addreſſed.

April 5th, 1778.

He obſerved, that moſt of them, and himſelf, had ſerved together from their earlieſt days, and were grown grey in the ſervice of their country; that they conſequently knew each other perfectly well; they had been partakers of the ſame dangers, toils, and glories. He made no doubt that they were all equally averſe with himſelf to the ſhedding of blood; but the dangers which now threatened their country, not only rendered it a duty, but placed them under a neceſſity of uſing the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious meaſures, for the timely diſperſion of that ſtorm which threatened to burſt ſo heavily upon them. He relied on their zeal, and would, with heartfelt ſatisfaction, for ever acknowledge their ſervices. He urged, in the moſt preſſing terms, humanity, in every ſituation, to the enemy; and with the ſame energy, an unremitting attention to the ſtricteſt diſcipline among their own troops. He concluded by obſerving that he did not wiſh to travel like a King; rich and gawdy equipages had no charms for him; but his infirmities rendered him incapable of travelling as he had done in the vigour of youth, and obliged him to uſe a poſt-chaiſe; but they ſhould ſee him on horſeback in the day of battle.

The whole ſpeech bore an air of ſolemnity and ſerioufneſs, which ſeemed even to give it a caſt of melancholy; but which ſerved, however, ſufficiently to ſhew, that the ideas of war and glory did not now excite thoſe raptures, which have ſo irreſiſtible an impulſe on the mind, in the ſpring of hope, and during the ſummer of the paſſions.

The King at the ſame time ordered a preſent of money to all the officers, riſing in due proportions from the enſigns to the generals, as an aſſiſtance towards their camp equipage, and other charges incident to taking the field. The ſoldiers were alſo gratified by an augmentation of one fourth both to their pay and proviſions, from the commencement of actual ſervice. The artillery ordered for the ſervice of the campaign, if the public accounts may be relied on, probably exceeds any thing before known in the hiſtory of military tranſactions, and has been rated from 800 to 1000 pieces of cannon. Prodigious as this appears, and unmanageable as it would prove in many ſituations of warfare, it was, if we credit ſimilar authorities, exceeded by more than one half on the ſide of the Auſtrians. In a word, the preparations on both ſides were ſo mighty, that had the fate of the whole empire, or even that of Europe, depended on the iſſue of the

conteſt, neither the force employed, nor the means applied to, would have appeared inadequate to the importance of the ſubject.

Though the electorate of Saxony had ſhewn ſome early ſigns of warlike, or at leaſt of defenſive preparation, and that its troops had been aſſembled and encamped in the month of April towards the confines of Bohemia, yet the Elector, endeavouring to preſerve his country from a repetition of that ruin, by which it had been laid deſolate in the two late wars, propoſed to the court of Vienna, the obſervation of a ſtrict neutrality during the continuance of the preſent.

This was, however, a meaſure of ſecurity which could ſcarcely be expected in the preſent ſtate of things. That court could not poſſibly avoid conſidering the Elector as a principal party in the preſent conteſt; and muſt therefore be ſenſible, that from the particular ſituation of Saxony, along with the predilection in his favour which a common cauſe neceſſarily inſpired, the King of Pruſſia would nearly derive every advantage from that electorate under the name of a neutrality, which it was capable of affording as a principal; whilſt under that cover, it was ſheltered from many of the conſequences, and Auſtria cut out from many of the advantages, which might reſult from a ſtate of abſolute war. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed that the court of Vienna was not much irritated at the defection of that favourite houſe from its party and intereſts; which now, departing from that intimate union between the two families, ſo long cemented, and ſo often renewed, by all the various ties of affinity, alliance, common views, intereſts, and loſſes, had all at once thrown itſelf into the arms of the ancient enemy of both, and the ſtill hated and dreaded rival of one. The court of Vienna accordingly inſiſted upon ſuch hard conditions as the baſis of a convention, that the conſequences of declared enmity could ſcarcely be worſe than the effects of a neutrality under ſuch terms. It was demanded, that the important fortreſs of Koningſtein ſhould be reſigned into the hands, and continue for two years in the poſſeſſion, of the Auſtrians; that they ſhould be allowed a free paſſage and navigation through every part of the electoral dominions, and that the Saxon forces ſhould be reduced to 4000 men. The rejection of theſe terms could ſcarcely excite any ſurprize, and the Elector, from thence, conſidering himſelf as an inevitable party in the war, took his meaſures accordingly.

During the negociations at Berlin and Vienna, the countries of Bohemia, Sileſia, Saxony, and Moravia, were gradually covered with armed men, or overſpread with the various apparatus and proviſion of war. And as all hope of accommodation grew to an end towards the latter end of June, the Pruſſian forces were every where in motion, their Auſtrian antagoniſts having long occupied thoſe ſtrong ſituations in their own countries, wherein they were determined to ſuſtain the firſt ruſh and fury of the war.

The grand Pruſſian army on the ſide of Sileſia was commanded by the King in perſon, where he was accompanied by his nephew, the Prince ſucceſſor, who had now an opportunity, not much expected,

of acquiring the rudiments of war, and the means of defending his future dominions, under the eye and tuition of that great master, whose ability had increased and exalted them to their present high pitch of power and splendour. As it scarcely seems more necessary to temper the rashness of youth by the wisdom of age, than it does in matters of war, to add an edge and fervour to the caution of years and experience, by the spirit, activity, and love of enterprize, which characterize the former stage of life, the King was seconded in this campaign by that accomplished warrior, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, whose early military atchievements, and superior eminence in those qualities, had attracted the admiration of all Europe in so great a degree during the late war. His brother, the Prince Frederick of Brunswick, and the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, also held commands in the royal army.

The combined army of Prussians and Saxons, which was assembled in the neighbourhood of Dresden, and had for its immediate object the protection of that capital and electorate, could scarcely be deemed less ably conducted, under the orders of the King's brother, Prince Henry, than the former. This army, supported by a prodigious artillery, amounting to no less than 400 pieces of cannon, was estimated at about 90,000 men; a force, which under such a leader, could hardly acknowledge a superiority in any opposite combination of numbers. A third Prussian army, under the Generals Werner and Stutterheim, was formed on the side of the Austrian Silesia.

On the other side, nearly the whole force of the House of Austria had been drawn from every part of its extensive dominions, and was now concentered in the kingdom of Bohemia. This force, which was principally thrown into two grand armies, has been rated, upon a loose and undoubtedly large calculation, at 250,000 men. The Emperor, in person, commanded the army on the side of Silesia, which was destined to oppose the enterprizes of the King of Prussia. The other grand army was under the orders of the celebrated Marshal Count Laudohn, who, spreading his front along the confines of Saxony and Lusatia, possessed those impracticable posts and fastnesses, of which the mountains that separate those two countries from Bohemia, afford so great a variety. A third army, under the Marquis de Botta, and some other Generals, was appointed to counteract the designs of the Prussians in the Upper Silesia, and on the side of Moravia. Whatever the exact state of these armies might have been in point of numbers, it is said that the troops they exhibited, whether considered with respect to military appearance, or to bodily endowments, were probably never exceeded by any assemblage of mankind.

Such were the combatants that were now to be thrown into action, and such the mighty force on both sides to be exhausted, in the contention for a dutchy, the fee-simple of which, if sold at the market rate of other estates, would not discharge one year's expences of the war; nor its immediate produce, probably, afford subsistence to the contending armies only for so many

[illegible] contained thousands of [illegible] blood [illegible]

The King of Prussia, in pursuance of his long established maxim of war, determined to render the enemy's country the theatre of hostility, a measure, which if it even afforded no greater advantage, would at least keep spoil and devastation at a distance from his own dominions, and throw much of the expence of subsisting his army on the opposite side. He accordingly, leaving the county of Lewin in the county of Glatz, penetrated the [illegible] mountains of Bohemia, July 4th, and having seized the city and castle and magazines of Nachod, in the confines of that kingdom, without opposition, he there fixed his head quarters, whilst he waited for the arrival, and made roads across the mountains to facilitate the passage of his heavy artillery and stores. Thus Nachod, an article of no name or consequence, became a post of great importance during the ensuing campaign, for keeping the communication open between the army and the King's dominions.

The King soon perceived, that without some unexpected change of circumstances, or the extraordinary effect of some happy manœuvre, his plan of operation would be much narrowed in the execution. This proceeded in part from the very judicious positions taken by the enemy, and in part from the very difficult nature of the country, which being encumbered greatly with mountains and woods, abounding on all sides with strong posts and dangerous defiles.

For the Emperor had previously taken possession of the very important and celebrated post of Koningsgratz, which lay within a few miles of the front, but tending to the left, of the Prussian army, where his camp was in a situation, which, if not totally unassailable, at least rendered every approach to it exceedingly dangerous. He had also secured with such care, the strong posts on the Upper Elbe, from Koningsgratz to Jaromirz, and for several miles farther towards its head, as, along with the nature of the country through which it passed, nearly rendered that river an insuperable barrier to the progress of an enemy. Thus the Emperor had it much in his power to refrain from action as he liked, and to wait in security to grasp at some favourable opportunity (which it did not seem that any skill or sagacity could constantly guard against in such relative situations,) of bringing it on with great advantage.

In the mean time, the intermediate country between the Elbe and the mountains that separate it from Silesia and the county of Glatz, lay exposed on the right and left to the ravages of the Prussian light troops, who immediately spread with their usual activity to collect forage and raise contributions. This state of things brought on a number of small engagements, in which, although the Prussian parties were usually successful, it will not be supposed by those who have any knowledge of the Austrian forces, that any ground or advantage was relinquished by them without an obstinate dispute. It is said, that the two great contending monarchs have been present in some of these skirmishes, and that the younger, who may be considered as the rival in glory, as

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well as the competitor in power, of his illustrious antagonist, also followed his example, by exposing his person in a manner not usual with those of his rank.

This restrained state of warfare, narrowed to inconsiderable actions, and confined to districts of no great extent or value, was as little suited to the active mind, and extensive views of his Prussian Majesty, as it was to the enterprizing spirit of his commanders, and the confident courage of his troops. He accordingly left nothing untried that could tempt or provoke the Emperor to an action, nor no military movement or stratagem unessayed which might possibly circumvent him into a situation that would render it unavoidable.

Yet, with the vast force in his hands, and in contempt of the impetuosity incident to his time of life, and first essay in war, so sensible was the Emperor of that wonderful superiority in general field actions, which had ever distinguished his veteran rival from all the other commanders of his time, that he inflexibly adhered to his original determination of acting upon the defensive, of converting the natural strength of the country to every advantage which it could possibly afford, in blunting the ardour and exhausting the force of the enemy; and of committing nothing to fortune, without such apparent odds in his favour, as would nearly insure success. Upon this principle, with all the caution and phlegm of an old general, he submitted to contract his posts, to behold the neighbouring country ravaged, and to endure even the threats of insulting his camp, without his being once surprized into any act of intemperance or warmth, which could in its consequences lay him under a necessity of hazarding a battle. A conduct, which equally affords a proof of his own judgment in military affairs, and a testimonial of those great abilities in his illustrious adversary from whence it derives its merit.

As the Prussian troops, from a deference to opinion, and regard to appearances, did not advance into Saxony, whilst any hope of accommodation remained, the operations on that side, of course, commenced later than on that of Silesia. Prince Henry, however, with the combined army, was encamped on the plains of Plauen, near Dresden, pretty early in the month of July. His situation rendered it for some time doubtful to what quarter he intended to direct his operations. The great road to Prague lay full in his front; but Aussig, on the Elbe, with all the difficult posts in that line, as well as those impracticable ones with which the mountains on the right and left abound, and which could not be left in the rear of a march, were occupied in great force by the Austrians, whilst Marshal Laudohn lay with a powerful army in the neighbourhood of Leutmeritz, ready to support them with advantage.

Another, but more difficult passage, in respect to natural impediments, lay a considerable distance on the right, by the way of Marienberg through the Mineral Mountains, to Commotau in Bohemia. Or by keeping farther to the right, to the palatinate of Egra; the Prince might easily have reduced that city, which is the second in the kingdom, and from

thence

chuses have transferred the war on his side into Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate. But this scheme would have been liable to many objections. Saxony must in that case have been left exposed to the enemy, at nothing less than an army equal to Laudohn's, could have been supposed capable of protecting the electorate from that enterprizing General. It would be also relieving at such a distance from the King's army, as might not, in other respects, be unattended with danger. For the Austrian General, by leaving Bavaria to its fate, (which he probably would,) and Saxony in quiet for the present, might easily fall back to join the Emperor, when there would be too much room for apprehension, that the royal army could not be less than overwhelmed, when thus abandoned to the encounter of so mighty and so unequal a force. Nay, independent of more urgent motives, would it have seemed a wife or just policy to have removed all the calamities of war from the enemy, only to transfer them to a friendly people, who were under a necessity of submitting to a force which they were totally incapable of resisting.

While various doubts were thus entertained as to the objects of Prince Henry's designs during his encampment at Plauen, that able and experienced General, (probably to increase them, and to direct the attention of the enemy to a wrong quarter) detached General Moellendorf, with a strong separate corps, to the right, on the side of Freyberg. All expectation being then awake on that side, the Prince, with the utmost expedition, threw three bridges over the Elbe, between Pirna and Pilnitz, and equally suddenly and unexpectedly passed at the head of July 28th. 60,000 men across that river, from whence he pursued his march towards the Upper Lusatia, leaving Moellendorf's detachment, with several small separate Prussian and Saxon corps, amounting in the whole to about half that number, to protect the electorate on the south side of the Elbe.

For the better comprehension of the subject, it may not be wholly unnecessary to take some notice of the motives which probably determined the Prince to this masterly movement, as well as of the difficulties to which it was liable. By penetrating into Bohemia in that narrow part of the kingdom, there was not only a probability of opening a communication with the King's army, which was not a great deal lower on the opposite side, but even of effecting a junction with it, if that measure should at any time become necessary. In the mean time, as it was reasonably to be expected that it would be a means of obliging the Emperor to change his position, and even to abandon those strong holds on the Upper Elbe, which now afforded him such perfect security, it would of course extricate the King from that straitness of situation, which at present cramped all his operations. Whilst it produced these effects on the side of Silesia, the advance of Prince Henry into the heart of the country, would necessarily oblige the Austrians to abandon their strong posts on the confines of Saxony, so that the electorate being entirely freed from danger, those troops which were left for its protection, would, taking

taking different routes, carry all before them, until they joined and became a part of the common force in the center. It was likewise well to be hoped, that the imperial armies being obliged to fall back towards Prague for the defence of that capital, one at least of them might be brought to action in the open country, where the ſuperiority which the Pruſſians poſſeſſed in point of cavalry, joined with that which their great leader, and their own admirable diſcipline, indiſputably afforded in a field of battle, would little leſs than inſure ſucceſs.

On the other hand, the mountains which were now to be penetrated, had been deemed nearly impaſſable by an army; but the reliance placed upon this natural ſtrength, was ſome drawback on its effect, as a leſs attention was paid to guarding and fortifying the paſſes in that quarter, than in thoſe parts where they lay more open.

The Prince directed his courſe to that north-weſt mountainous corner of Bohemia, which jutting out in the form of a Peninſula, between the confines of Miſnia and Luſatia, is ſurrounded on three ſides by theſe countries. The Pruſſians entered the mountains in ſeveral columns, and on every ſide; thoſe on the extremity of the right, penetrating the defiles of Hohenſtein, the center on the ſide of Newkirch, and the utmoſt point of the left, keeping the outward circle of the mountains on the ſide of Luſatia towards Zittau, which, with the neighbouring places, had lately been laid under heavy contribution by the Auſtrians. In theſe various courſes they encountered ſuch difficulties, as required all the induſtry and perſeverance incident to the Pruſſian diſcipline to be ſurmounted. In a word, the roads were ſo nearly impaſſable, that nothing but experience could afford a conviction to the contrary; and the defiles were frequently ſo dangerous, that a handful of men might have ſtopped the progreſs of an army.

The Prince advanced by the way of Hanſpach in Bohemia to Slukenan and Romburg. The Auſtrian parties which were ſtationed among the mountains, were ſo amazed at the ſudden appearance of the Pruſſians on all ſides, and in the moſt inacceſſible places, and ſo bewildered and involved amidſt their numerous detachments, that inſtead of being able to aſſemble in any important poſt to ſtop their progreſs, they found that the advantages which they derived from their ſuperior knowledge of the country, with the ſtrength and ſhelter which it afforded, were frequently inſufficient either to inſure eſcape or protection.

General Belling, who firſt commanded the van, and afterwards the left of the Pruſſian army in this march, was ſo highly diſtinguiſhed by his ability and ſucceſs, as not only to engroſs the glory from the other commanders, but to eſtabliſh his reputation on the firmeſt baſis, by receiving from his Royal Maſter, the moſt flattering and honourable teſtimonials of his approbation. By his celerity in preventing the Auſtrians, who were on the point of ſeizing the defiles of Gorgenthal, at the time that Prince Henry was advancing from Romburg, he ſecured the progreſs

of

of the army, by the poſſeſſion of that important poſt. He ſoon afterwards defeated General de Vins, near Tellnitzein, whoſe rear ſuffered greatly; three or four Auſtrian battalions being entirely ruined, and about a thouſand priſoners, with ſeveral pieces of cannon and other trophies being taken.

General Retzing was not leſs ſucceſsful afterwards on the ſide of Gabel, where by ſeizing the Auſtrian entrenchments that covered that important paſs, he opened the way for the left wing to ſpread itſelf in the circle of Boleſlau, where the Pruſſians poſſeſſed themſelves of Jungtzau, Kratzau, and a number of other places, whilſt Prince Henry advanced by the way of Kamnitz in the circle of Leutmeritz, until he had got clear of the mountains, and entered the level country at Leypa.

In the mean time, General Moellendorf having paſſed the Elbe near Schandau, penetrated the mountains in that quarter, and forced ſome Auſtrian poſts and entrenchments in his way, with no leſs difficulty or ſucceſs, than the main army had experienced in their progreſs; and keeping the courſe of the river, cleared the country on the right as far as Teſchen. In theſe circumſtances, the Auſtrians abandoned all their poſts on the confines of Saxony on the other ſide of the Elbe, upon which the different Pruſſian and Saxon corps in that Electorate, treading in the ſteps of the retiring enemy, entered Bohemia on the right of the river, and ſeized Toplitz, Auſſig, and all the other places in their way, until they effected a junction with the right of Moellendorf's party at Leutmeritz.

It ſeemed in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, that the keeping of good company produced as happy effects in military affairs, as it uſually does in the civil walks of life; for the Saxon troops, who formed a conſiderable ſtrength on the right and left of the army, and who had obtained no great renown in the two laſt wars, were now highly diſtinguiſhed upon every ſervice, and ſeemed emulous not only to equal, but even, if poſſible, to ſurpaſs the Pruſſians in hardineſs, activity, and reſolution.

Whilſt the combined armies were thus ſpreading on all hands on the weſtern ſide of Bohemia, and ſo far as the enemy would endure the conflict were every where ſucceſsful; Marſhal Laudohn had adopted, (or perhaps framed) and moſt tenaciouſly perſevered in, that cautious line of conduct, which ſo effectually reſtrained the progreſs of the Pruſſian arms, on the eaſtern confines of that country. Upon this ſyſtem, he broke up his ſtrong camp at Pfeiffwedel, on the approach of Prince Henry, and having removed his magazines to Buntzlau, retired by the back of Mount Poſig, and the Weiſſwaſſer, until he arrived at the Iſer, which he paſſed, and then took ſuch a poſition along that river, with his right at Munchengratz, and his left at Koſmanos near Buntzlau, as muſt baffle every approach of an enemy.

By this admirably choſen ſituation, that great General, who being now in a very bad ſtate of health, ſeems to have added the coolneſs

coolneſs of Daun, to his own natural fire and enterprize, kept a communication, which could not be interrupted, open with the Emperor's army, rendered a junction between thoſe of the King and Prince Henry impracticable, and at the ſame time, by ſtationing General Rieſe with a ſtrong ſeperate corps at Melnick, and Prince Charles of Litchtenſtein, with Gen. Sauer, in other well choſen poſts on the ſide of Prague, he ſo effectually covered that capital, as to prevent its receiving the ſmalleſt inſult from his vigilant and enterprizing enemy during the remainder of the campaign.

In the mean time, Prince Henry advanced to Nimes, from whence his parties occupied Poſig and the Hyperwaſſer; the combined army being now thrown into ſix or ſeven diviſions, poſſeſſing a chain of as many great poſts with eaſy communications from Lowoſitz, to the right of the Elbe in the ſouth-weſt, to Reichenberg, which borders on the mountains that form the confines of the kingdom, in the north-eaſt, being an extent of about ſixty miles. In this ſtate did the army continue for ſome conſiderable time, without any other occupation, ſave the common routine of duty, than the raiſing of contributions, the collecting of forage, and the weighing up of thoſe Chevaux de Frize, and other machines or impediments, which the Auſtrians had ſunk to choak up the navigation of the Elbe.

Thus did Bohemia exhibit a ſcene, which is without example or parallel in the records of warfare. She ſhewed four mighty hoſtile armies, whoſe force united would have been able to ſhake any quarter of the globe to its centre; they were compoſed of ſome of the beſt trained, and moſt warlike troops in the world, and conducted by ſome of the greateſt as well as the moſt enterprizing Generals that ever lived; theſe four vaſt armies, which were, it might be ſaid, pitted in a ſmall corner of her not very extenſive domain, were yet ſo reſtrained in their operations, by a ſuperioty of refinement and ſkill, which has not yet been equalled, and which can never be exceeded, but which was at the ſame time ſo duly diſtributed, and ſo exactly poized between the parties, that abundantly furniſhed, as the combatants were, with every inſtrument of rage, and every engine of deſtruction, they were notwithſtanding, with the weapons burning in their hands, compelled, for ſeveral weeks, tamely to endure the ſight of each other, without a poſſibility of ſating their enmity; whilſt the aſſailants could derive no advantage from the inaction of their opponents on the one ſide, nor theſe from the intemperance or impatience of the aſſailants on the other. And thus it was ſhewn, that an equal diſtribution of force, talents, military ſkill, diſcipline and courage, might produce the ſame effects, which uſually proceed from mutual weakneſs, want of ſpirit, defect in ability, and inexperience in war.

The Pruſſian Monarch, however, was little diſpoſed to bear with patience this reſtraint upon his operations, and to adopt this pacific mode of warfare. He was continually in motion, and ſeemed, on horſeback, to forget the injuries of time, and to be inſenſible to the infirmities of years. The continual

nual action of body and mind, not only mended, but by degrees established his health. All the resources of his fertile genius were explored, and all the measures which the enterprizing spirit of the Prince of Brunswick, and his other commanders could suggest, were adopted, in order to force or surprize the enemy into an action; or at least to compel them to such a change of position, as might afford an opportunity for enlarging the theatre, and changing the nature of the war.

Some strange indetermination, seemed upon the whole, to operate on the side of the Court of Vienna. Or at least several distinct parts of her language and conduct seemed to have been cast in very different moulds. In her general language, we have already seen that she was high, haughty, decisive, and apparently but little disposed to afford much satisfaction to her opponents. In several parts of her conduct she manifested the same spirit, with the appearance of a fixed, and by no means unwilling determination of proceeding to the utmost extremities, sooner than abate any one point of pretensions; the extent of which she reserved for her own future specification, as circumstances and events might direct their limits. Yet, when affairs came to such a crisis, that war seemed inevitable, she constantly shewed a disposition to avoid, or at least to defer, that final resort, and unexpectedly proposed to negociate. In that state again, she appeared so cold, so reserved, so ambiguous, and her propositions, if they might be called such, were couched in such doubtful and general terms, that it could be scarcely believed any thing direct or serious could be intended by them. These contradictions seemed to indicate great divisions in the cabinet of that Court; which probably varied her conduct, as each party happened to prevail or lose ground. It is said, that the Empress Queen was as strongly averse to the war, as the Emperor was disposed to it.

The King of Prussia had been no longer in Bohemia, than was necessary for completing the preparations for immediate action, when proposals (said to be directly from the Emperor) were made, for the appointment of Ministers to open another negociation to accommodate matters. The King agreed to the proposals so far as related to the appointment of Ministers, and the holding of conferences, but rejected the overtures that were made for a cessation of arms, and did not permit this negociation, (which was as fruitless as the former) at all to influence his conduct, or to retard his operations.

The indecisiveness of the campaign, had, as is natural in such a state, occasioned a prodigious desertion on both sides. It was however greater on that of the King; it being a disadvantage to which the Prussia armies are particularly liable, from their being principally recruited with foreigners, who cannot be expected to bear that attachment to any service, which native troops bear to their country. Tradesmen and manufacturers, who are very numerous in that services, are also much more disposed to desertion than the plain laborious countrymen who compose the Austrian armies. The Austrian Gazettes however, though

their own deſertion far exceeded any thing that could be expected upon the principle we have laid down, magnified that of the Pruſſians in terms of ſuch extravagance, and killed ſuch multitudes of their men, in paltry rencounters of no name, that had any credit been given to them, it would have brought no ſmall degree of imputation upon their own commanders, and of diſgrace upon their troops, to have ſuffered their country to be inſulted and ravaged by ſuch a handful of men, as the remainder muſt neceſſarily have been.

Indeed the campaign was ſo barren of events, that it became neceſſary to catch at every ſmall matter, which could help to fill up the attention, or to gratify the curioſity of the public. For it may be obſerved in the moſt deſpotic governments, that however the people are trampled upon and deſpiſed in the ſeaſons of peace, and of felicity to their rulers, yet the ſerious and doubtful appeals to the ſword, always reſtore them to ſome part of their natural conſequence, and cauſe a particular degree of attention, however ſhort its duration, to be paid to their opinions and likings. Thus, both parties magnified every ſmall action into importance; and the taking a few carts from a convoy, or the rout of a ſubaltern's command of Huſſars or Croats, were dwelt upon as matters of triumph. Such circumſtances are, however, fortunate to brave men deſtitute of intereſt, who may then puſh themſelves into notice and preferment by thoſe ſpirited actions, which would have been overlooked and loſt in the general glare of great deeds and of victory.

The King at length finding that all his efforts on the ſide of Koningſgratz and Jaromitz, whether to provoke the enemy to an engagement, or to compel them to a change of poſition, proved equally ineffectual, made, towards the middle of Auguſt, a grand movement to his right, leaving General Wunſch, with a ſtrong command, to keep the communication open, and to guard the important poſt of Nachod. Several motives concurred to this meaſure. It was hoped that by advancing towards the head of the Elbe, he might turn the enemy's left, and compel him to take new ground and poſitions. The King thereby approached nearer to Nimes, and it was to be expected that ſo effectual a communication might have been opened with Prince Henry's army, as would afford an opportunity for a ſudden junction, if any great proſpect of advantage ſhould render that meaſure adviſable. It was taking new ground with reſpect to proviſions and forage, which was a matter of no ſmall conſideration with an army, when the old was already eaten to the utmoſt degree of bareneſs. It is beſides, not impoſſible, that as the army was to paſs the defiles of Kovalkowitz, and other grounds equally dangerous, which a leſſer General would not have ventured in the face of a vigilant and equal enemy, the King on the contrary, confiding in his own ability to remedy thoſe diſadvantages which he well foreſaw, held them out as lures, to tempt the Auſtrian Generals to an attack. At any rate, if none of the pro-

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ſired effects were produced, any change of ground and ſituation, was better ſuited to the King's temper and character, than that tireſome ſameneſs which he had ſo long endured.

If any ſnare was intended, the enemy was too wary to be entrapped in it. The King paſſed all the defiles without obſtruction, and keeping to the northward, encamped at Burkerſdorf, between Trautenau and Arnau, his right inclining to the former, and his left to the latter of theſe places. The hereditary Prince of Brunſwick advanced with a ſeparate corps on the front of the left to Langenau, from whence he extended his poſts towards Hohen Elbe. It is impoſſible, without a knowledge of the country which can only be obtained by ſeeing it, or an exact delineation of the various poſts and poſitions of the Auſtrian army, which has not yet in any degree been communicated, to account for ſeveral of the movements which took place at this time, and for a month after, on the King's ſide. The Prince of Brunſwick's advance to Langenau, probably looked towards a deſign of attacking General Laudon, who lay with a ſtrong force at Arnau; or perhaps it was hoped that his ſeparation from the main army, might have enticed that General to an attack upon him. Neither of theſe events, however took place.

The King advanced afterwards to Wiltchitz, Hermanſeifen and Lauterwaſſer, and the hereditary Prince puſhed on to the high grounds of the Schwartzeberg, almoſt at the north-eaſt extremity of Bohemia; Trautenau, Branau, and all the country on the right, as far as Sileſia, being abandoned by the Auſtrians, who kept their poſts on the left, up towards the ſource of the Elbe in great force. All the movements that were made, whether in advancing or retiring in this rough and impracticable country, through wild foreſts, mountains, and the moſt miſerable roads, would have been exceedingly dangerous under leſs able commanders, and in caſe of misfortune, would have drawn the heavieſt cenſure from the military world, on thoſe who had involved an army in ſuch ſtraits. It is not even impoſſible, that both ſides built too much upon the King's name, the ſuperiority of his troops, and the excellency of his officers.

Nothing can more clearly ſhew the full and certain confidence which the Auſtrians repoſed in the ſecurity afforded by their inacceſſible ſituations, than that the Emperor, with ſo mighty an hoſtile force full in his view; with an enemy ſo quick in diſcerning and ſo prompt in ſeizing all appearances, and every opportunity of advantage, with the utmoſt vigilance watching his motions, and all his ſagacity and penetration in conſtant exerciſe, to obviate the ſtrength of his poſitions, to profit by any error in their arrangement, or by the ſmalleſt inattention to the mutual connection and dependence of ſo many detached parts; ſhould, notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, venture to quit an army expoſed to ſuch a ſituation, and as if no enemy had been near, pay a viſit of ſome days to that under the command of Marſhal Laudohn. It will ſcarcely increaſe our ſurprize to know, that upon his

his return he detached ſeveral regiments to reinforce that army.

In the mean time, both armies grew very ſickly, the heavy and continued rains incident to the ſeaſon in that mountainous country, engendering fevers, fluxes, and other putrid diſorders in great abundance. It will be eaſily ſuppoſed that the ſtrangers were the greater ſufferers in this general calamity. The rains alſo, rendered the roads in the vallies ſo deep, and the hills ſo ſlippery, that, if all other obſtacles had been removed, to attack, or be attacked, became for ſeveral days equally impracticable.

In theſe circumſtances, the King being fully convinced, that nothing could provoke or induce the enemy to venture an open engagement, finding that all other means had proved equally ineffectual, and that they were ſo covered with woods, hills, defiles and entrenchments, that an attempt to force them, whatever the ſucceſs, muſt be attended with the certain loſs of the beſt and braveſt of his troops; with great juſtice thought it adviſable to preſerve ſo fine an army for more eligible ſervice. And as the Winter was now faſt approaching, whilſt the ſickneſs of the troops, and the impracticability of the roads was daily increaſing, he at length determined to evacuate Bohemia.

Sept. 8th. The King accordingly, having previouſly ſent off his heavy artillery, fell back from the high grounds of the Lauterwaſſer, where he had been for ſome time encamped, and retired to his old camp at Wiltſchitz. Nothing was ever conducted with greater ability than this retreat, which was made in the face of the enemy, by roads little leſs than impaſſable, through an impracticable country, and the moſt dangerous defiles. The Auſtrians by no means neglected the opportunity. Their light troops made ſeveral attacks with great vigour upon the different lines of march in the moſt difficult grounds, and made bold puſhes to ſeize a conſiderable part of the artillery which remained with the army, and which ſeemed to be ſo inextricably involved in the mud and ſloughs of the hollow ways, that they already deemed them a certain prize. All the movements were, however, made with ſuch judgment, and the different columns ſo effectually ſupported and covered each other, that they were every where repulſed without obtaining the ſmalleſt advantage, or taking a ſingle piece of cannon; the loſs of men was pretty equal on both ſides. This retreat, in ſuch a country, and in the face of ſo powerful and numerous an enemy, was ſaid to be immediately directed in all its parts by the King, who gave written directions for every movement; ſome of which are ſaid to have been ſo bold, and the ſucceſs ſo evidently depending upon the clock-like operation and coincidence of the whole, that his oldeſt Generals were ſtartled at the deſign. In a word, it is repreſented as a maſterpiece in its kind.

The King continued near a week at Wiltſchitz. Towards the middle of the month, the army moved to Alt- Sept. 14th. ſtadt, near Trautenau; and in ſome days after to Schatzlar, near the frontiers of Sileſia, and on the high road to Landſhut, where it

continued till about the end of October, when it finally evacuated Bohemia. The ground was little less difficult in the two former of these movements, than in the march to Wiltschitz, and the Austrians, under General Wurmser, being now much more powerful, the attacks were more frequent and violent; which, however, produced no other effect than a greater loss of men on both sides, no advantage of any value being gained by either. It is given as an instance of the advantage, and a proof of the excellency of discipline, that a Prussian regiment, having in one of these engagements been so closely pressed on all sides, as to be under a necessity of throwing itself into what is called a hollow or square battalion, upon repelling the enemy, and in all the heat of a brisk engagement, it instantly recovered its former order of march, with the same ease and regularity, that it could have paraded from the ground of exercise on a field day.

During the greater part of these transactions, Prince Henry continued at Nimes; his army occupying the posts we have already stated, and enjoying the most profound tranquillity; being likewise free from those incommodities which had distressed the King's forces, in a miserable country, rendered still more wretched by the badness of the weather. When it became at length apparent, that the caution and situation of the enemy must unavoidably frustrate all the views of the campaign; that the taking up of Winter quarters in Bohemia, was from the same causes rendered utterly impracticable; and that the approaching season would render the evacuation of that country without loss, every day more difficult; the Prince made several motions preparatory to that event, but immediately tending to divert the attention of the enemy from his real design, and with a hope of leading him to some change of position, which might either on his own side, or on that of the King's, afford an opportunity for opening a more favourable scene of action.

The Prince accordingly quitting Nimes, Sept. 10th. and turning to the right, advanced towards the Elbe by the way of Neuschloss, Pleiswedel, and Ausche, and passing that river at Leutmeritz, encamped not far from thence at Tschischkowitz, on the great road to Prague. At the same time, a part of the left wing, under the Prince of Bernberg, fell back towards the upper Lusatia, until it had occupied the strong grounds on the side of Gabel and Zittau. This movement on the side of the Prince, obliged Marshal Laudohn to quit the Iser, and passing the Elbe and the Muldau, to encamp at Martinowes, near Budin, to prevent his advancing towards Prague. After a number of skirmishes had taken place, and that the armies had for some days kept these positions; the Prince quitted his camp at Tschischkowitz, and returning without loss to the confines of Saxony, had entirely evacuated Bohemia by the end of the month.

Nor was the war on the side of the Austrian Silesia productive of any action of consequence; for the Prussian Generals being much superior in force to the Marquis de Botta, he was not able to undertake

take any thing conſiderable towards the defence of that country. Thus they overrun the Dutchies of Troppaw and Iagerndorf without much difficulty, and took ſuch meaſures with the inhabitants, as ſtrongly indicated a deſign of annexing them to the King's dominion, and thereby entirely rounding his poſſeſſion of Sileſia.

CHAP. III.

State of Affairs previous to the Meeting of Parliament. Conſequences of the American War with reſpect to Commerce. Conduct of France. Stability of Adminiſtration equally ſecured by good or bad ſucceſs. Sanguine hopes raiſed by General Burgoyne's ſucceſs at Ticonderoga, checked by ſubſequent accounts. Speech from the Throne. Addreſſes. Amendments moved in both Houſes. Great Debates. Proteſt.

NO equal ſpace of time for ſeveral years paſt, afforded ſo little domeſtic matter worthy of obſervation, as that part of the year 1777, which elapſed during the receſs of parliament. Neither the town nor the country preſented any new object of party contention. The American war, and many of its conſequences, were now ſcarcely objects of curioſity, much leſs of ſurprize; and being in the habit of deriving no benefit from our colonies, and of conſidering them only in a ſtate of enmity and hoſtility, it ſeemed as if their total loſs would be no longer a matter of much wonder or concern; but that rather on the contrary, that event would be felt, as a ceſſation from war, expence and trouble, uſually is felt in other caſes.

The loſs and ruin brought upon numbers of individuals, by this fatal quarrel between the mother country and her colonies, was little thought of, excepting by the ſufferers, and had, as yet, produced no apparent change in the face of public affairs. For although our foreign commerce, was by this time, conſiderably embarraſſed, and loaded with extraordinary charges; although it was already reduced in ſome of its parts, and in others, ſuch as the African branch, nearly annihilated; it had not yet received thoſe ſtrokes, or at leaſt they were not yet ſo ſenſibly felt, which have ſince ſhaken the mercantile intereſt of this country to a degree which it had not often before experienced.

Indeed that commerce, which had ſo long equally excited the envy of other nations, and the admiration of mankind, was ſo immenſe in its extent, and involved ſuch a multitude of great and material objects in its embrace, that it was not to be ſhaken by any uſual convulſion of nature, nor to be endangered by any common accident of fortune. It accordingly bore many ſevere ſhocks, and ſuſtained loſſes of a prodigious magnitude, before they were capable of apparently affecting its general ſyſtem.

We have formerly ſhewn that the American war, from its peculiar nature, and the greatneſs of the expence, with which it was

conducted and supplied, had produced a new species of commerce, which, however ruinous in its ultimate effects, had for the present a flattering appearance. For this substitute, including all the traffick appertaining to or consequent of the war, as well as the commercial speculations which arose by licenced exception or evasion of the several restraining acts of parliament, afforded employment, like a great and legitimate commerce, to an infinite number of persons, and quantity of shipping, yielding at least equal benefits to the gross of those who were concerned; and far greater emoluments, devoid of risque, or even of the employment of much capital, to the principals, than the profits of any real or open trade could possibly admit.

Thus, however frail its establishment, and necessarily short its duration, a new, powerful, and numerous connection was formed, totally distinct from the great, ancient, mercantile interest; and thus, although our Gazettes teemed with bankruptcies, generally doubling and trebling in number, whatever had been usually known, in the same time, in this country, yet the gainers, or the candidates for gain in the new adventures, were so numerous, and presented such an appearance of ease, affluence, and content, that the plaintive but feeble voice of the unfortunate was little attended to; and the chearfulness which the splendour and happiness of the former spread all around, prevented any gloomy reflections from arising in the minds of those who had as yet no sensible feeling of the public calamity.

It is true, that the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland were insulted by the American privateers, in a manner which our hardiest enemies had never ventured in our most arduous contentions with foreigners. Thus were the inmost and most domestic recesses of our trade rendered insecure; and a convoy for the protection of the linen ships from Dublin and Newry, was now for the first time seen. The Thames also presented the unusual and melancholy spectacle, of numbers of foreign ships, particularly French, taking in cargoes of English commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of our own merchants, who were thus reduced to seek that protection under the colours of other nations, which the British flag used to afford to all the world.

Against this must be set, that his Majesty's ships took a prodigious number of American vessels, both on their own coasts and in the West Indies. The perseverance with which the Americans supplied the objects for these captures, by continually building new ships, and seeking new adventures, seemed almost incredible. At a time when the whole of a trade, carried on under such discouraging circumstances, seemed to be extinguished, the Gazettes teemed again with the account of new captures; which, though for the greater part, they were not of much value singly, yet furnished, at times, some very rich prizes; and, in the aggregate, were of a vast amount. They probably much overballanced the losses which we sustained from their privateers. But it was, to a thinking mind, melancholy, that

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we had a computation of that kind to make.

The conduct of France during this whole year, in every thing that regarded England and America, was so slightly covered, and so little qualified, that it seemed to leave no room for any doubt, (excepting with those who were determined to place so implicit a faith in words, as to admit of no other species of evidence) as to the part which she would finally take in the contest. As she was not yet, however, in sufficient preparation for proceeding to the utmost extremities, nor her negociations with the Americans advanced to an absolute determination, she occasionally relaxed in certain points, when she found herself so closely pressed by the British ministers, that an obstinate perseverance would precipitate matters to that conclusion, which she wished for some time longer to defer.

Thus, when a bold American adventurer, one Cunningham, had taken and carried into Dunkirk, with a privateer fitted out at that port, the English packet from Holland, and sent the mail to the American ministers at Paris, it then seemed necessary in some degree to discountenance so flagrant a violation of good neighbourhood, as well as of the standing treaties between the two nations, and even of the particular marine laws and regulations established in France, in regard to her conduct with the people of other countries. Cunningham, and his crew, were accordingly committed for some short time to prison. Yet this appearance of satisfaction was done away by the circumstances which attended it. For Cunningham's imprisonment was represented to the Americans, as proceeding merely from some informality in his commission, and irregularity in his proceedings, which had brought him to, if not within, the verge of piracy, and which were too glaring to be entirely passed over without notice. And he was, with his crew, not only speedily released from their mock confinement, but he was permitted to purchase, fit out, and arm, a much stronger vessel, and better sailer than the former, avowedly to infest as before the British commerce.

It was in the same line of policy, that when the French Newfoundland fishery would have been totally intercepted and destroyed in case of an immediate rupture, and that the capture of their seamen would have been more ruinous and irreparable, than the loss even of the ships and cargoes, Lord Stormont obtained, in that critical situation, an order from the ministers, that all the American privateers, with their prizes, should immediately depart the kingdom. Yet, satisfactory as this compliance, and conclusive as this order appeared, it was combated with such ingenuity, and such expedients practised to defeat its effects, that it was not complied with in a single instance throughout the kingdom. It, however, answered the purpose for which it was intended, by gaining time, and opening a subject of tedious and indecisive controversy, until the French ships were safe in their respective ports.

It would seem, that Monsr. de Sartine, the French Minister of the marine, and great advocate for the

the American cauſe, was determined, that whatever charges of duplicity might be brought againſt his country, they ſhould not reſt perſonally with himſelf. For this Miniſter, upon ſome reports which tended to diſcourage the commerce with the Americans, as if the court would not protect its ſubjects in conveying the products of that continent in their veſſels, which would accordingly become legal prizes to the Engliſh if taken, aſſured the ſeveral chambers of commerce by a public inſtrument, and in direct contravention of all our navigation laws, that the King was determined to afford the fulleſt protection to their commerce, and would reclaim all ſhips that were taken under that pretext.

July 4th, 1777.

Upon the whole, whatever evaſion or duplicity might have appeared in the language or profeſſions of France, her conduct was ſo unequivocal in the courſe of this buſineſs, that the only matter of ſurprize would be, if it could be thought poſſible that ſhe impoſed upon any people by the one, or that they could miſtake her deſigns in the other. It indeed required no great ſagacity to diſcover, that ſhe had now acquired ſo thorough a reliſh for the ſweets of the American commerce, that nothing leſs than the moſt irreſiſtible neceſſity, could induce her to forego the poſſeſſion of what ſhe had obtained, and the vaſt hopes with which ſhe flattered herſelf in future. But as yet ſhe waited the event of the American campaign, and the completion of her naval equipments, (which were carried on with the greateſt diligence and in the moſt public manner at Breſt and Toulon,) before ſhe riſqued any deciſive ſtep.

No change of any ſort, whether by death, removal, or internal arrangement, had taken place in adminiſtration during the receſs. Every day of the American war rivetted the miniſters faſter in their ſeats. Good and bad ſucceſs produced the ſame effect in that reſpect. In the former inſtance, who could be deemed ſo fitting to conclude the buſineſs, as thoſe by whom it was framed, and ſo far happily conducted? In the other, who could be found hardy enough to undertake the completion of a ruinous ſyſtem, which, beſides its failure already in the execution, was originally, and in its nature, clogged with infinite difficulty and danger? Thus ſituated, and ſupported by an uncontrollable force in parliament, it ſeemed that nothing could diſturb their repoſe, until the preſent American ſyſtem was in ſome manner diſpoſed of.

General Burgoyne's ſucceſs at Ticonderoga, with the total diſcomfiture and ruin which every where attended the Americans in their precipitate flight on the borders of Lake George, excited the greateſt triumph on the ſide of adminiſtration; and whilſt it wonderfully elevated the ſpirits, was conſidered nearly as crowning the hopes of all thoſe who had ſupported or approved of the war. We have already ſeen that the northern expedition was looked upon as the favourite child of government. The operations on the ſide of the Jerſeys and Philadelphia were evidently conſidered in a very ſecondary point of view. As the noble Lord who conducted the American affairs had all the applauſe of this meaſure,

meaſure, which was conſidered entirely as his own, it is not to be wondered at, that both himſelf and his brethren in office ſhould be deeply intereſted in the event, and value themſelves highly on the appearance of ſucceſs.

The ſubſequent diſpatches from General Burgoyne did not long ſupport the hopes which were founded on the firſt ſucceſſes. The unexpected difficulties and delays which the army experienced in advancing a few miles from Skeneſborough to the ſouthward, were, however, counterballanced in opinion by its arrival on the Hudſon's River, the retreat of the enemy from Fort Edward, their abandoning Fort George and the Lake, by which a free paſſage was opened from Ticonderoga, and St. Leger's ſucceſs in defeating and ruining the Tryon county militia near Fort Stanwix.

All the former and preſent ſanguine expectations which had been formed, were, however, in a great meaſure overthrown by the advices which were received ſome time previous to the meeting of parliament; an event which was probably this year held back, in the full confidence of its being uſhered in with the particulars of ſome great and deciſive ſucceſs. Thoſe which came to hand, after a tedious ſeaſon of expectation, bore a very different complexion. The inſuperable difficulties that neceſſarily ſuſpended the operations of an army in ſuch a country, and under ſuch circumſtances, were now practically diſcovered. The double defeat of Baum and Breyman, by a ſuppoſed broken and ruined militia, in an attempt to remove or to leſſen ſome of thoſe difficulties, was ſtill more diſpiriting; and was not in any degree cured by the hope which the General expreſſed, of ſupport and aſſiſtance from the co-operation of Sir William Howe's army; both as it marked a deſpondency of ſucceſs from his own force, and that the miniſters knew the impoſſibility of his receiving any ſupport from that quarter. But, as if it had been to crown the climax of ill news and ill fortune, the ſame diſpatches were accompanied with others from Sir Guy Carleton, which brought an account of the failure of the expedition to Fort Stanwix, the bold and unexpected attack of the rebels on the ſide of Ticonderoga, and of a ſtill more unexpected and extraordinary event, in a ſhort ſketch of the deſperate and doubtful action which was fought on the 19th of September between General Burgoyne and Arnold; which, naked as it was of circumſtances, ſeemed to ſhew the latter to be the aſſailant, by the mention of his retiring to his camp when the darkneſs had put an end to the combat.

Oct. 31ſt.

Although the knowledge of theſe events ſeemed to open a view to ſome of the ſucceeding misfortunes, and even afforded room to preſage a part of thoſe unparalleled calamities which befell the northern army, it was ſtill hoped, by thoſe who were moſt ſanguine in their expectations, that General Burgoyne, being ſo near Albany, could not fail of making his way good to that place; and that being then ſecurely lodged, he would have an opportunity of concerting with Sir Henry Clinton, the means, either ſeparately or jointly, of diſtreſſing the northern colonies; or if the

ſeaſon and other circumſtances did not encourage that deſign, they might decide upon the propriety of maintaining the poſt at Albany during the winter, or of advancing to New York if more eligible. In the worſe caſe that could happen, they entertained no doubt of effecting his retreat back to Canada. Others were apprehenſive of ſome of the fatal conſequences that enſued.

Such was in general the ſtate of affairs, ſo far as they were known, and of public opinion, at the meeting of parliament. The accounts from Sir William Howe went no farther than the ſucceſsful landing of the army at the head of Elk; his preparation for advancing towards Philadelphia; with the ſituation and apparent deſign of the enemy to impede his progreſs.

Nov. 20th. The ſpeech from the throne expreſſed great ſatisfaction, in having recourſe to the wiſdom and ſupport of parliament in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in America demanded their moſt ſerious attention. The powers with which parliament had entruſted the crown for the ſuppreſſion of the revolt, were declared to have been faithfully exerted; and a juſt confidence was expreſſed, that the courage and conduct of the officers, with the ſpirit and intrepidity of the forces, would be attended with important ſucceſs; but under a perſuaſion that both houſes would ſee the neceſſity of preparing for ſuch further operations, as the contingencies of the war, and the obſtinacy of the rebels might render expedient, his Majeſty was, for that purpoſe, purſuing the proper meaſures for keeping the land forces complete to their preſent eſtabliſhment; and if he ſhould have occaſion to increaſe them, by contracting any new engagements, a reliance was placed on their zeal and public ſpirit to enable him to make them good.

Although repeated aſſurances were received of the pacific diſpoſition of foreign powers, yet as the armaments in the ports of France and Spain were continued, it was thought adviſeable to make a conſiderable augmentation to our naval force; it being equally determined not to diſturb the peace of Europe on the one hand, and to be a faithful guardian of the honour of the crown on the other.

The Commons were informed, that the various ſervices which had been mentioned, would unavoidably require large ſupplies; and a profeſſion was made, that nothing could relieve the royal mind from the concern which it felt for the heavy charge they muſt bring on the people, but a conviction of their being neceſſary for the welfare and eſſential intereſts of theſe kingdoms.

The ſpeech concluded, with a reſolution of ſteadily purſuing the meaſures in which they were engaged for the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitutional ſubordination, which his Majeſty was determined to maintain through the ſeveral parts of his dominions; accompanied with a profeſſion of being watchful for an opportunity of putting a ſtop to the effuſion of the blood of his ſubjects; a renewal or continuance of the former hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude would return to their allegiance, upon a recollection of the bleſſings of their former govern-

ment,

ment, and a comparison with the miseries of their present situation; and a declaration, that the restoration of peace, order, and confidence to his American colonies, would be considered by his Majesty as the greatest happiness of his life, and the greatest glory of his reign.

The addresses were so exactly in the present established style and form, and in such perfect unison with the speech, that any particular notice of them would be needless. All the measures which it held out, whether in act or design, were applauded; its positions confirmed; and an unlimited concurrence agreed. The ministers received their usual portion of praise in that share assigned to the prudence and wisdom of our public counsels; and the firmness, dignity, humanity, and paternal tenderness expressed in the speech, were highly extolled.

The address in the House of Commons was moved for by Lord Hyde, and supported, besides a panegyric on the matter and nature of the speech, by stating the necessity which originally induced the war, and which still operated with equal, if not greater force, for its continuance, until the great purpose for which it was undertaken was attained, by bringing the Americans to a proper sense of their condition and duty, and replacing the colonies in their due state of dependance on government, and subordination to the supreme legislature. It was said, that notwithstanding the news-paper abuse thrown upon our commanders, the fullest confidence was to be placed, and the strongest hopes of success formed, on their zeal, ability, prudence and spirit; that the superior excellency and intrepidity of our troops was acknowledged by all the world; and that with such commanders and forces by sea and land, unrivalled as they were by any other country, no doubt could be entertained, that the contest would be brought to a happy, and not very distant conclusion. But that this happy consummation could only be attained by affording the most perfect confidence, and the fullest support to government; whilst any illiberality of thinking, or narrowness of acting in either respect, must necessarily have the worst effect on the operation of all the measures which tended to a final settlement. And that it was evident, as well from his Majesty's most gracious declaration, as from the humanity and general prudence of government, that an immediate stop would be put to the effusion of blood, as soon as the conduct of the misled multitude in America, whether from the success of our arms, or from a due sense of their own past and present condition, should render it consistent with the honour, the dignity, and the interest of the nation, to adopt measures of lenity, and to restore that tranquillity and happiness to all the people, which are the natural consequences of subordination, order, and a reverence for the laws.

A young member, who seconded the motion for the address, felt himself so fully satisfied in the wisdom and rectitude of the governing powers, and had such conviction of the utility of their measures, that he could not refrain from being lost in astonishment, if it should be found that any man, who was a native of this country, and

and bred up in due allegiance to the throne, could, under any impulſe of faction, venture to ſtand up in that houſe, and ſo far to abet the American rebels, as to expreſs a ſentiment contrary to the ſpirit of the meaſures which were adopted by government, and which were now ſo graciouſly communicated to parliament. He alſo inſiſted, that the nation was never ſo flouriſhing as at preſent; that trade and manufactures, inſtead of declining, had increaſed and thriven, during the conteſt with America; and that ſome exceſs in luxury, the uſual concomitant of increaſing riches, and effect of opulence, was the only circumſtance of our condition which could afford room for regret or apprehenſion to the moſt auſtere, or the moſt deſponding. He concluded, that thoſe, if any, who held a difference of opinion upon thoſe ſubjects, muſt be under the immediate influence and domination of the moſt perverſe and factious ſpirit.

The concluſions involved in this declaration or opinion had no effect in deterring the Marquis of Granby, from immediately avowing thoſe very principles and that conduct which had been ſo loudly condemned. This young nobleman, who from his firſt coming into parliament, had uniformly oppoſed the whole ſyſtem of American meaſures, introduced his motion for an amendment to the propoſed addreſs, by ſtating and lamenting, in a conciſe manner, but pathetic terms, the ruinous and melancholy effects which the preſent unnatural war had produced both in England and America; repreſenting and enforcing at the ſame time the ſtill more fatal conſequences which muſt neceſſarily enſue from its continuance. He declared, with great humanity, that he felt himſelf nearly equally intereſted in all the calamities which it had or would ſpread among the Engliſh on either ſide of the Atlantic; that it made but little difference, in point of effect, on which ſide the expence of blood or treaſure ſeemed more particularly to lie; it was on either, a leſſening of the common ſtock, an exhauſture of the common ſtrength, and a further diſſolution of that union, the reſtoration of which could only again render us happy, as well as great.

Under theſe perſuaſions he felt the moſt ardent deſire for graſping at the preſent moment of time, and having the happineſs even to lay the groundwork of an accommodation. He obſerved, that all the force, all the powers, all the foreign and domeſtic reſources of this country, had for three years been ineffectually exerted, in order to obtain peace with that continent at the point of the ſword. That allowing, as he moſt willingly did, under the fulleſt conviction, and with the greateſt ſatisfaction, all the merit that was attributed to our commanders, and all the intrepidity to our troops, it was now evident, from thoſe very circumſtances, that there muſt have been either ſome egregious miſconduct in the plan and management of the war, or that it was attended with ſuch inherent and inſurmountable difficulties as it would be a folly to contend with any longer. In either caſe, the effect was the ſame; for if the failure even proceeded from the

inability

inability of thoſe who were entruſted with the conduct of our public affairs, we were not now in a condition to engage in a new experiment, under any change or ability of guidance.

As we had then ſo full an experience of the impracticability of coercion, it was time to abandon ſo ruinous a project, and apply to gentler methods for attaining an object, which was ſo eſſential to our well being, that our deareſt intereſts, our greatneſs, and perhaps even our exiſtence, were entwined in its ſubſtance. He would therefore recommend it to the miniſters to forge bonds of amity for the minds, inſtead of chains for the bodies of the Americans, and flattering himſelf that the preſent moment of uncertainty, with reſpect to the ſucceſs of our arms, would be a right and moſt proper ſeaſon for giving an unaſked and unequivocal mark of cordiality and kindneſs, he would move an amendment to the addreſs; the ſubſtance of the amendment being—"To "requeſt of his Majeſty to adopt "ſome meaſures for accommodating the differences with America; and recommending a ceſſation of all hoſtilities, as neceſſary for the effectuating of ſo deſireable a purpoſe; with an aſſurance, that the Commons "were determined to co-operate "with him in every meaſure that "could contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, and the "drawing ſuch lines as ſhould "afford ſufficient ſecurity to the "terms of pacification."

The motion for the amendment was ſeconded by Lord John Cavendiſh, and ſupported in general by the oppoſition upon the following grounds: That three years war, at an immenſe expence, with 55,000 land forces, and a hundred ſhips of war, had only left us in nearly the ſame ſituation that we begun. We had loſt Boſton, and we gained New York. The loſs of one army was too much to be apprehended; its eſcape indeed, in any manner, and with any loſs, was the utmoſt that could be hoped. If the other army ſhould even ſucceed againſt Philadelphia, what proſpect would that afford of bettering our affairs? On the contrary, was there not every reaſon to apprehend, that ſuch a ſeparation of our forces would be attended with the moſt alarming conſequences, and even endanger the loſs of the whole.

Every hope of obtaining a revenue from America had been long over; the country gentlemen were called upon, to know if any one of them would ſtill avow the entertaining of ſo frantic an idea. Yet in that blind purſuit, the offspring, they ſaid, of folly, ignorance, obſtinacy, and injuſtice, we had already ſquandered above fifteen millions of money, which was finally ſunk, and every ſhilling of it for ever loſt to the nation. If peace were at this moment concluded, they ſaid, without contradiction, that by the time we had brought home and diſbanded our forces, got rid of our German connections, with all the other incumbrances, incident to, or conſequent of the war, we ſhould have increaſed the national debt above thirty millions more than it had been at the commencement of the troubles; which would then far exceed all calculations that had ever been made relative

lative to the ability of the nation, and the degree of burthen which it was capable of supporting.

They obſerved, that the ſpeech did not in any degree look towards peace. Untaught by experience and loſs, it ſhewed an obſtinate determination to perſevere to the laſt in the ſame fatal meaſures, which had already ſunk us to our preſent ſtate of humiliation, misfortune, and diſgrace; that, in a word, it led to an eternity of war; or to ſuch a continuance of it as was only to receive a period, from our not having a ſhilling left to ſupport it longer. That freſh hopes of ſucceſs were continually held out from the throne, and the coming year has conſtantly been announced, as that which ſhould conclude our misfortunes, and fix a period to our inſanity. The ſeaſons are not more conſtant in their ſucceſſion, than the renewal of expectation, and the failure of ſucceſs in every year. Will then, ſaid they, no unremitted ſucceſſion of failures in hopes and promiſes, no repetition of diſappointment, nor ſeries of calamity, prove ſufficient to reſtore us to our reaſon, or to awaken us to a ſenſe of our condition?

The boaſted ſentiments of humanity which had been ſo highly extolled, were ſaid to be very becoming, ſo far as they went, from a Prince to his people; but unfortunately, they were openly and palpably contradicted, as well by every part of the conduct of the miniſters in other matters, as by the requiſitions made in the ſpeech itſelf. They were to judge of their intentions by other teſts, than by the particular profeſſions which they held out at certain ſeaſons for the attainment of certain purpoſes; theſe ſentiments were ſaid to come under that deſcription, and that, in fact, they were intended merely to renew the deception which had been ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed two years before, when both the nation and parliament were amuſed with the hopes then held out, of propoſing a rational ſcheme for an accommodation with the colonies; inſtead of which, they found themſelves laughed at ſeveral months after, when the miniſters had obtained all they wanted under that colour, by the mockery of ſending commiſſioners out to offer pardons to the Americans.

It was ſaid, that the language held out, of the proſperity of the nation, was, excluſive of its being totally unfounded, little leſs than a mockery of its diſtreſs. The riſe of intereſt, the fall of ſtocks, and of real eſtates in their value at market, were political barometers of ſuch a nature as left no room to doubt of their accuracy. If other proofs were wanting, our Gazettes, however defective in other reſpects, preſented long memorials, the authenticity of which would not be doubted, of private calamity ariſing from public misfortune and diſtreſs. Nor were the cauſes incompetent to the effects. The loſs of our vaſt American import and export commerce, was in itſelf ſuch a detraction of national opulence and ſtrength, as muſt have ſeverely and viſibly affected the œconomy of the greateſt and wealthieſt ſtate that ever exiſted. But when to this is added the conſequent ruin brought upon our Weſt-India iſlands and trade; the near annihilation of our African, Mediterranean, and Levant commerce, with the ruin in a great

great degree of our fisheries, the absurdity of supposing that we are thriving under such circumstances, is so obvious as not to merit an answer. We are now in the state of substantial traders suffering great losses in a bad season, who are still enabled to support for a time their former port and appearance, from the property and credit which they had established in better times.

It was asked, whether the destruction of our home trade, by the swarms of American privateers which had during the Summer infested and insulted our coasts; the terror into which the metropolis of Ireland had been thrown, and the fortifying for the first time in all our wars of its harbour; with the consignment to foreigners of the freight of our native commodities, from the incompetency of the British flag to the protection of its own commerce; whether these circumstances were to be adduced merely as evidences of national strength and prosperity, or whether the credit of them was to be applied to the general wisdom of our counsels, and to the particular ability with which the war was conducted? If such are already the consequences of an American contest with our revolted colonies only, what are we to expect when an European war is brought home to our doors by the junction of the whole House of Bourbon with those colonies, whom we now seem incapable of contending with to effect singly? This fatal event, said they, has been long foreseen and repeatedly foretold by the opposition, as the certain result of the folly, injustice, and violence of our counsels, and the infatuated blindness and obstinacy of government. These predictions had been the constant jest of the Ministers, whose ill timed and ill fated ridicule, was confirmed by those standing majorities, who have uniformly supported them in their most ruinous measures; but if there were any deficiency of other confirmations, the verity of these predictions is now established by the speech before us; nor will the unwillingness with which the acknowledgement is made, nor the necessity by which it is extorted, lessen the validity of that testimony.

The House was repeatedly called upon, and exhorted in the most urgent terms, to reflect seriously upon the present critical state of public affairs; that they were involved at this moment in such a situation of difficulty and danger, as they had never before experienced; that it therefore behoved them to act with the greatest circumspection, and by the prudence and wisdom of their present conduct to atone for past errors, and to afford a remedy to their consequent evils, so far as they were yet capable of being cured. And they were warned, not by a blind and precipitate vote, without a single ray of information on public affairs for their guidance, to pass an address, which, besides an approbation of all their past conduct, would afford a sanction to the Ministers for a perseverance in the same destructive measures which had involved us in the present most unhappy situation.

Upon the whole it was said, that they were now, in the language which had been so often used on the other side, to pass, or not to pass the Rubicon; they were to cast

caſt the die, in their preſent reſolution, which was to determine war or peace, ſafety or deſtruction. They were not only to vote war or peace with America, but war or peace with the Houſe of Bourbon. The addreſs, and the amendment, afforded either alternative. A gentleman whoſe powers of eloquence, have been univerſally celebrated, ſupplicated the Houſe in the moſt pathetic terms, to ſeize the preſent happy moment for attempting an accommodation, when neither elated with inſolent victory, nor debaſed with abject defeat; we could with honour to ourſelves make ſuch propoſals to our coloniſts, as they could without diſhonour accept.

On the other ſide the Miniſter ſaid, that he ſuppoſed there was not a ſecond opinion in the nation with reſpect to peace, nor a wiſh that did not tend to its accompliſhment; that no man in or out of the Houſe wiſhed more fervently for that happy event than he did himſelf; that the only difference of opinion which could ariſe, was on the means of attaining that wiſhed-for object; but that the proper moment for chalking out the lines of an accommodation was not yet arrived: that happy moment could only be found in the ſeaſon of victory; the attempt would be as futile, as it would be productive of ridicule, diſgrace and contempt, at any other. He ſeemed tacitly to give up the idea of taxation, by not conſidering it as a bar in the way of accommodation; and objected to a ceſſation of arms, as it would ſeem a direct admiſſion of the American claim of independency; but he ſaid that the Commiſſioners were enabled to grant a ceſſation whenever they deemed it expedient, and that ſuch overtures were made or accepted on the other ſide, as afforded any fair ground for opening a negociation.

To remove the viſible impreſſion which had been made by the language and opinion of a foreign war held out by the oppoſition, he ſaid, that from the information he had been able to collect, there was no reaſon to apprehend ſuch an event. France and Spain held out the language of friendſhip, and he believed they were ſincere. As it was not their intereſt now to quarrel with us, he could not believe that it was their intention. The preſent conteſt exhibited a new and very doubtful caſe. For if America ſhould grow into a ſeparate empire, it muſt of courſe cauſe ſuch a revolution in the political ſyſtem of the world, that a bare apprehenſion of the unknown conſequences which might proceed from ſo untried a ſtate of public affairs, would be ſufficient to ſtagger the reſolution of our moſt determined or enterprizing enemies. It was, however, acknowledged, that ſtrong remonſtrances on our ſide had been neceſſary to obtain explanation or redreſs, at times that the language or conduct of France had appeared unintelligible or equivocal; and that, as only a limited confidence could with prudence be placed on any promiſes whatever in the political intercourſe of nations, and that the two powers in queſtion had thought proper to keep up great armaments in their reſpective ports, he had deemed it prudent to put this country in

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an equal ſtate of defence, and thereby to guard againſt the poſſibility of a ſurprize.

It was further advanced on the ſame ſide, that, independent of arms, there was every reaſon for hoping that the troubles in America would be brought to a happy concluſion; that the great bounties which the Congreſs offered to ſoldiers, was an irrefragable proof of the difficulty which they experienced in endeavouring to recruit their forces; that the hardſhips which the people actually ſuffered at preſent under the deſpotiſm of their tyrants, compared with that mild and happy government which they had withdrawn themſelves from, and under which they had riſen to ſuch a degree of power and greatneſs, had already nearly brought them to a ſenſe of their error, and would ſoon make them ſick of rebellion. That the propoſed amendment, if carried, would only tend to revive and keep up that wild ſpirit of independence, by which the people had ſo long been hurried away from the right uſe of application of their reaſon; and that they could not therefore but conſider themſelves as enemies to their country, were they not to ſtamp a direct negative upon the amendment.

Some others went ſo far as to inſiſt, that the conteſt now, was not whether America ſhould be dependent on the Britiſh legiſlature; but whether Great Britain or America ſhould be independent? Both, they ſaid, could not exiſt in that ſtate together. For ſuch were the ſources of wealth and power in that vaſt continent, from its extent, its products, its ſeas, its rivers, its unparalleled growth in population, and above all, its inexhauſtible fund of naval treaſures; that this ſmall iſland, which had hitherto ſupported its greatneſs by commerce and naval ſuperiority, would be ſo cramped in its own peculiar reſources, and overlayed upon its proper and natural element, that it muſt in a few years ſink to nothing, and perhaps be reduced to that moſt degrading and calamitous of all poſſible ſituations, the becoming a vaſſal to her own rebellious colonies, if they were once permitted to eſtabliſh their independence, and of courſe their power.

Theſe gentlemen laughed at the idea of a ceſſation of arms, which they repreſented as the moſt abſurd that could poſſibly be conceived. How ſaid they, is it to be obtained? Is a herald to be ſent to the rebel camp with the propoſition? If they refuſe to comply with it, how are we to act? Muſt our troops lie upon their arms, and ſuffer themſelves to be beaten and their throats cut, only to give the world a ſpecimen of their forbearance, and ſhew that their paſſive is equal to their active valour? The Congreſs have already refuſed to negociate or treat with our Commiſſioners upon any terms, without a previous and abſolute acknowledgement of their independency. This indeed would cut off at one ſtroke all the matters in conteſt; but then it would leave nothing behind to treat about.

As the oppoſition entered into a rigorous ſcrutiny of the conduct of adminiſtration with reſpect to American meaſures in general, as well as to what related more particularly to the proſecution of the war, the debate was of courſe trained

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from its original ground; ſo that the immediate ſubject of the ſpeech, the addreſs or the amendment, ſeemed to be in ſome degree forgotten or abandoned, during the eagerneſs of charge, and the ſeverity of cenſure on the one ſide, or the ſolicitude of perſonal defence, and the vexation of recurring to a juſtification of paſt meaſures on the other.

In this courſe of ſtricture and cenſure, in which a more than common degree of acuteneſs and aſperity were diſplayed, a gentleman highly celebrated for his ability, and not leſs diſtinguiſhed by his conſtant oppoſition to the Miniſters, than by the ſeverity with which he ſcrutinizes their meaſures, laid a double portion of that general blame and reproach which, he ſaid, was due for our preſent calamitous ſituation, to the ſhare of the noble Lord who preſides at the head of the American department. To his adminiſtration he principally attributed, beſides the moſt ruinous meaſures, and diſgraceful conſequences of the war, the final loſs of our colonies. To him he alſo attributed the inhuman meaſure of employing the ſavages, not, he ſaid, to ſubdue, but to exterminate, a people whom we ſtill pretended to call our ſubjects; a meaſure, which he deſcribed, as a warfare againſt human nature, without its being capable of producing any real military advantage; and calculated merely for the deſtruction of the weak or the peaceable, for the murder of old men, women and children.

It required no leſs than the acknowledged ability of the noble Miniſter, to withſtand the torrent of wit and eloquence, in which theſe charges and cenſures were involved, and in ſome degree to deaden the effect of that brilliance of colouring with which the picture was charged. He entered into a defence of ſeveral parts of his conduct in the American war, in a ſpeech much longer than was uſual from him; and as to the particular charge of employing the Indians, he aſſerted that it was a matter of neceſſity on the part of government; for that the Americans had before tampered with them, and had ſtrained every nerve to induce them to take an active part againſt the royal cauſe; ſo that in this meaſure, which had been deſcribed in ſuch colours of horror, and reprobated with ſuch warmth of indignation, we only ſucceſsfully copied the example which had been ſet, though it failed in the execution, by the immaculate and infallible Congreſs.

The whole weight of debate on that ſide, fell upon the Miniſters themſelves, or upon a very few official men. The country gentlemen were unuſually blank. They ſaw not only an end to all their hopes of obtaining a revenue from America, but they found themſelves ſaddled with the burthen of a war, which in point of expence, proportional to the ſervice or force employed, was infinitely more ruinous than any other in which the nation had ever been involved, without even a remote proſpect of its being brought by any means to a concluſion. For the hope of attaining that end by arms was now pretty well done away, whilſt the unalterable determination of government to continue the war was evident; ſo that the only reſort left for its accompliſhment, muſt

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have been by a direct and total renunciation of all their former profeſſions and principles.

This was a degree of practical philoſophy which could ſcarcely be expected. That party however, thinking it right to perſevere, at leaſt until the fate of the campaign ſhould become more explicit, ſacrificed to its opinion of conſiſtency, by giving their ſilent votes, but nothing more than their ſilent votes to the Miniſter. The motion for the amendment was accordingly rejected by a majority, which was at leaſt, nothing inferior to what had been uſual upon ſuch occaſions, the numbers being 243, to 86 who ſupported the amendment to the addreſs. The debate was renewed in the Houſe on the enſuing day upon bringing up the report from the committee, and a motion made for recommitting the addreſs. The report was however received, and the addreſs confirmed, on a diviſion at 11 o'clock, by a ſtill greater majority than before.

The addreſs in the Houſe of Lords was moved for by Earl Percy, who had lately ſucceeded to that Barony by the death of his mother the Dutcheſs of Northumberland, and the motion was ſeconded by the young Earl of Cheſterfield. An amendment was moved by the Earl of Chatham, which accorded in matter and deſign with that propoſed in the other Houſe, a ceſſation of hoſtilities being recommended as preparatory to the opening of a treaty for the reſtoration of peace in America, and the final ſettlement of the tranquility of thoſe invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy cauſes of this ruinous civil war, and by a juſt and adequate ſecurity againſt a return of the like calamities in times to come. With an aſſurance, that the Lords would chearfully co-operate, in ſuch explicit and moſt ſolemn declarations and proviſions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as might be judged neceſſary for aſcertaining and fixing for ever the reſpective rights of Great Britain and her colonies.

The noble Earl introduced and ſupported his amendment with a ſpeech of conſiderable length, which, notwithſtanding the preſſure of years and infirmities, afforded no equivocal teſtimony of that commanding eloquence, which had once been ſo renowned; and of thoſe great abilities, which ſhone with ſuch luſtre in the days of the proſperity and glory of his country. He, however, experienced, upon this, as upon ſeveral ſucceeding occaſions, a change of condition, which to a man of his high and unconquered ſpirit, who ſtill law freſh in recollection the time, when the fortune of Europe ſeemed to hang upon his voice, and that he appeared the great arbiter of peace or war to mankind, could not fail of being exceedingly mortifying and grievous. His friends obſerved that it was a melancholy proof, that no powers of eloquence or ability can attain their object, nor extent of merit or ſervices preſerve a due weight or regard, any longer than they are connected with and ſupported by power; and they remarked, that it ſeemed to become faſhionable, if not a rule of conduct, with the Court Lords, not only to treat his ſpeeches and propoſitions with an affected indifference, which ſeemed to border

too nearly upon contempt, but to thwart, and endeavour to overbear him on ſmaller matters, in a manner, which in other places, would have probably been conſidered, at leaſt, as captious and petulant.

The noble Earl found great fault, both as to matter and manner, with the ſpeech from the throne. He ſaid, it had been cuſtomary on ſimilar occaſions, not to lead parliament, but to be guided by it; it had been uſual to aſk the advice of that Houſe, the hereditary Great Council of the nation, not to dictate to it. But the preſent ſpeech, ſaid he, tells of meaſures already agreed upon, and very cavalierly deſires your concurrence. It indeed talks of wiſdom and ſupport; and it counts on the certainty of events yet in the womb of time; but in point of plan and deſign it is peremptory and dictatorial. This he inſiſted, was treating them in the moſt contemptuous manner; it was a language not fit to be endured, and for which the Miniſters who adviſed it deſerved the ſevereſt reprehenſion. It was beſides the language of an ill founded confidence, ſupported only by a ſucceſſion of diſappointments, diſgraces, and defeats. It required them to place an unlimited confidence in thoſe, who had hitherto miſguided, deceived, and miſled them; and to grant, not what they might be ſatisfied was neceſſary, but what the Miniſters might think ſo; troops, fleets, treaties, and ſubſidies, not yet revealed. If they ſhould agree to the propoſed addreſs, they ſhould ſtand pledged for all theſe, whatever their extent; they could not retreat; whatever they might be, they muſt ſtand bound to the conſequences.

In ſtating his arguments for the amendment, he aſſerted ſome facts, and predicted the ſame conſequences, which were foreſeen in the Houſe of Commons. He declared, that the Houſe of Bourbon would break with us; that he knew their intentions to be hoſtile; and that the preſent, was the only time, in which parliament or the nation would have it in their power to treat with America. That France and Spain had done a great deal; but they had declined to do all that America deſired. That America was at that time in an ill humour; and might then be detached from her connections with thoſe powers, if reaſonable terms of accommodation were held out to her; but if not, the opportunity would be loſt; an opportunity, which he foretold, we ſhould never again have. And deſcribing the war with its conſequences, in that ſtrong and comprehenſive language, by which he was ſo particularly diſtinguiſhed, after declaring that the plans of the Miniſters were founded in deſtruction and diſgrace, he ſaid further, "It is, my Lords, a ruinous and deſtructive war; it is full of danger; it teems with diſgrace, and muſt end in ruin."

The motion for the amendment was ſupported by nearly all the eloquence and ability on that ſide of the Houſe; moſt of the diſtinguiſhed ſpeakers having taken ſo full and active a ſhare in the debate, as to render it exceedingly intereſting. As the immediate danger of a foreign war, and our inability to ſupport it whilſt we continued involved in our unhappy

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domeſtic conteſt, was one of the ſtrongeſt new grounds of argument taken by the oppoſition; in ſupport of all other and former motives for an accommodation, the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, to obviate any effect founded upon that apprehenſion, drew a moſt flattering repreſentation of our then ſtate of naval force and preparation. That Miniſter is ſaid to have declared, that we had at that inſtant a naval force in readineſs for immediate ſervice, ſuperior to any thing which the whole Houſe of Bourbon could then oppoſe to it; that we were ſo forward in point of preparation, as to inſure to a certainty a continuance of that ſuperiority; that he ſhould be wanting in the diſcharge of his duty if it were otherwiſe; and that happy in giving the preſent information, he wiſhed it to be generally known, that we had nothing to dread from France and Spain, but ſhould be at full liberty to proſecute this war, to a fair, honourable, and happy iſſue.

The noble Lord who moved the amendment, had alſo dwelt long, and with much ſeverity of animadverſion, not only on the war and on its conſequences, but on the mode of carrying it on, by which he ſaid all remains of brotherly love towards us, muſt be eradicated from the boſoms of our countrymen in America. That the tomohawk and the ſcalping knife, were diſgraceful weapons for enforcing Britiſh authority. That the calling on the ſavages, whoſe way of making war is to murder women and children, and to burn their priſoners of war alive by ſlow fires, and then to eat their fleſh, was a ſcandalous proceeding in a civilized and Chriſtian nation. A noble Duke long celebrated in oppoſition, after calling on the right reverend Bench, to aſſiſt in the Chriſtian purpoſe of ſtopping the effuſion of Chriſtian Proteſtant blood, reminded them that their temporal concerns were only a ſecondary object of their ſitting there; that their firſt duty was, by example, mildneſs, and perſwaſion, to ſoften the public deliberations; and particularly in caſes which ſo materially affect the object of all religion, as the morality of actions, and were of ſuch extent as that now under deliberation. That it became a mere jeſt, to retire from that Houſe when a poor criminal was at their bar, becauſe they could not bring themſelves to vote in a caſe of blood, and yet to adviſe the moſt ſanguinary meaſures, in which the lives of thouſands were involved.

To all this the Miniſtry anſwered, that a ſtate of war was as little deſired by them as by the Lords in oppoſition; but that when they were at war, they muſt uſe the inſtruments of war. Much declamation they ſaid had been poured out; and much artifice uſed to ſoften us into a falſe tenderneſs, by dwelling on the uſe of the ſcalping knife and tomohawk; but that the muſquet and the bayonet were far more terrible weapons. If the ſavages deſtroyed more than they were wiſhed to deſtroy, and that women and children fell (contrary to the wiſhes and endeavours of thoſe who employed the ſavages) in the common havock, they alone were to be blamed, who by their unprovoked rebellion firſt brought on the neceſſity of arms, and then by tam-

pering with the ſavages, had thought to ſet the example from which they ſuffered. That it was not, however, of importance, who firſt ſet the example of the employment of that people. They were found in the country, and whoever made war there, muſt have them for friends or enemies. That they had been uſed in the late war between the French and Engliſh indiſcriminately, as each could obtain their aſſiſtance, both having equally endeavoured at it. That the very terror of their mode of making war, renders them the moſt eligible inſtrument for ſpeedily extinguiſhing the rebellion, as it would operate more powerfully on the minds of thoſe who were at a diſtance and yet untouched; and ſince war cannot be made without bloodſhed, it ought to be conſidered as merciful rather than cruel; as it tended to ſhorten the calamities of that dreadful ſtate—and one of the Miniſters concluded with ſaying, that he thought the meaſure perfectly juſt and wiſe; and that the adminiſtration would be highly cenſurable, if, entruſted as they were, with the ſuppreſſion of ſo unnatural a rebellion, they had not uſed all the means which God and nature had put into their hands.

The whole of theſe arguments, but particularly the laſt expreſſion, rekindled the flame of Lord Chatham's eloquence; and he had been ſeldom known ſo brilliant as in the ſevere animadverſions he made on the hypotheſis of the noble Lord, that the indiſcriminate ſlaughter of men, women and children, and the torturing and devouring of captives, were the means of war furniſhed by God and nature; which notions, he ſaid, ſtanding ſo near the throne, muſt pollute the ear of Majeſty.

In this manner, and with vehement altercations, the whole conduct and principle of the war, and of the oppoſition to it, was torn to pieces. The queſtion being at length put towards eleven at night, the amendment was rejected by a majority of 97, including 13 proxies, to 28 Lords who ſupported the motion. The main queſtion on the addreſs being then put, was carried without a diviſion. A ſhort proteſt was entered by the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Effingham, which contained their diſſent only in theſe words——"Becauſe this addreſs is a repetition of, or rather an improvement on, the fulſome adulation offered, and the blind engagements entered into on former occaſions by this Houſe, relative to this unhappy civil war."

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Parliamentary enquiries into the ſtate of public affairs, adopted by the Oppoſition in both Houſes. Motion for 60,000 ſeamen. Animadverſions on the ſtate of the navy. Debates on the motion for a new bill, to continue the powers granted by the former, for the ſuſpenſion in certain caſes of the Habeas Corpus Law. Progreſs of the bill. Debates on the motion for four ſhillings in the pound, land tax. Motion by Mr. Fox for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation. Subſequent motions. Motion for certain papers, after long debates rejected upon a diviſion. Circumſtances attending the diſcloſure of the unhappy event at Saratoga. Debates upon the magnitude of the ſum granted in the committee of ſupply for the ordnance ſervice. Motion by Colonel Barre for papers, rejected. Mr. Hartley's motions relative to the American war, rejected. Motion by Mr. Wilkes for the repeal of the declaratory law, rejected upon a diviſion. Great debates upon the motion of adjournment. Amendment moved by Mr. Burke. Original motion carried upon a diviſion by a great majority. Tranſactions in the Houſe of Lords, ſimilar to thoſe of the Commons. Duke of Richmond's motion for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, agreed to. Lord Chatham's motion for the orders and inſtructions to General Burgoyne, after conſiderable debates, rejected upon a diviſion. Debates upon a ſecond motion by the ſame noble Lord, relative to the employment of the ſavages in the American war. Motion rejected on a diviſion. Debates upon the queſtion of adjournment. Motion carried upon a diviſion.

FROM this time to the receſs, and indeed during the greater part of the ſeſſion, enquiry into the conduct of public affairs, whether particular or general, became the great object of oppoſition in both Houſes. Neither the highly pleaſing repreſentation of the ſtate of our Navy, both in point of immediate effect, and forwardneſs of preparation for future ſervice, which had been laid before the Lords, nor the further confirmation of that ſtate, which was given by the board of Admiralty in the Houſe of Commons, were in any degree capable of curing the infidelity of thoſe, who either, from what they ſtated as direct information, or for other reaſons, held a ſtrong and determined opinion, that the navy was ſhamefully and dangerouſly deficient in both reſpects.

Indeed that favourable repreſentation produced effects, very different from what were probably wiſhed or expected: for inſtead of removing doubt, or ſilencing enquiry, it increaſed the one, and added a ſpur to the other. At the ſame time it involved the Admiralty in a kind of dilemma, which it was not eaſy to get clear of. For if our navy was in that powerful and flouriſhing ſtate which had been deſcribed, it was not eaſy to aſſign any colourable reaſon for concealment; and to oppoſe with a good grace enquiries, tending

to the eſtabliſhment and promulgation of a fact, which it was our intereſt that all mankind ſhould be acquainted with; and which would hold out the only effectual bar to reſtrain the deſigns of our enemies, if they intended to profit of our inteſtine troubles.

The unhappy news which arrived from America, opened alſo an ample field for enquiry, as well with reſpect to the plans and ſcheme of the war framed at home, as to the conduct and means which were uſed for their accompliſhment abroad. It ſeemed neceſſary to know, whether the failure of ſucceſs lay with the deſign or the execution; or if with neither, but proceeding merely from ſuch inherent obſtacles as it was impoſſible to ſurmount, to deviſe the ſpeedieſt meaſures, with the leaſt poſſible loſs or diſhonour, for withdrawing from ſo unfortunate and ruinous a purſuit.

Nov. 26th. Upon a motion in the committee of ſupply, that 60,000 ſeamen ſhould be voted for the ſea ſervice of the enſuing year, 1778, as the Commiſſioner of the Admiralty who made the motion, was, in purſuance of a call upon him for that purpoſe, entering into ſome detail of the diſpoſition and ſtate of the navy, ſo far as related to the ſhips upon ſervice abroad, and in commiſſion at home, the firſt law officer of the crown in that Houſe, excited ſome ſurprize, by objecting to his proceeding in that official explanation of matters appertaining to his own department, and immediately relative to the queſtion before them, although it had been freely entered into as ſoon as it was propoſed by the Lord of the Admiralty, and who ſeemed naturally to be the competent judge of its propriety. The learned gentleman contended, that the diſcloſure of particular ſtrength or weakneſs which ſuch a detail muſt afford to our enemies, would be equally improper and pernicious; that if any hoſtile intentions were entertained, it would be in fact, pointing out and inſtructing them, where and in what manner to direct their operations; that ſecrecy was the very life and ſpirit of all military enterprize; that the diſcloſure of ſuch ſecrets to enemies, would be an act of the moſt unparalleled inſanity; and that the honourable gentleman muſt undoubtedly have miſtaken the nature of the queſtion, when he indicated a diſpoſition to an official compliance.

Such a check upon information, from ſo unexpected a quarter, and to which the matter ſeemed ſo entirely foreign, brought out much ſevere obſervation on the other ſide, and gradually extended the debate to a great variety of matter. They ſaid, that to refuſe official information relative to the ſtate and ſtrength of the navy, at a time that ſo vaſt a demand was made upon them for its ſupport, was a procedure contrary to the known rules and uſages of parliament; that they had a right to know, as well what they were voting for, as what they were voting; and that they truſted, however compliant the Houſe had been upon every matter relative to the American war, they would not endure ſuch a refuſal without proper animadverſion.

They ſaid that the French were well acquainted both with the

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ſtate and diſtribution of our naval force; but that foreigners, whether hoſtile or friendly, were no objects of concealment with the Miniſters; they were not ſo totally ignorant of themſelves, and of the nothingneſs of their counſels in reſpect to other nations, not to know that they were incapable of producing any ſecrets, which could be worth the ſmalleſt purchaſe to an enemy. It was parliament, and parliament only, that the wretched policy, the concealments and ſecrets of the Miniſters reached to. If they could withhold all means of information from the repreſentatives of the people, and from the hereditary guardians of the nation, and thus lead them in the dark, from one ſcene of public error, deluſion, and impoſition to another, as they had hitherto ſucceſsfully practiſed from the commencement of the American conteſt, their deſigns were accompliſhed, and they arrived at the ſummit of all their wiſhes. Their ſyſtem of ſecrecy went no further. It might be retailed in foreign and domeſtic gazettes, without giving them the ſmalleſt uneaſineſs, provided that it were withheld from parliament, or that a majority would accept the terms *official information*, and *ſecrets of government*, as a bar to every ſpecies of information and enquiry, and a plea for the moſt obſtinate blindneſs, and unpardonable ignorance.

They concluded, that there could not be a ſtronger evidence of the bad condition of the navy, and of the miſapplication of the vaſt and unuſual ſums of money, which had of late years been granted for its ſupport and increaſe, than that dread which the Miniſters conſtantly ſhewed, of all enquiry into its real ſtate. If it had been in that which they pretended, they would have been as eager to particularize and diſplay its ſtrength, as they are now ſtudious to keep every thing relative to it in darkneſs. And with great reaſon, ſaid they, for beſides the honour which it would do to themſelves as Miniſters, and the love and gratitude with which it would inſpire their country; it would afford the beſt ſecurity which they could poſſibly obtain, for the good faith and pacific conduct of the Houſe of Bourbon. They would then have no occaſion to tremble at the thoughts of a war, nor to degrade under that apprehenſion, as they have done for ſeveral years, the Majeſty of this country, by crouching to every inſult, indignity, and real injury, offered by foreign nations.

On the other ſide, ſome gentlemen did not think that ſuch enquiries were parliamentary. Others did not recollect that details of the ſort had been uſually entered into upon ſimilar occaſions. Thoſe who particularly defended the Admiralty ſaid, that they wiſhed for nothing more than to lay open a true ſtate of the navy, in every particular, to the whole world. That its formidable condition would ſtrike terror in foreign nations; it would put domeſtick faction to ſhame, and give real comfort to every well wiſher to his country. But if it once came to be a practice to lay theſe matters before the public when it was thought expedient to make a diſplay of our ſtrength, there may be times, when a prudent conceal-

ment, would be argued as a proof of weakneſs. It was in contemplation of ſuch future occaſions, and as a general principle of policy, and not from a conſciouſneſs of any preſent defect, that the ſtate of the navy was wiſhed to be held back from parliamentary inſpection. The Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, however, being very cloſely preſſed, at length conſented to enter into the detail under certain modifications.

A ſtatement of the navy being accordingly given, ſeveral of its parts were controverted, and ſome ſaid to be in a great degree unfounded. The aſſertion of the firſt Lord in the other Houſe, and which was confirmed by his colleagues in this, that we had 35 ſhips of the line for home defence, fully manned, and fit for immediate ſervice, beſides ſeven more, which only wanted ſuch a number of their complement of men, as might be ſupplied with the greateſt eaſe and expedition, was contradicted in the moſt expreſs and unqualified terms. Indeed that aſſertion had the fortune to experience the ſame fate in the other Houſe; and it was ſtrongly inſiſted upon in both, from what was ſaid to be undoubted information, that our whole force in condition for immediate ſervice on the home defence, did not at moſt exceed 20 ſail of the line.

Theſe ſtrong charges on the one ſide, were combated by aſſertions equally ſtrong on the other. It was inſiſted by the Commiſſioners, that the Britiſh navy had never been in a more reſpectable or flouriſhing ſtate than at preſent; and that whether it was conſidered with relation to immediate ſervice, or preparation for future, it was in either reſpect, far ſuperior to the united maritime force of the Houſe of Bourbon.

Some few of the oppoſition objected to the motion for 60,000 ſeamen, merely as tending to the ſupport of a war, the principle and object of which they deteſted, and which they ſaid could never be brought to a concluſion, under the inability with which it was conducted. Others objected to the enormity of the ſupply, at a time when we were at peace with all the world, excepting only the trouble we had in chaſtiſing a few of thoſe ragged mobs in our own colonies, who had ſo long been the objects of our contempt and ridicule. They obſerved, that when the famous French armament was deſtroyed at La Hogue, we employed, but little more than half the number of ſeamen which was now required. That, in the glorious year 1759, the naval eſtabliſhment did not exceed by a ſingle man the number which was now demanded; and the whole expence, including naval ordnance, ſtores, and a large debt of a million, amounted only to 5,200,000l. though the peace eſtabliſhment for the year 1778, will exceed five millions. And that if France could thus ruin us by an inſupportable expence under the name and deluſive appearance of peace, any ſtate of war would be preferable to ſuch a condition.

As a conviction of the neceſſity of a ſtrong naval protection was much ſuperior on all ſides, to any confidence repoſed in the good diſpoſition which the Miniſters attributed to foreign powers, the reſolution for 60,000 ſeamen was accordingly

accordingly agreed to in the committee without any diviſion.

Upon receiving the report next day from the committee, thoſe gentlemen who had more particularly and directly attacked the Admiralty Board on the ſcore of its conduct, having now obtained ſome freſh information as to facts, renewed their charges with a degree of vehemence, which brought on much heat and perſonal aſperity on both ſides. The report being however received and paſſed without a diviſion, Mr. Luttrel, in order to ſupport his charges, moved that the laſt weekly returns received at the Admiralty, from the commanders in chief at the home ports and ſtations, ſhould be laid before the Houſe. This was at firſt oppoſed, on the old ground of affording improper intelligence to our enemies; but it being perceivable, that the ſenſe of the Houſe, with which the Miniſter alſo coincided, ſeemed to lean to the other ſide, the Lords of the Admiralty at length acquieſced, and the motion was agreed to.

The bill of the preceding ſeſſion for the ſuſpenſion in certain caſes of the Habeas Corpus law being now near expiring, the Attorney General, premiſing that the ſame cauſe ſtill continued, namely the rebellion in America, which had at firſt rendered that meaſure neceſſary, moved for leave to bring in a bill to renew the powers of the former during a certain limited term.

26th.

This revival of an act which they had originally deemed ſo obnoxious, renewed the activity of ſome of the gentlemen in oppoſition, who contended that it was firſt neceſſary to know what effect the former bill had produced, before they conſented to a renewal of its powers. Upon this ground Mr. Baker moved for and carried an addreſs, requiring a correct return and full deſcription of all the priſoners, with an account of the priſons, whether in Great Britain or America, in which they were confined, together with copies of their ſeveral commitments, an account of the bail offered for their enlargement, and all other proceedings whatever of the privy council, in conſequence of the powers veſted in them by the late bill, to be laid before the Houſe. This motion was afterwards amended and enlarged by the ſame gentleman, ſo as to include all perſons who had been taken up for high treaſon, from the day after the battle of Lexington, being the 18th of April, 1775, to the date of the late act.

The new ground taken on that ſide, in the different debates that aroſe during the progreſs of the bill, was, that as the paſt act had produced no manner of effect, and of courſe could have remedied no evil, it was evidently uſeleſs in the firſt inſtance, and conſequently unneceſſary by a renewal in the ſecond; that the tampering wantonly with a matter of ſo much conſequence to the people, as the ſuſpenſion of any part of a law, the full operation of which was their only ſecurity for life and liberty, and that without any plea of neceſſity, or even room now left for the pretence of utility, was a proceeding of a moſt dangerous nature.

With reſpect to the operation of the bill on the American priſoners of war, the conduct of adminiſtra-

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tion was ſaid to be in the higheſt degree inconſiſtent. Our Generals on the other ſide of the Atlantic have eſtabliſhed a public cartel, ſuch as is agreed to with an alien enemy, for the exchange of priſoners with the coloniſts. In Europe, the conduct is totally reverſed. His Majeſty's Miniſter at the court of France, when a propoſal is made to him by the American delegates there, to leſſen the miſeries of war, on this, as well as the other ſide of the Atlantic, by the eſtabliſhment of a ſimilar cartel, anſwers them in lofty terms, that he receives no applications from rebels, excepting they come to implore for mercy. The anſwer was undoubtedly ſpirited, and becoming the repreſentative of a great nation; but where is the conſiſtency on the ſide of the miniſters?

On the other ſide it was argued, that the ſame cauſes ſtill continued, which had rendered the original bill neceſſary. That the matter ſhould be conſidered in a much more favourable light than that in which it was repreſented. The bill was inſtituted, not ſo much to puniſh, as to prevent rebellion. Nothing could more clearly ſhew the excellency of its deſign and effect, than the very reaſons which were brought to prove its being unneceſſary, from the little ſcope that had been afforded for its operation. If ſcarcely any perſons had ſuffered confinement or inconveniency from the powers which it lodged in the crown, it only ſhewed that thoſe crimes had not been committed, to the prevention of which they were directed. That there was no room to doubt, but the terrors held out by the former bill, had awed numbers of diſaffected people into obedience and fidelity, and thereby ſhut the door againſt domeſtic rebellion; that as it had thus in its paſt operation prevented the commiſſion of numberleſs crimes, and the hard but neceſſary exerciſe of juſtice in their conſequent puniſhments, there was no reaſon to doubt but it would produce the ſame happy effects in its future; and that it was the characteriſtic of good government to provide in the firſt inſtance for the prevention, not the puniſhment of crimes.

This avowal of ſuſpending the liberty of the ſubject, and adminiſtering terror, like Prior's phyſick, "*by way of prevention*," rouzed all the ſpirit and ability of one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders of oppoſition in that houſe. He obſerved, that the ſame arguments might hold good to eternity, and the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus law be continued upon that ground to the end of time; that if that mode of reaſoning ſhould prevail in the houſe, the fence of liberty might be cut down, and Britons be at once deprived of their moſt valuable privileges; the ſame cauſe for which the bill is paſſed in this ſeſſion, will hold equally good in the next, and in every other. The land-tax, ſaid he, was introduced as a temporary revenue, and through that means granted by the Houſe; the army was at firſt voted for one year only; but now your army is a ſtanding army; your land-tax is a ſtanding revenue to maintain this ſtanding army; and this ſuſpenſion may be conſidered, like them, as a ſtanding meaſure of government, and thus conſequently become an eternal ſuſpenſion

ſion and deſtruction of the Habeas Corpus law.

The miniſters denied the concluſions drawn by this gentleman to be in any degree fairly deducible from the premiſes, and totally diſclaimed, on their own ſide, any deſigns inimical to the liberties of the people, or intention of continuing the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, any longer than the particular circumſtances of the times rendered the meaſure neceſſary, and that its utility continued evident.

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition in point of argument which this bill encountered, it was carried through without a diviſion until the laſt reading, which happened on the 4th of December, when it was paſſed by a majority of 116 to 60.

28th. On a motion in the Committee of Ways and Means, for granting a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, it was obſerved, on the ſide of oppoſition, that in all this diſpoſal of the public money, not a ſingle country gentleman had riſen to ſpeak of peace, or to complain of the war, That their ſupineneſs, or their acquieſcence, deſerved the ſevereſt reprehenſion. If they were aſleep to the diſtreſſes of their country, they ought to be awakened; if they were ignorant, they ought to be informed; or if they were merely indolent, they ſhould be rouzed. In purſuing this train of obſervation, the gentleman entered into ſome detail of the hitherto nearly unparalleled expences of the war, and of the ſtill greater, which they were to provide for in the enſuing year. In contraſt to theſe effects of the war, he enquired into the ſtate of expectation with which it was attended. Were we to be relieved by conqueſt from this burden of taxation? By no means, there is no conqueſt aimed at; our adminiſtrators ſay, that the drawing of a revenue from the colonies by that means is not the object of the conteſt, and they acknowledge that if it were, the Americans would not be able to bring any revenue into our exchequer. Thus, ſaid he, we are irrecoverably ruining ourſelves, merely upon a punctilio of honour, only to have it to ſay that we exceeded the Americans in obſtinacy, and that in an abſurd and unjuſt conteſt, commenced and forced into being by ourſelves, we nobly perſevered in violence and injuſtice, until, at the expence of abſolute deſtruction to both parties, we may have the glory of compelling our colonies to acknowledge the wiſdom, policy, and equity of our proceedings.

This attack called up two gentlemen, who are more particularly, or avowedly, attached to the court, than others of that party. They entered upon the old queſtion of the right of taxation; ſaid, we were contending for a right, which, if relinquiſhed in the manner that was propoſed and wiſhed on the other ſide, would terminate in the loſs of America, and the conſequent ruin of this country. That a right eſtabliſhed, and not exerciſed, was in fact no right. And that, as we were heavily taxed ourſelves, it was but reaſonable, that when we had compelled the colonies to return to their duty, they ſhould contribute in common with the reſt of their fellow ſubjects to the ſupport of that government,

ment of whose protection they were to be equally partakers. That if we were now tamely to give them up to their own madneſs, we ſhould do them the greateſt of all injuries; we ſhould deprive them of the benefit of the beſt conſtitution in the world. A tame dereliction of the rights of that conſtitution would deſtroy the beſt hold we had upon their affections, and juſtly forfeit all their confidence.

The ſecond of theſe gentlemen charged the whole American war, with all its conſequences and misfortunes, to the oppoſition made to government in this country, both within doors and without; and then recurring to his ground of debate, and borrowing the ideas and phraſeology of a great law Lord in the other Houſe, ſaid, that the queſtion now was, whether the Americans ſhould kill us, or we kill them; ſo that we were acting entirely at preſent upon the defenſive.

A gentleman on the other ſide, after obſerving that he conſidered what had fallen from the two laſt ſpeakers as the ſentiments of their party, ſaid, he would, upon their own ground, propoſe two queſtions as a teſt to adminiſtration, and a third to thoſe who were conſidered as their principal ſupporters in the preſent meaſures, viz. Would any miniſter ſtand up in his place, and venture to fix a time for the termination of the preſent conteſt, that is, when the right now ſo warmly contended for will be eſtabliſhed? Will any miniſter ſay, that upon a ſuppoſition of the greateſt ſucceſs on our part, and the moſt thorough reconciliation or ſubmiſſion on the other, we are to expect a revenue from America? If then, ſaid he, neither a period is pretended to be fixed to the preſent waſte of blood and waſte of treaſure; and though it could, if no revenue, either to replace the immenſe ſums we have already ſpent, or the more enormous expence which we are likely to incur, I wiſh to know from any of thoſe, who with an unlimited attachment to every court meaſure, chooſe to call themſelves country gentlemen, how they can juſtify, even on their own ground, to themſelves, or to their conſtituents, the perſiſting in meaſures, which do not promiſe the attainment of a ſingle object for which they oſtenſibly give them their ſupport.

A gentleman who repreſents the moſt extenſive landed property, and the moſt numerous body of freeholders, under any collective deſcription in the kingdom, after placing, with his uſual refinement, the oſtenſive motives to the war in ſeveral ludicrous points of view, and adding to thoſe already avowed, that it was perſevered in merely to gain the confidence of the Americans, and that we were to beat them only to ſecure their affections; farther obſerved, that there had been more money already expended in this ruinous purſuit, from the concluſion of which the ſmalleſt benefit was not even expected, than would ſerve to have purchaſed, incloſed, cleared, manured, cultivated, ſown, and planted, all the waſte lands in Britain;—more than would have converted all the heaths, hills, and waſtes in the kingdom into gardens. Such he ſaid were the motives, and ſuch the effects of this war; and ſuch the ground upon which

which they were called to grant the preſent ſupply.

Theſe diſputes gave riſe to an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation. It was ſaid, that it was in vain to waſte time in general declamation upon a ſubject which could only be determined by an exact deduction of particulars. The great queſtion of the propriety of carrying on this American war, could only be ſettled by a view of the experience we have had; and a calculation of the means which remain to the nation for the attainment of this favourite object. On theſe grounds Mr. Fox

Dec. 2d. having moved for a committee of the whole houſe to conſider of the ſtate of the nation, gave a ſhort ſketch of the matters which he propoſed to lay before them as the principal objects of their conſideration, under the following heads;—1ſt, The expences of the war, and the reſources which the nation poſſeſſed, to raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for its continuance;—2dly, The loſs of men from that war;—3dly, The ſituation of trade, both with reſpect to America and the foreign markets;—4thly, The preſent ſituation of the war; the hopes that might be rightly entertained from its continuance; the conduct and meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration; the means of obtaining a laſting peace, and our preſent ſituation with regard to foreign powers;—5thly, What progreſs the commiſſioners had made, in conſequence of the powers with which they were entruſted, for the purpoſe of bringing about a peace between Great Britain and her colonies.

Under theſe general heads, he obſerved, that many other enquiries would ariſe, and it would be the buſineſs of the committee to follow every path that tended to lead to a thorough inveſtigation and diſcovery of the ſtate of the nation. If it ſhould appear, ſaid he, that the nation is in a bad ſtate, and that the late and preſent meaſures of adminiſtration had reduced us to an extremity of danger, which he was afraid they certainly had, a new ſyſtem muſt be introduced, and a new ſet of miniſters appointed; but if, on the contrary, the nation ſhould be found in a flouriſhing ſtate, and the preſent meaſures likely to prove ſucceſsful, the preſent ſyſtem ſhould by all means be continued, and the preſent miniſters remain in power; for he was convinced that none but the preſent miniſters, would proſecute the preſent ſyſtem.

The miniſter agreed to the motion with great appearance of cordiality, and ſaid he would do every thing in his power to ſecond the deſign of the mover, and to promote the great end which he had in view. That nothing could render him more happy, than an opportunity of convincing the Houſe, that the nation was in a much more flouriſhing ſtate, than many of the other ſide either actually did, or affected to believe it. He, however, reſerved to himſelf the right of withholding any ſuch papers from the Houſe, as it might be inconvenient, dangerous, or prejudicial to government to expoſe.

Mr. Fox followed his motion with ſeveral others—For, An account of all the troops foreign and

domeſtic,

domeſtic, that had been employed ſince the year 1774;—Liſts of all the ſhips of war that had been employed in that time, and of thoſe that had been loſt, taken, or deſtroyed, with exact returns of the men that had been killed or taken priſoners.—The laſt general returns of all the hoſpitals in North America;—Copies of the laſt returns of the troops in Great Britain, Ireland, North America, and the Weſt Indies;—With liſts of the ſhips of war employed as convoys to protect the trade of this country.—And in order to afford time for procuring the papers, liſts, and accounts required, as well as for their being ſeparately examined, and their matter duly weighed by the members, he propoſed that the meeting of the committee ſhould be fixed for the 2d of February.

All theſe motions having paſſed without oppoſition, he moved for an addreſs to lay before them copies of all ſuch papers as related to any ſteps taken for the fulfilling of that clauſe of the prohibitory act of the 16th of his preſent Majeſty, by which perſons appointed and authorized by him, for certain purpoſes therein ſpecified, were empowered, under certain conditions, to declare any colony, province, diſtrict, port, or place, to be at the peace of his Majeſty; and alſo, for returns of thoſe colonies, or places, which had, in conformity with their compliance to the propoſed conditions, and purſuant to the powers of the ſaid act, been declared to be at the King's peace.

This motion put an end to the acquieſcence of the Miniſter, who oppoſed it ſtrongly, upon the ground that the producing and expoſing of any papers relating to a negociation during its exiſtence, would be a proceeding not only contrary to all eſtabliſhed forms and practice, but totally ſubverſive of the buſineſs in hand, and probably attended with the greateſt prejudice to the cauſe in general. He declared himſelf ready and willing to grant every reaſonable information in his power; but he alſo declared, that he neither could nor would conſent to make diſcoveries, which would not be leſs inconſiſtent with all ſound wiſdom and true policy, than prejudicial to government, and contrary to the real intereſts of this country.

This refuſal called up all the powers of debate on both ſides. It was further urged in oppoſition to the motion, that negociations with rebels in arms, could not be entered into with the people at large, but muſt be privately conducted with ſelect bodies of men, perhaps with individuals, and the greateſt ſecrecy obſerved in the whole tranſaction, as any diſcovery might draw the vengeance of thoſe who held different principles, upon ſuch particular bodies or individuals. But that, in truth, they did not know that any negociation had been entered into. It was impoſſible that any treaty of conciliation could be opened with rebels in arms ſtanding up for independence. The very act would be an acknowledgement of their independence.

Theſe reaſons were very lightly treated on the other ſide. The only injury, they ſaid, which could poſſibly ariſe from the motion, and indeed the only that was apprehended, was to the miniſters themſelves, by a diſcloſure of their conduct to parliament. The Ameri-

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cans were thoroughly informed on the ſpot, and in the firſt inſtance, of every particular relative to the ſubject. They were not themſelves ſeeking to pry into ſecrets of ſtate, or to diſcover the private intelligence, which government, by political means, might receive from particular perſons. The motion went only to public tranſactions, with public perſons or bodies of people, in their public capacity. No others could be enabled to give efficacy to any negociation or treaty.

It was, they ſaid, merely a parliamentary enquiry into the reſult of a parliamentary act. The commiſſion to Lord and Sir William Howe was the conſequence of an act which originated with them; and it was not only a propriety, but a duty, to examine into thoſe tranſactions which had followed their appointment. Some parts of the ſubject were already publickly known, and diſcloſed ſo much of the matter as was ſufficient to ſhew that the enquiry was not only proper, but neceſſary. It appears by theſe, ſaid they, that neither New York, Long Iſland, Staten Iſland, or any other territory we have gained poſſeſſion of in America, have as yet been reſtored to the King's peace. It is alſo known, that Governor Tryon has written to General Sir William Howe, one of the commiſſioners, for the purpoſe of reſtoring New York to that ſecurity and benefit; but that the General returned for anſwer, that it was not in his power to do any thing in the buſineſs, without the concurrence of the noble Lord who preſided in the American department. This was accordingly a matter which came of courſe within the care and inveſtigation of the committee; they were to enquire how far the meaſures purſued by the miniſters at home, and by the commiſſioners abroad, tended to fulfil the intentions of the Houſe; and whether any part of the failure in effect lay with the one or the other.

Whilſt the debate, notwithſtanding the frequent calls for the queſtion on the ſide of the majority, was yet kept up in full heat and vigour, and that the firſt law officer of the crown was in the midſt of a ſpeech, wherein he was with the greateſt ability ſtating the ill policy which it would be in the miniſters, and the danger with which it would be attended to the ſtate, to diſcloſe information of ſuch importance at this critical period of time, intelligence was received from the other houſe, that the ſame motion had been made by the Duke of Grafton, and was agreed to by the Lords in adminiſtration.

Nothing could exceed the embarraſſment into which the miniſters were thrown upon this unexpected intelligence. Nor did the oppoſition miſs the opportunity of improving it. Wit, ridicule, and the moſt pointed obſervation, being alternately applied to ſupport the advantage which it afforded. The Miniſter was rallied on the awkwardneſs of his ſituation, and the ſtrange dilemma in which he was involved, of either recording by a reſolution of the Houſe, that the Commons of England were not worthy of being entruſted with ſecrets which were freely communicated to the Lords, or of being under a neceſſity to intreat a large part of thoſe numerous friends and

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supporters, who had so long carried him triumphantly through all opposition, to abandon their colours upon this occasion, and unwillingly to leave their leader to undergo the disgrace of voting in a cabinet minority. The Minister was humourously advised, as the only means of extricating himself from that dilemma, and as affording the only salvo in his power for the indignity offered to that house, to impeach those ministers, who in defiance of that wisdom and sound policy, which he had just laid down as the motives for his refusal, had dared to betray the King's secrets to the House of Lords; a measure of justice, in which the opposition assured him of their most hearty support.

But they entered with more seriousness and severity into the contemptuousness of the treatment, and said, that to grant a motion for papers to be laid before one house, and refuse it to another, was such an indignity as it was hoped no British house of commons would ever submit to. The majority were called upon to consider the manner in which they were treated; they were held unworthy to be trusted with a secret; they were told it would be fatal to trust them; and yet this mighty secret was thrown upon an open table in another place, from whence the news-papers would entrust all those with it, in whatever quarter of the world, who were only capable of reading English. Was this a treatment, they said, for free men, and the representatives of free men to bear? They are not to be trusted; they must not know secrets; their superiors might search into the state of the nation, but they were either too insignificant to be consulted, or too dangerous to be trusted. They were desired to reflect on the importance of the situation in which they were placed; on their responsibility to that great body of free and independent electors, to whom they owed their political existence; and to bear in mind the regard due to their own honour, whether as men, or as members of a British parliament.

The Minister felt himself so goaded on all sides, and the attacks were rendered so extremely vexatious by the diversity of manner with which they were conducted, that he could not refrain from growing warm, and seemed for a short time to be surprized out of his usual good humour. He said, that whatever effect the present anecdote might have upon the House at large, he should, for his own part, adhere to his former opinion. He could not indeed bring himself to believe, that an unauthenticated anecdote could possibly produce any change in their sentiments. He reprobated in terms of great asperity, and condemned as exceedingly disorderly, the introducing of any thing that passed in the other House, with a view of influencing the determinations of that. What the other had done, or might do, was, nothing, he said, to them. The House of Commons were not to be guided in their deliberations by any extrinsic consideration whatever; much less by the act or conduct of any other body. If they should submit to any influence or direction of that sort, it would be, indeed, a dereliction of their importance and dignity. But they never

never had, and he trusted they never would. He concluded, that the King's servants in the other house were certainly entrusted with the secrets of government, and were competent judges for themselves, of what ought, and what ought not to be disclosed. That he also, having the same right of judging for himself, held his first opinion, that the motion was of an extent which neither wisdom nor sound policy could agree with; and that it was dangerous and unprecedented to give such papers to the public as were now demanded, pending a negociation.

The debate, as usual, wandered over a great part of the American affairs; but the ground, however wide in extent, had been already so frequently traversed, that it could not afford much novelty. A federal commercial union was talked of by some as the only hope now left with regard to America. Others still thought, that an accommodation was not yet impossible. That if proposals really amicable, accompanied by equally good dispositions, were made; and that these were supported by that unfeigned sincerity, that fairness of design and openness of conduct, which can alone restore confidence, and which would even in some degree regain affection, the Americans might still be induced to coalesce with this country in such a degree of union, as, along with securing all their own rights, might preserve to her a monopoly of their trade; the only advantage which in justice or wisdom, they insisted, that Great Britain should ever have sought from her colonies. But to the want of those dispositions, of that sincerity, fairness, and openness, they attributed the failure in every scheme of accommodation which had been hitherto adopted.

A renewal of the severe censures, which the mover of the present motion had in a late debate passed upon the conduct of the noble Lord at the head of the American department, and which now seemed to be directed with new fervour, called that Minister again to enter into some defence or justification of his measures. In the warmth incident to such a situation, the noble Minister was led or surprized into an acknowledgement, that notwithstanding the great power and vast resources of this country, the bravery of our fleets and armies, and the ability of our officers, he began to despair of the practicability of reducing the Americans to obedience by force of arms, if they should continue to preserve their union entire.

He also acknowledged, that he had great reason to doubt the validity of much of the information which he had received from that quarter; but insisted, that his measures would be found perfectly justifiable, when candidly compared with the information on which they were founded; and that it would appear, they must necessarily have been crowned with success if that had been true. He, notwithstanding these acknowledgements, persisted in his opinion, as to the propriety of continuing the war, and of the most decisive exertion in its prosecution; reprobated the idea of a federal union with rebels; declared America to be nearly ruined, and suffering under every species of human misery and calamity; and, building much upon

the diſunion of the ſeveral colonies, as well as of the people in each, and on the accounts, which, though not ſufficiently authenticated, he had reaſon to believe to be true, of the great ſucceſſes of Sir William Howe, he ſtill entertained an expectation, that if means were deviſed to prevent the ſecret aſſiſtance which they received from ſome of the European powers, the Americans might ſtill be compelled to return to their duty.

This unexpected acknowledgement of matters which had been ſo often urged on the other ſide, to ſhew the impolicy of the conteſt in its origin, with the hopeleſſneſs of ſucceſs, and the ruinous conſequences of the purſuit, coming from ſuch a quarter, ſeemed at once a dereliction of all the ſtrong ground of argument, and to afford the moſt incontrovertible evidence of the wiſdom and neceſſity of bringing the troubles to that ſpeedy concluſion, which was ſo much contended for on the other ſide.

In taking this ground, the oppoſition animadverted on the ſuppoſed incongruity of ſeveral parts of his lordſhip's ſpeech and concluſions. He acknowledges, ſaid they, the impracticability of ſubduing the colonies if they continue united; he does not pretend that he is certain that they are not united; and yet he urges the proſecution of the war, although, upon his own ſtate of the queſtion, there is not the ſmalleſt hope of ſucceſs. They inſiſted, that it was not yet too late for an accommodation, founded upon clear, permanent, and conſtitutional principles, which, though not affording all the advantages we enjoyed, before they were ſcattered by our folly and injuſtice, would ſtill be of the greateſt utility to this country. But that if the miniſters perſiſted any longer in their ſyſtem of devaſtation and carnage, and placed their truſt of ſubduing minds and affections in the tomohawk and ſcalping knife, there could be no doubt but the temper and minds of the Americans would become ſo ſoured and alienated, by repeated cruelties and renewed loſſes, that they would never after liſten to any terms of accommodation, nor agree to hold any political relation whatever with this country. One of the noble Lord's grounds of hope (ſuch hope as it was) conſiſted in keeping from them the clandeſtine aid of foreign powers. What reaſon had they to think that ſuch aid would not be continued, increaſed, and avowed? The miniſters would, however, act now, they ſaid, as they had done in many former parts of the American buſineſs. They firſt predicted events, and then purſued ſuch a line of conduct, as of neceſſity verified their predictions. Thus they aſſerted, that independency was the ſole and original aim of the colonies; but finding that the people were exceedingly backward in applying to that laſt and fatal reſort, they adopted ſuch effectual meaſures of violence and injuſtice, as drove them headlong into independence. They now aſſert that the Americans will not liſten to any terms of accommodation; and they will accordingly purſue the ſame effectual meaſures, until they have driven them ſo faſt into the arms of France, that it will not be in their power, if they were even ſo diſpoſed, ever to look back, much leſs to return, to their ancient

cient political connections with this country.

The question being at length put, it soon appeared that the Minister had not adopted that part of the alternative which had been proposed to him on the other side, of voting in a minority; and Mr. Fox's motion, for laying those papers before the Commons, which had been granted to the Lords, was, in a manner which in other seasons would have been deemed incredible, rejected upon a division, by a majority of 178 to 89.

Dec. 3d. The succeeding day was marked by the disclosure of the melancholy catastrophe of General Burgoyne's expedition, and the unhappy fate of the brave but unfortunate northern army at Saratoga. A disclosure, which excited no less consternation, grief, and astonishment in both houses, than it did of dismay on the side of the ministers. The noble Lord at the head of the American department, being called upon by a gentleman in opposition for the purport of the dispatches which were received from Canada, was the unwilling relater of that melancholy event, in the House of Commons.

This of course brought out, with fresh fervour, and additional asperity, all the censures and charges that ever had been, or that could be, passed or made, whether relative to the principle or policy of the contest, the conduct of the war, or the general incapacity of the ministers. After condemning and rebrobating the latter in terms of the utmost severity, the opposition applied the most pathetic expressions which our language affords, to deplore the fate of the gallant General and his brave army, who, they said, after surmounting toils, dangers, and difficulties, which should have crowned them with lasting glory and honour, and shewing themselves superior to every thing, excepting only the injustice of the cause in which they were engaged, and the inherent fatality of that ill-starred direction under which they acted, were so overwhelmed in the joint operation of these concurring causes, as not only to be plunged into irretrievable ruin, but also, what had never before happened to such men, nor could ever again be the reward of such actions, they were finally sunk into disgrace.

They condemned the whole plan and design of the expedition in the most unqualified terms. Said, that it was an absurd, an inconsistent, and an impracticable scheme, unworthy of a British minister, and which the Chief of a tribe of savages would have been ashamed to acknowledge. They reminded the American Minister that they were not judging from events, but how often and earnestly they had warned him of the fatal consequences of his favourite plan. When they had truly foretold the event, they were only laughed at, and told they were speaking in prophecy; was he yet satisfied of the truth of their predictions?

Ignorance, they said, had stamped every step taken during the expedition; but it was the ignorance of the Minister, not of the General; a minister who would venture, sitting in his closet, to direct, not only the general operations, but all the particular movements, of a war carried on in the interior de-

ſarts of America, and at a diſtance of three thouſand miles. A junction between Howe and Burgoyne was the object of this expedition; a meaſure which might be effected without difficulty by ſea in leſs than a month; but the Miniſter chooſes it ſhould be performed by land, and what means does he uſe for the accompliſhment of this purpoſe? Why truly, ſaid they, as it was neceſſary for the armies to meet, it might have been reaſonably imagined, that the northern army would have advanced to the ſouthward, or the ſouthern to the northward; or if it were intended that they ſhould meet any where about the center, that they would both have ſet out in thoſe directions about the ſame time; but the Miniſter deſpiſing ſuch ſimple and natural means of effecting a junction, diſpatches one army from New York ſtill farther ſouth, and ſends the other to follow it from Canada in the ſame direction; ſo that if they both continued their courſe till doomſday, it would be impoſſible for them to meet.

But the noble Lord, they ſaid, was the implicit ſlave of report, and the continual dupe to the falſe informations of men, who were intereſted in his deception; men who profited of the common calamities of England and America. Thus, on one day we had only a trifling mob to quell; nine tenths of the people were not only zealouſly but violently attached to government; and yet, moſt ſtrange to tell, this vaſt majority of the people, as if loyalty had deprived them of all the powers and properties of men, ſuffered themſelves to be fleeced and driven like ſheep, by that ragged handful of their own rabble. The next day, when we were to ranſack Europe for troops, and exhauſt Great Britain to maintain them, the Americans were ſuddenly become numerous and powerful. The deluſion was then become highly contagious; and they were to be brought to their ſenſes by nothing ſhort of the exertion of the whole ſtrength of this country. Again, we were told that the Americans were all cowards; a grenadier's cap was ſufficient to throw whole provinces into panics; it ſeemed, however, odd enough, that 55,000 men, with an immenſe naval force, ſhould be ſent to reduce poltrons. Will the Miniſter now venture to ſay, that the gallant army at Saratoga, with a noble artillery, and conducted by officers of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, were compelled to the diſgrace of reſigning their arms and their liberty, by a wretched contemptible rabble, without ſpirit or diſcipline? But ſuch, they ſaid, was the miſrepreſentation and falſehood, which, partly intended to impoſe upon the nation, and partly operating upon the wretched folly, credulity, and incapacity of the miniſters themſelves, had already led to the loſs of America, and to our preſent ſtate of calamity and diſgrace; and which, under the foſtering influence of that perverſe blindneſs and obſtinacy, which have been ſo long the bane, and at the ſame time the only diſtinction of our public counſels, would terminate in the final deſtruction of this country.

The time and occaſion did not ſerve for bold words or lofty language on the ſide of adminiſtration. The miniſters, indeed, were ſufficiently humbled. The noble Lord

Lord at the head of affairs, acknowledged that he was unfortunate. He, at the ſame time, juſtified his intentions; and declared that he was and would be ready, whenever the general voice of the Houſe deſired it, to enter into an explanation of his conduct, and a defence of his meaſures. He alſo declared, that no man from the beginning had wiſhed more earneſtly for peace than he had done himſelf, nor would do more to obtain it now; and that if the laying down of his place and his honours could accompliſh that wiſhed for purpoſe, he would gladly reſign them all. He ſaid, that he had been dragged to his place againg his will; but that however diſagreeable it might be, whilſt he continued in poſſeſſion, he would ſupport it to the beſt of his power. He concluded by obſerving, (the Houſe being then in a committee of ſupply) that whatever their future determination as to peace or war might be, it was neceſſary they ſhould grant the ſupplies which were now demanded; as, if even a ceſſation of arms ſhould take place, the expences muſt ſtill continue, until the armies were brought home and diſcharged or reduced.

The American Miniſter declared, that he was ready to ſubmit his conduct in planning the late expedition to the judgement of the Houſe. If it appeared impotent, weak, and ruinous, let the cenſure of the Houſe fall upon him. He was ready to abide it, as every Miniſter who had the welfare of his country at heart, ſhould at all times, he ſaid, be ready to have his conduct ſcrutinized by his country. But having alſo ſaid ſomething, of wiſhing that the Houſe would not be over haſty in condemnation, that they would ſuſpend their judgment on the conduct both of the General and of the Miniſter relative to this unhappy event; hoping that the conduct of both would appear free from guilt; theſe expreſſions, or ſome others of the ſame nature, being conſidered as tending to criminate, or inſinuate blame on the General, were highly reſented on the other ſide, and contributed not a little to that ſeverity of cenſure which he experienced on this day.

On the following day ſeveral motions for papers and accounts, deemed neceſſary for the information of the future committee into the ſtate of the nation, were made by Colonel Barre, and agreed to by the Houſe. Theſe took in an account of all the grants for the payment of national and foreign troops from the 29th of Sept. 1774: —of the officers appointed to collect the ſtamp duties in America: —of the recruits raiſed in Great Britain and Ireland,—and of the perſons appointed to act in the Commiſſariate of America; all within the time firſt given.

Upon receiving the report from the committee of ſupply, that 682,816l. ſhould be granted for the ordinaries and extraordinaries of the office of ordnance in the enſuing year; the magnitude of the ſum rouzed the oppoſition into action, and occaſioned a motion by Sir P. Jennings Clerke, to recommit the report. In the ſpeech made by that gentleman in ſupport of his motion, he charged the perſeverance of the Miniſters in their pre-

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ſent mad and deſtructive ſyſtem, to the moſt unworthy of all motives, the mere covetouſneſs of retaining their places; for as they knew, he ſaid, that they were ſo exceedingly odious to the Americans, that they never would enter into any treaty, much leſs conclude a peace with them, ſo the greedineſs for their preſent emoluments, ſuperſeding all other conſiderations, induced them to perſiſt in war to the final deſtruction of their country. To avert this ſuppoſed danger, he made a ludicrous propoſal, viz. That as in a promotion of Admirals, old Captains, of leſs ſuppoſed capacity than others, were promoted but not employed, and vulgarly called Admirals of the Yellow Flag, being admitted to the pay of the rank—ſo, that a ſimilar eſtabliſhment ſhould be made for Miniſters, who ſhould be allowed to continue the pay and name, whilſt men, more fit, ſhould execute the employment.

The enormity of the ſum propoſed for the ordnance ſervice, (though ſince much increaſed) occaſioned, however, much ſerious animadverſion. The oppoſition ſaid that it exceeded the ordinaries and extraordinaries of the ordnance in the year 1759, by no leſs than 140,000l. that glorious year which ſaw us at the zenith of our power and glory, when we had 250,000 men in arms, and that the thunder of our artillery by ſea and land, was heard with terror and effect in every quarter of the globe; when we made war in Europe, Aſia, Africa, the Weſt Indies and North America. Yet in the year for which this vaſt ſum is demanded, we employ but 80,000 men, and theſe engaged only in a petty conteſt with our own people. They aſked if ſuch glaring impoſitions on the publick were fit to be endured; and in what manner the repreſentatives could face their conſtituents after ſubmitting to them.

On this ſubject they were particularly preſſed by Mr. Burke, who for ſome time receiving no anſwer, and the ſpeaker proceeding to put the queſtion, declared he would not ſuffer the queſtion to be put, until ſome explanation was given. He looked upon order as contemptible, when inſtead of forwarding, it ſtood in oppoſition to the ſubſtance of their duty. That here was a comparative expence, which, ſtated againſt the comparative ſervice, was at firſt view utterly unaccountable. He called ſtrongly on the gentlemen of the Board of Ordnance for an anſwer. At length, the gentlemen of that board who were preſent, ſaid that they were not judges of the ſervice. They had punctually executed the orders which they had received, and that the utmoſt œconomy prevailed in their ſeveral departments. One gentleman attributed much of the extraordinary expence to the extreme and peculiar hoſtility of the country in which the train was acting; which was ſo bitter, beyond the example of other wars, that ſupplying nothing whatever towards the ſervice, the number of articles to be ſent from hence became prodigious. Another ſaid that the charge was much increaſed, by the artillery acting in different bodies on diſtinct and remote ſervices. He alſo ſaid, that the foreign troops in Britiſh pay in the late war found their own ammunition,

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which being provided for in their reſpective contracts, leſſened the official eſtimates of the ordnance expence prodigiouſly. This ground was accordingly taken by the Miniſter, who contended, that though we employed 250,000 men in that year, the Britiſh forces, for whom the eſtimates were made, conſtituted only an inconſiderable part of that number. But as he was not prepared for the queſtion, and had neither compared the eſtimates, nor provided the neceſſary documents, the matter of fact was left to be aſcertained on another day, and the report of the committee of ſupply was agreed to without a diviſion.

On the enſuing day, Colonel Barre having moved, That copies or extracts of all letters relating to reinforcements, of the ſhips, the mariners, or the land forces, received by the Secretaries of State from General Gage, Lord Howe, General Howe, and General Carleton, from the 5th of July, 1775, ſhould be laid before the Houſe; the American Miniſter objected to it, from his not being ſufficiently aware of its conſequences. He ſaid it extended to a period before his introduction into office. It contained the intelligence of ſeveral years, and he confeſſed he was ſo unprepared, that he could not ſuddenly anſwer on the propriety of ſubmitting them to the Houſe. But he promiſed, that the purport of thoſe papers ſhould be laid before them on the day of general enquiry. After ſome conſiderable debate, the motion was rejected by the previous queſtion without a diviſion.

Mr. Hartley then made ſeveral motions, which he intended to be paſſed as reſolutions of the Houſe, upon the following grounds, That the farther proſecution of the American war muſt be attended with an enormous expence:—That the expences of another campaign, added to thoſe already incurred, would probably amount to between 30 and 40 millions ſterling, which muſt create an alarming increaſe of the principal and intereſt of the national debt; and muſt require many additional heavy and burthenſome taxes, land-taxes, as well as others, upon the Britiſh ſubjects to defray:——That the further proſecution of this war, muſt be deſtructive of the navigation, commerce, riches, and reſources of this country, as well as of the lives of his Majeſty's ſubjects; and that it will leave us in an exhauſted ſtate, with our land and ſea forces at the diſtance of 3000 miles, open to the inſult or attack of any ſecret or inſidious enemy;—and, that it is unbecoming the wiſdom and prudence of parliament, to proceed any farther in the ſupport of this fruitleſs, expenſive, and deſtructive war; more eſpecially, without any ſpecific terms of accommodation being declared.

Mr. Hartley had prepared eſtimates to ſupport the poſitions laid down in his motions, if the Houſe would enter into the enquiry; and, if the reſolutions were agreed to, he propoſed to follow them with an addreſs to his Majeſty, being the ſame, or ſimilar to, that which he had laid before the Houſe in the preceding ſeſſion, recommending an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities, with ſuch other meaſures as appeared to that gentleman, to be the moſt effectual towards bring-

ing about a final accommodation.

The Miniſter made light of the matter. He ſaid the motions were out of time and improper. They were only fitting for the cognizance of a committee, not of a Houſe. Every body muſt acknowledge, and he himſelf among the foremoſt; the truth of the firſt reſolution, that the proſecution of the war muſt be attended with enormous expence; but he thought it impoſſible for the Houſe to decide on the ſecond, before the day of general enquiry, when having all the matter in any degree relative to the ſubject before them, they would be able to determine upon it with propriety. As the oppoſition did not enter much into the buſineſs, the debate was languid, and ſoon wandered from the immediate queſtion to converſations or bickerings upon different parts of the general ſubject. The motions were all ſeparately rejected without a diviſion.

Dec. 10th. On the laſt day of the ſitting of parliament previous to the Chriſtmas receſs, Mr. Wilkes moved for a repeal of the declaratory law of the year 1766, as introductory to ſeveral other motions which he intended, if the firſt paſſed, for the repeal of all the laws obnoxious to the Americans which had been paſſed ſince the year 1763. He ſaid that the repeal of theſe laws was required as a *ſine qua non* by the Americans; and that in particular, they had reprobated that declaratory act as a fountain from whence every evil had flowed. The previous queſtion was immediately moved by a noble Lord on the Treaſury Bench, and ſeconded by the Miniſter, who alſo entered into ſome conſiderable diſcuſſion of the ſubject of the motion. Although a debate of ſome length enſued, the oppoſition in general, were more taken up, with a defence of the ground and principle on which the declaratory law had been founded, againſt the attacks made upon it by the mover and a few others; and in ſtating the particular ſituation of affairs, which, they inſiſted, had at that time rendered it not only a wiſe, but an abſolutely neceſſary meaſure, than in ſupporting the motion, although they would now readily give up that bill, or any bill, as an opening to conciliation. They ſaid, that the great teſt of the goodneſs or badneſs of a law, namely its good or ill effect, had decided on that act. That America had never complained of it until it was made an hoſtile uſe of, and in that caſe, the beſt acts might become a cauſe of offence. That things were now on a new bottom. Other things beſides the repeal or the making of acts muſt be done. The previous queſtion being put, was carried on a diviſion by a majority of 160 to 12.

As the firſt object of government in all parliaments, namely, the obtaining of money, was now pretty well attained, near nine millions ſterling having been already granted in ſupplies, during only about ſixteen days actual ſitting upon buſineſs, and that the Miniſters were by this time, as heartily ſick of enquiry, as they were ſufficiently ſore with cenſure; it was determined to procure a ſufficient breathing time, in order to anſwer the different purpoſes, of a recovery from paſt fatigue,

a relief from preſent toil, and due preparation for the future hard ſervice which was expected, by an early and long receſs for the holidays. Another object of no ſmall importance, which it is ſuppoſed the court had at that time in contemplation, and which would have been fully ſufficient in itſelf for the adoption of this meaſure, will be explained in the next chapter.

As ſoon, accordingly, as Mr. Wilkes's motion was diſpoſed of, the noble Lord who had moved the previous queſtion, moved alſo for an adjournment to the 20th of January, and ſupported his motion on the following grounds; that the ſupplies, at preſent neceſſary, were voted; the uſual buſineſs before the Chriſtmas receſs was gone through, that nothing farther could be done until the event of the campaign in America was known; that if it were even otherwiſe, the Houſe was never attended at that ſeaſon; that no new events were likely to happen, which could render the advice or aſſiſtance of parliament neceſſary within that time; that however eager ſome perſons were to expatiate on, or to enhance, the misfortune of the Canada expedition, nothing could be done in that buſineſs, until the arrival of information, and of the neceſſary documents from America; and, that as a general enquiry was appointed, it was equally fair and neceſſary to allow the ſervants of the crown time for preparation.

On the other ſide, the propoſal for ſo early and long a receſs was reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms. They ſaid, that an adjournment of ſix weeks in ſo critical and dangerous a ſituation of public affairs, when all the collective powers and wiſdom of parliament might be neceſſary for the immediate preſervation of the nation, would be a moſt raſh and hazardous proceeding. That, taken in all its circumſtances, it was unprecedented in all the records of parliament. That, in a ſeaſon of the greateſt public danger we ever experienced; involved in the moſt lamentable ſpecies of all wars, a civil war; attended, as that was, with circumſtances of expence, loſs, ruin, and diſgrace before unheard of; and at the eve of a rupture with the whole united Houſe of Bourbon; for parliament to be aſſembled ſo late as the 20th of November, and to propoſe a long adjournment of more than ſix weeks on the 10th of December, was a meaſure of ſo extraordinary and dangerous a nature, that they could not refrain, they ſaid, from being loſt in aſtoniſhment, how any perſon that was honoured with the royal confidence, could dare to abuſe it with ſuch an advice. But daring and abſurd as the meaſure was, it was attended with one circumſtance, which, they ſaid, muſt afford the greateſt pleaſure to every real friend to his country. It portended the falling of the curtain, and the exit of thoſe weak, obſtinate, and improvident Miniſters, who had driven us into our preſent diſtreſsful ſituation. They are no longer able, ſaid they, to face their adverſaries in parliament. They fly from public obſervation and enquiry, and brood over their approaching diſgrace in a kind of political deſpair; they tremble too late for conſequences,

which

which they have neither the ability to provide againſt, nor the fortitude to meet.

The Miniſter contended, that the arguments offered againſt the motion had proved nothing. The campaign was already terminated, and they could form no concluſions relative to it till they knew the event. France did not moleſt us, nor did he believe that either France or Spain had any intention of the ſort; but whether they had or not, we were prepared for the worſt that could happen; and ſhould advance our preparation as much, or more, during the receſs, than if the parliament were ſitting. He therefore inſiſted, that Mr. Burke's propoſed amendment to the motion, of ſubſtituting the words "this day ſennight," for the "20th of January," would only retard the buſineſs of the ſtate, without anſwering any uſeful purpoſe. If, upon a full enquiry after the receſs, meaſures of a conſequential nature ſhould become neceſſary, the committee for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, which was not to meet until the 2d of February, would afford the proper, and the only proper time, to debate and deliberate on them. He hoped the campaign had produced events, which would enable us to prepare and enforce terms of conciliation with the colonies, on true conſtitutional grounds with reſpect to both. That it would be abſurd to propoſe American plans, which muſt in the nature of things depend upon the ſtate of America, when we could at beſt pretend to a very partial knowledge of it. The events of the campaign would be known at the time propoſed for their meeting; and then, when the whole of the military operations, and of the intended meaſures, could come fully and properly together before them, he would move the Houſe to conſider of the conceſſions which it might be proper for them to lay down as the baſis of a treaty; and he yet truſted, that their endeavours would prove effectual in bringing about a permanent peace, and a laſting union between both countries.

The leaders of oppoſition, ridiculed the idea of the preſent Miniſters becoming negociators for peace and conciliation with the Americans, as the greateſt of all poſſible abſurdities. The colonies, they ſaid, had been ſo often abuſed, deceived, and trifled with by them, and ſo thoroughly underſtood the principles which were the ſpring of all their actions, that they never would liſten to any terms of peace, however flattering, which made their way to them through ſo obnoxious a channel. No negociation could poſſibly ſucceed in their hands. Every body, ſaid they, knows, that the Americans openly charge, (whether truly or falſely was not the queſtion) all the loſs and calamity which has befallen both countries, to their incapacity, malignity, and obſtinacy. Excluſive of the reſentment ariſing from the miſery which they have endured through their means, can any man in the cool poſſeſſion of his reaſon ſuppoſe, that they will enter into any meaſures of friendſhip, or ſyſtem of union with men whom they ſuſpect, deteſt, and deſpiſe. They inſiſted, that the Houſe of Bourbon were hoſtile; that they only

waited

waited for the full conſummation of that favourable criſis, by the expectation of which they had for long time regulated all their conduct; that, in the wretched ſtruggle with our own people, we had loſt Portugal, alienated Holland, and had not a ſingle ally left upon the face of the earth, excepting, that the petty mercenary ſtates of Germany, who hired out the blood of their ſubjects, were by ſome depravation of language and ideas, to be conſidered as allies. What ſeaſon then, ſaid they, could be ſo fitting for enquiry and deliberation, or at what time could procraſtination prove more pernicious than the preſent, when one army is annihilated, another, little leſs than beſieged, and our hereditary and natural enemy nogociating a treaty with our colonies, by which, if once concluded, America will be irrecoverably loſt to this country.

The queſtion being at length put, about 10 at night, the motion of adjournment was carried upon a diviſion by a majority of 155 to 68.

During theſe tranſactions in the Houſe of Commons, the buſineſs in that of the Lords, abſtracted from the ſupplies, was conducted upon the ſame ground, and in general with the ſame effect. The Duke of Richmond had moved for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, on the ſame day that Mr. Fox had made his motion in the Houſe of Commons. The enquiry was alſo fixed to the ſame date in both; and the ſubſequent motions for papers and information made by his grace, correſponded with thoſe in the other Houſe, and were agreed to in the ſame manner.

On the 5th of December, the Earl of Chatham moved, that copies of all orders and inſtructions to General Burgoyne, relative to the northern expedition, ſhould be laid before the Houſe. The noble Earl introduced his motion with a ſpeech of conſiderable length, in which he diſſected and reprobated ſeveral parts of that from the throne without reſerve or ceremony; and taking a large ſweep into public meaſures, he ſeemed to ſummon all the powers of his eloquence, and all his natural vehemence, to the direct cenſure of the Miniſters, and the moſt unqualified condemnation of their conduct. Among other cauſes, to which, in this courſe, he attributed the unhappy change which had taken place in our public affairs, he particularly reprobated, in terms of the greateſt bitterneſs, a court ſyſtem, which he ſaid, had been introduced and perſevered in for the laſt fifteen years, of looſening and breaking all connection; deſtroying all faith and confidence; and extinguiſhing all principle, in different orders of the community. A few men, he ſaid, had got an aſcendency, where no man ſhould have a perſonal aſcendency; by having the executive powers of the ſtate at their command, they had been furniſhed with the means of creating diviſions, and familiarizing treachery. Thus were obſcure and unknown men; men totally unacquainted with public buſineſs; pliable, not capable men; and the dregs, or renegades of parties, brought into the higheſt and moſt reſponſible ſtations; and

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by such men, was this once glorious empire reduced to its present state of danger and disgrace. Then rising into his usual force of expression? the spirit of delusion, he said, had gone forth.—The Ministers had imposed on the people.—Parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition.—False lights had been held out to the country gentlemen.—They had been seduced into the support of a most destructive war under the impression, that the land tax would have been diminished by the means of an American revenue. But the visionary phantome, thus conjured up for the basest of all purposes, that of deception, was now about to vanish.

The debate was long, animated, and well supported on both sides. The Ministers, though plainly somewhat depressed, defended themselves with resolution. They said they knew nothing of the private influence that had been talked of. That it was a topic taken up or laid down by men as it suited their views. That they never had imposed on the people or on parliament; but communicated such information as was true, provided it was safe. That they had never laid any thing false before them; but be the event what it would, they never would repent the vigorous steps they had taken for asserting the rights of parliament, and the dignity of their country. The question being at length put, the motion was rejected on a division by a majority of 40 to 19.

The noble Earl then immediately moved for an address, to lay before them copies of all the orders or treaties relative to the employment of the savages, acting in conjunction with the British troops against the inhabitants of the British colonies in North America, with a copy of the instructions given by General Burgoyne to Colonel St. Leger.

As no measure had ever been marked with a greater severity of language, or had excited stronger appearances of disgust and horror, than that, to which the motion related, the Ministers were accordingly very tender upon the subject, and could ill disguise the indignation and resentment which they felt, at its being so frequently and vexatiously brought within observation. And as the noble framer of the present motion, had been among the foremost in his censures on the subject, and that the bitterness of his late speech was not yet worn off; the matter was taken up with great warmth. The same arguments used to defend it in the House of Commons were relied upon in the Lords. The Ministry strongly asserted the justice and the propriety of the measure, on principle and on example. As Lord Chatham had asserted that when he was Minister, he had always declined to make use of so odious an instrument in the last war, though a foreign one, this assertion was flatly contradicted by the King's servants, who said they were able to lay before the House proof from the records of office, of his having given orders to treat with the savages for their assistance. Appeals were made to the noble Lord who then commanded in America, and had taken his instructions from Mr. Pitt, at that time Secretary of State, whether he

he had not such in his army, and whether he was not authorised to use them. The Lords of the minority contended, that the case of a foreign war, where the affections of the people are no object, made a difference; and that the French had made use of the same instrument to a much greater degree, which might justify retaliation. The debate was attended with an unusual degree of charge, denial, personality, and acrimony; in which course of painful altercation, a noble Earl, who had lately possessed a principal government in America, both took, and endured no inconsiderable share. The motion was at length thrown out by the previous question, about 11 o'clock at night, the majority being nearly the same as in the foregoing division.

Dec. 11th. The motion of adjournment, was scarcely less agitated in the House of Lords, than in that of the Commons. In the warmth of debate, a noble Lord high in office, having thrown out somewhat, which, though apparently spoken in general terms, was understood as more particularly directed to the Earl of Chatham, and was interpreted as an assertion, "that no advice or opinion from Lords on that side would be received at the throne," this language was highly resented and severely reprehended by a noble Duke and Earl in opposition, who declared it, besides being exceedingly presumptuous, to be no less unparliamentary and unconstitutional. The Sovereign, they said, had an undoubted right to chuse his servants; but in this moderate and popular government, he was likewise bound to chuse with wisdom; to consult the interests of the public, and in many situations even their likings, with respect to those Ministers, to whom he was entrusted to commit the direction and conduct of their dearest and most important concerns. And for any person, however high in office or situation, to venture to forerun the prerogative, to limit the royal discretion and right of action, by pretending to predict who should or should not be employed or consulted, and thus to proscribe wisdom, honesty, and ability from the public service, if they only happened to be exerted in opposition to ministerial measures, was equally indecent and injurious with respect to the crown, and dangerous to the rights of the people. In fact, it was no less, they said, than imputing sentiments to the Sovereign unbecoming his station, and directly repugnant to the duties prescribed to him by the constitution. After long debates, the motion of adjournment was carried upon a division, by a majority of 47 to 17.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Subscription for the American prisoners. State of public affairs. Scheme for raising a body of troops to supply the loss at Saratoga. Difficulties attending that measure. Subscriptions for raising new levies. Manchester and Liverpoole raise regiments. Failure of the attempt in the corporations of London and Bristol. Large private subscriptions in both cities. Several regiments raised in Scotland, and independent companies in Wales. Great debates in both Houses on the measure of raising forces without the knowledge or consent of parliament; and on the question of legality with respect to private contributions or benevolences. Motion in the committee of supply for cloathing the new forces, after long debate, carried upon a division. Earl of Abingdon's motion for summoning the judges on the question, overruled. His other motions for passing a censure on the measure, after long debates rejected upon a division.

GREAT complaints were about this time circulated, that the American prisoners in this country, who amounted to several hundreds, were treated with a degree of rigour which fell little short of cruelty. These rumours extended even to France; and occasioned the American deputies in that country, after an unsuccessful attempt to establish a cartel with the British Minister at Paris, to transmit a letter, couched in strong terms of complaint, to the first Lord of the Treasury upon the subject. This letter contained a particular charge, which, though we think not to be true in the manner stated, we are sorry not to have seen publicly refuted, viz. that a number of these unhappy people, were now in a state of bondage, on the coasts of Africa, and in the East Indies, who had been compelled to submit to that condition, under the menaces of an immediate and ignominious death. We have some reason to suppose that this charge related more particularly to some of those prisoners who had been taken in Canada, and who being partly terrified by threats, and partly unable to withstand the miseries of their confinement, which were aggravated for the purpose, entered as soldiers into our service, merely as a means of facilitating their escape. Several of these being taken in the act of desertion, and being liable to death by our military laws, which could afford no provision for the force or terror under which they had acted, possibly might have obtained their forfeit lives, on condition of their being sent to garrison some of our forts on the coast of Africa, or of their entering for life into the service of the East India company.

As to the prisoners who were kept in England, their penury and distress was undoubtedly great, and was much increased by the fraud and cruelty of those who were entrusted with the government and supply of their prisons. For these persons, who indeed never had any orders for ill treatment

ment of the priſoners, or countenance in it, having however, not been overlooked with the utmoſt vigilance, beſides their peculiar prejudices and natural cruelty, conſidered their offices only as lucrative jobs, which were created merely for their emolument. Whether there was not ſome exaggeration, as uſually there is, in theſe accounts, it is certain, that though the ſubſiſtence allowed them by government, would indeed have been ſufficient, if honeſtly adminiſtered, to have ſuſtained human nature, in reſpect to the mere article of food, yet the want of clothes, firing, and bedding, with all the other various articles, which cuſtom or nature render conducive to health and comfort, became particularly inſupportable in the extremity of the winter. In conſequence of complaints made by the priſoners, the matter was very humanely taken up in the Houſe of Peers by Lord Abingdon, who moved for accounts relative to their treatment; and ſoon after, a liberal ſubſcription was carried on in London and other parts with the enlarged ſpirit which diſtinguiſhes this nation, and with only a ſlight oppoſition in the beginning, as being officiouſly ſuppoſed a meaſure not pleaſing to Miniſtry. This ſubſcription, co-operating with a ſtricter attention on the part of government, provided a ſufficient remedy for the evil.

The loſs of the northern army with reſpect to all future ſervice in the American war, ſeemed a fatal check to that favourite ſyſtem of conqueſt and unconditional ſubmiſſion, which had been ſo long and ſo ſtedfaſtly perſevered in by the court. Nor were other matters relative to the war, much more favourable to the ſcheme of coercion. The ſucceſſes on the ſide of Penſylvania, though many and conſiderable, and what in other caſes would have been followed by more deciſive effects, by no means anſwered the hopes that were formed on that expedition; nor did the preſent ſtate of affairs there, indicate any ſuch future advantage, as might countervail the loſs in the other. The reſources in Germany were nearly exhauſted. Men were not only procured with difficulty, but one of the great powers, actually refuſed a paſſage through a ſkirt of his dominions, to a body of thoſe which were already in the Britiſh ſervice. Although this difficulty was evaded, at the expence of a long circuitous march, and much loſs of time; it became however evident, from that and other circumſtances, that the utmoſt which could be expected in future from that country, would be to recruit the German forces already in America.

Under theſe diſagreeable circumſtances with reſpect to America, the aſpect of affairs was becoming every day more louring and dangerous in Europe. Indeed the conduct of the Houſe of Bourbon had been long ſo unequivocal, that nothing leſs than that ſort of blindneſs, in which the mind is too liable to be involved by the eagerneſs of a favourite purſuit, could have permitted the poſſibility even of a doubt, as to their preſent views, and ultimate deſigns. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, loſſes, and dangers, the ſyſtem of conqueſt, or of compelling

pelling the Americans by force to a return of their duty, was ſo ſtrongly ſupported, and ſo firmly adhered to, that it ſeems to have been ſtill determined, in ſpite of loſs and misfortune, to perſevere in it to the laſt, and that even if it ſhould be thought expedient to offer terms of peace, on which point there ſeemed to be ſome difference among the Miniſters, yet all agreed, that whatever terms might be held out with the one hand, ſhould be enforced with the ſword by the other.

For the ſupport of this determination, a meaſure of no ſmall difficulty became, however, indiſpenſably neceſſary. This was to eſtabliſh ſuch a body of new troops at home, as would not only ſupply the place of Burgoyne's army, but alſo help to fill up the wide chaſms, which death, wounds, ſickneſs and deſertion, had made in the remaining force in America, by ſending out full and complete regiments, to replace thoſe who had ſuffered moſt in the war. For the ſending any more of the old battalions from England or Ireland, without the leaving of ſome corps in their place, equal at leaſt to them in point of number, was a meaſure which would have met with a violent oppoſition in both kingdoms. Nor can it poſſibly be ſuppoſed that the Miniſters, however they found it neceſſary to diſguiſe or conceal their ſentiments, could be free from apprehenſion that the time was approaching, when our home force would be neceſſary for our home defence.

But although the neceſſity of raiſing a conſiderable body of new troops, was, on this ground of policy, ſufficiently evident, the means of accompliſhing that purpoſe were by no means ſo obvious. The late misfortune, and the little apparent room for hope which now remained of bettering our condition by force, afforded no encouragement for an application to parliament on the ſubject. It was evident indeed, that the Miniſters, by the haſtineſs and length of the prorogation, and by ſome feeling expreſſions which dropped from one of them, choſe at that time as little parliamentary converſation about America as poſſible; nor did they wiſh to renew it, until they ſhould be able to afford better proſpects of their ſtrength and means of proſecuting the war, than at that time appeared.

In theſe circumſtances, it was thought fitting to hazard an experiment on the zeal of thoſe perſons and parties, who had all along ſhewn the greateſt eagerneſs in the proſecution of the American war; an experiment which would afford them alſo an opportunity of teſtifying their particular attachment and loyalty to the crown beyond the meaſure of parliamentary ſupply. By this means it was hoped that ſuch a body of troops might be raiſed, without any previous application to parliament, and with the flattering appearance of ſaving expence in the firſt inſtance to the public, as would anſwer the deſired purpoſe.

Theſe expectations were not altogether ill founded. But as the meaſure carried an unconſtitutional appearance, and might be made liable to the charge of interfering with the rights of parliament; and of violating ſome of thoſe reſtrictions

ſtrictions which it had been found neceſſary to lay on the prerogative; beſides the motives juſt now aſſigned, ſome conſiderable management was neceſſary as to the time and manner of making the experiment. For if it had been attempted during the actual ſitting of parliament, it would not only have the whole weight of oppoſition to encounter whilſt it was yet in embryo, and whilſt the uncertainty of ſucceſs would prevent its being ſupported with any ſpirit; but it could not be foreſeen, how far their example and arguments might, in a matter of a new and doubtful nature, have extended beyond their own pale. Upon theſe accounts it was ſuppoſed, that the Miniſter thought it prudent, not only to make the experiment during the receſs, but to render that longer than uſual, in order to afford time for diſcovering its operation and effect before it underwent any diſcuſſion; being well ſatisfied, that when a buſineſs was once accompliſhed, any objections that were then made to the propriety or principle of the meaſure would be of little avail.

Some men of rank and influence, who had either adopted the meaſure from a conviction of its expedience and propriety, or who, upon advice, had engaged in its ſupport and furtherance, uſed means in thoſe places where their intereſt lay, both to ſound the diſpoſition of the people, and to give it that direction which was neceſſary for the purpoſe. The towns of Manchester and Liverpoole, whether of their own motion, or through application, were the leaders in this buſineſs, which they engaged in with the greateſt fervour, and immediately ſent an offer to count to raiſe each a regiment of a thouſand men. In other places, public meetings of towns, counties, and great corporate bodies, were encouraged, at which reſolutions were propoſed for the general levying of men for the ſervice.

The ſetting of ſuch an example by the city of London, would have been upon this occaſion a matter of the greateſt importance; not only from the ample ſupport which that great body would have adminiſtered, if it had entered heartily into the meaſure; but from the countenance which it would have afforded to the miniſters, the approbation it would have implied of their paſt, and the ſanction it would have given to their future meaſures, together with the general effect which its conduct would have had upon the nation at large. Nor did the diſtance, coolneſs, frequent bickerings, and variance, which had for ſeveral years taken place between the court and the city, by any means exclude this idea. Several of the popular leaders in that body had, from various cauſes, loſt much of their former weight and influence. Patronage and influence had alſo ſhifted hands much in the city ſince the commencement of the troubles. The great commercial orders for the foreign markets, which uſed to render the inferior citizens in a great meaſure dependent upon the capital wholeſale dealers, and long eſtabliſhed mercantile houſes, were either now no more, or they were come into the poſſeſſion of the contractors for carrying on the war, a vaſt and lucrative commerce, or centered in the monopoly lately ſet

ſet up under colour of licences. Thus all buſineſs being in the hands of people neceſſarily devoted to government, the elections went of courſe that way; and though the acclamations of the electors at all times, and the ſhow of hands generally, announced a great majority in favour of the popular candidates, yet when it came to that ſerious point, where the elector's vote was to become a ſtanding record, and to riſe in judgment againſt him, if it went contrary to the will of his employer, it was not to be ſo much depended upon as in former times, when the employment of tradeſmen was more at large.

To confirm and ſecure their power, a numerous ſociety was formed under the influence of the leaders of the court party, who were by themſelves denominated the aſſociated Livery, but were generally called the White Hart Aſſociation, from the tavern at which their principals held their great meetings, and which might be conſidered as the head quarters of the party. This party grew exceedingly numerous and powerful; and great numbers of thoſe who had at firſt entered into the ſociety merely for convenience, became at length partizans in the cauſe, through the vexation which they continually ſuffered, from the conſtant reproach of their former fellows in public conduct and opinion, who now ſtigmatized them as baſe deſerters from the cauſe of liberty, and betravers of thoſe rights of the city which they were ſworn to maintain, and of that independency which they were bound by every tie to defend to the utmoſt.

This aſſociation accordingly, had for ſome time taken an avowed and active part in the city elections. For by advertiſing in the public papers thoſe candidates whom they were determined to ſupport, theſe notices became in effect mandates to that great part of the livery, who were in ſome degree within the reach or influence of their leaders, or who, from moderation of temper, prudence, or timidity, did not chuſe to expoſe themſelves to the enmity of ſo numerous and powerful a party; and ſuch a compact collective body, acting under order, in ſtrict union and concert, and enabled to bear any expence, by a large common ſtock purſe, proved a ballance and more than a ballance to the popular ſocieties, which, from their diſunion and other cauſes, daily waſted away, and at length ſeem to have quite expired. The chief magiſtrate of the city belonged alſo to this ſociety, and was cloſely connected in dealing with government.

Notwithſtanding theſe favourable circumſtances, the buſineſs was conducted with caution and addreſs. The chief magiſtrate was ſaid to have received both inſtruction and encouragement, in a place and ſituation where they could not fail to have operated with uncommon efficacy. As a prelude to the opening of the buſineſs to the corporation, the Aſſociators adverti ſed for a public meeting on the ſubject, where they expected to a certainty, that the appearance would have been ſo numerous and reſpectable in ſupport of the meaſure, and the aſſent ſo univerſal in its favour, that they ſhould then carry it to the greateſt extent

extent they wished, without difficulty, and perhaps without opposition, in the Common Council. To their astonishment, however, they found themselves deserted upon this occasion by the greater part of those, who had hitherto regularly obeyed all their mandates with respect to election to city offices. Such was the effect of the original averseness from the American war, and such the disgust towards ministry on the late unfavourable events, that the meeting was not only badly attended, but many of those who appeared presented such captious faces, and the countenances in general were so little promising, that the leaders did not think it safe to hazard the name, and in that all the influence and power of the party, by the proposal of any question, and the assembly broke up as it met, without entering upon any business whatever.

This disappointment was not capable of restraining the industry or checking the zeal of the chief magistrate. He had newly refused to call a court, when he supposed the business would have been contrary to his own liking, and that of his party, although a requisition in writing, signed by the four representatives of London in parliament, as well as by several other of the most eminent citizens, had been presented for the purpose. And though he knew that this act had been productive of the most unqualified censure, as being at least an unusual stretch of his authority, yet superseding all appearance of inconsistency, by what he considered as the urgent exigency of the public, he suddenly called a court on this business.

The original intention was said to be, that the city of London should raise and maintain a body of 5,000 men, to serve for three years, or during the continuance of the war. But whether it was from the late failure at the Association, or whatever other cause, no specification of number was included in the motion now made for the purpose; it being only proposed, that a bounty should be granted by the city for the raising of men for the land and sea service.

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A full loose was now given to those resentments which the popular party had for some time been hoarding; and the debates became exceedingly warm. It was contended, in support of the motion, that in the present perilous situation in which we stood with respect to our natural enemies, it became an absolute and indispensable obligation on that great city to give the most public testimonial of its duty, affection, and loyalty; that the same motives equally concurred, with the additional spur of interest joined to the desire of security, in their affording every assistance in their power, towards exterminating the seeds of rebellion on the other side of the Atlantic, and reducing our colonies to submission and order; that the late loss we had sustained could only be replaced by the most vigorous exertions; that every man should contribute to the public defence, in times of public danger; and that the city of London had ever stood forth as an example to the rest of the nation in perilous seasons, and had always been distinguished with honour for her

ſpirit and exertion in the moſt critical ſituations of danger.

On the other ſide it was anſwered, that it would be the greateſt and moſt ridiculous of abſurdities, for the city now to countenance and ſupport coercive meaſures, after having ſo repeatedly, and even recently, reprobated this unhappy and deſtructive civil war in all its parts, and recommended conciliation in the ſtrongeſt terms, in all thoſe numerous addreſſes which they had preſented to the throne on the ſubject. That the city had already ſuffered moſt eſſentially in her commercial concerns, by thoſe fatal meaſures which had plunged us in our preſent unhappy ſituation; that it was evident to every unprejudiced perſon, that national ruin muſt be the inevitable conſequence of their continuance. That undoubtedly London had ever been diſtinguiſhed by her loyalty, her free ſupport of government, and her magnanimous exertions in all caſes of national emergency; but theſe inſtances were in caſes, wherein wiſe meaſures had involved us in juſt wars, for the maintenance of the national intereſt and honour; the ſame diſpoſition and principles which operated on her conduct in thoſe particulars, equally forbade her ſupport of unjuſt, oppreſſive, and tyrannical meaſures; more eſpecially when they terminated in a cruel civil war, the deſtruction of our own people, and tended directly to the ruin of this late flouriſhing empire. In concluſion, they ſummed up the arguments in ſuch a manner, as to bring their principal force within two points of view, in each of which the condemnation of the motion was included; firſt, as a meaſure tending to revive and inflame the embers of a war, unjuſt in itſelf, and ruinous to this country; and ſecondly, as being contradictory and abſurd upon the face of their own former proceedings.

The motion was ſupported by a majority of eleven to nine in the court of Aldermen; but thrown out by ſo great a majority of the Common Council, that while the loweſt calculation held it at three to one, it was eſtimated by the higheſt at 180 to 30. Upon this complete victory, a reſolution was moved and paſſed, which condemned in ſtrong terms the giving any countenance to, or being in any manner inſtrumental in the further continuance of the preſent ruinous and deſtructive war. Notice was at the ſame time given, that an addreſs, petition, and remonſtrance, ſhould be moved for at the next court, praying, "that his Majeſty would offer ſuch terms to our American brethren, as would put a ſtop to the preſent calamitous war." During the agitation of the original queſtion, the chief magiſtrate was handled with unprecedented ſeverity, under the double charge, which was made in the moſt flat and unqualified terms, of his having been cloſetted for the exertion of his public intereſt and official authority in this buſineſs, and of his being alſo under the mean influence of ſelf-intereſt, in the view of procuring a contract for the ſupply of the new forces with certain articles which were manufactured or prepared in his own calling. Nor was the general reprehenſion of the court leſs when the buſineſs was over, for the glaring partiality, as they ſaid, of his conduct, the ſhortneſs of notice,

tice, and informality with which they were convened, and the dangerous attempt to carry a queſtion of ſuch importance by ſurprize. Theſe matters were puſhed ſo ſeriouſly, that a formal and public enquiry into the authority by which he had been guided, was not only mentioned, but the propoſal with ſome difficulty evaded. Such was the ill ſucceſs that attended this attempt in the city of London.

Upon this defeat the diſappointed party ſaid, that the deficiency of loyalty in the corporation ſhould not damp its ſpirit in individuals; and that at a time when ſubſcriptions were publicly opened and quickly filled for American rebels, it was ſurely the leaſt that could be done by the well-affected and friends to royalty, to ſubſcribe liberally to the ſupport of King and government. A ſubſcription was accordingly opened, and a committee appointed at the London Tavern to conduct the buſineſs; and as it took its riſe among monied men, and that the leaders and principal propoſers were neceſſarily liberal in their contributions, above 20,000l. was ſoon ſubſcribed. As the advertiſements which they publiſhed in the papers upon this occaſion, became a ſubject of much diſcuſſion and cenſure both within doors and without, we ſhall tranſcribe the paſſage which gave ſuch particular offence; viz. "At a meeting of "ſeveral merchants and others, "friends to their King and country, in order to ſupport the "conſtitutional authority of Great "Britain over her rebellious colo-"nies in America; it was unani-"mouſly reſolved and agreed, "that a voluntary ſubſcription be "opened for the above purpoſe, "and that the money ariſing "therefrom be applied, under the "direction of a committee of the "ſubſcribers, in raiſing men for "his Majeſty's ſervice, in ſuch "manner as his Majeſty in his "wiſdom ſhall think fit."

A ſimilar attempt was made in Briſtol to induce the corporation to raiſe a body of men. The event was alſo ſimilar. The deſign failed with reſpect to the corporate body; but a number of names to large ſums of money appeared in a private ſubſcription, which rivalled in the amount that at London. But whether it proceeded from the diſcuſſion which this manner of raiſing or granting money underwent in parliament, or from whatever cauſe, we do not find that either of theſe ſubſcriptions were productive of any great effect. Neither did the intended meaſure ſucceed better in the counties. A ſtrong government intereſt was foiled in Norfolk; and the attempt produced a petition of uncommon force and energy from the freeholders of the county to parliament againſt the American war. Nor was the attempt of a noble Lord in Warwickſhire more ſucceſsful. Subſcriptions were indeed opened, in different places, by thoſe who were, or who would be thought, particularly attached to government.

In Scotland it was thought proper to give encouragement to the raiſing of new regiments; a meaſure which was adopted there with the greateſt avidity. The cities of Edinburgh and Glaſgow ſubſcribed liberally; raiſed a regiment of a thouſand men each;

and were indulged, like Manchester and Liverpoole, with the nomination of officers. Several individuals undertook and performed the raising of regiments in the Highlands. The conditions were generally the same, and very advantageous both to the raisers and to the officers. Several independent companies, amounting to something about a regiment in point of number, were raised in Wales; but the battalions, excepting those of Manchester and Liverpoole, were all formed in Scotland.

The ministers had thoroughly shaken off their panic during the recess. The raising of the new forces not only enabled them again to support the American system, which scarcely before seemed tenable; but it afforded no contemptible testimony, and which in argument was easily advanced to a proof, that their conduct received the full approbation of the people, and that the general sense of the nation went with them in their measures. Thus they were enabled to meet parliament with confidence; and, under so efficacious a support as the public voice and approbation, to brave all enquiries into past conduct, as well as into the present state or condition of the nation.

Indeed the facility with which these enquiries were agreed to in the hour of tribulation and dismay, it is probable, was now sufficiently regretted. But it was hoped, that the spirit which was now raised, and the parliamentary modes of defeating the objects of all enquiry, would take away all effect of the advantage which they had suffered the opposition to obtain over them.

Notwithstanding this smooth state of affairs at home, the ministers were far from being at ease. Majorities and acts of parliament, though possessing wonderful efficacy in their proper place, were neither capable of reclaiming our revolted colonies, nor of preventing the designs of our foreign enemies. It has since appeared from the most indubitable evidence, that administration had for some time been in possession of information from the British Minister at Paris, not only of the negociation for a commercial treaty between that court and the Americans, but also of another private and confidential treaty, which was conducted with the most profound secrecy, and fraught with matter of the most dangerous nature to this country. How this knowledge is to be reconciled with the public measures then pursued, we have no business to examine.

The first business that was taken up by the opposition in both houses, was the measure of raising the new levies during the recess. Sir P. J. Clerke observed in the House of Commons, that he had promised several of his neighbours in the country to make an enquiry into the business. That the people had been told, that the American war was the war of parliament; and that they were therefore exceedingly alarmed, to hear that a large body of forces had been raised during the recess, not only without the knowledge or advice of parliament, but without the smallest intimation having been

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been given by the Minister before the adjournment, that any such scheme was even in contemplation. That, on the contrary, they had heard the noble Lord had informed the House, that he should have a conciliatory proposition to lay before them at their next meeting, which he hoped would prove highly advantageous to this country. But that instead of a peace, he said, the noble Lord had produced an army; and what was still worse, an army raised under the auspices of persons who had never been noted for loyalty to their Sovereign, or attachment to the constitution. The grand object of his enquiry, he said, was to know in what hands the sword was entrusted; for however necessary it might be to raise troops for this or any other war, it was absolutely incumbent on them to take care that the sword was placed in safe hands; and that it might not be turned against themselves.

He accordingly moved for an address, that an account of the number of troops ordered to be raised during the late adjournment, with a specification of the different corps, the names of the officers appointed to their command, and also the names of all the officers appointed to serve in each rank in the different corps, with the time of their former service and rank in the army, should be laid before them.

The motion being agreed to, the Minister took that opportunity of declaring the happiness he felt in being able to inform the House, that the original purposes of the adjournment had not only been answered by the active exertions which had been used in the several departments of the public service, but that the voluntary unfettered efforts of several loyal subjects had likewise contributed to that effect. That a subscription had lately been set on foot in several parts of the kingdom, which not only intimated the most valid indications of truly patriotic zeal, but which also afforded the most flattering testimony of the public satisfaction in the conduct of administration. That it was no small comfort and encouragement, to persons entrusted with the management of public affairs, to find that the general opinion entertained of their conduct and measures, was not to be influenced by contingencies, nor to give way to those unexpected and unlucky accidents of fortune, which no sagacity could foresee, nor human wisdom provide against; and that it must afford a pleasure peculiarly grateful to every true Englishman, to see the spirit and fortitude of the people rise with their difficulties, and in the present state of public emergency, to shine out in so particularly conspicuous a manner.

This self congratulation, and approbation of the measure by the Minister, drew out its absolute condemnation from the opposition, who charged it with being equally unconstitutional, illegal, extravagant, and dangerous. They asked why parliament was not informed of the design? Why so long a recess was made, at a time that so important and so dangerous a measure, as the raising of an army within the kingdom, was in contemplation? They said, that if the raising of one regiment, in so unconstitutional a manner, was to be maintained or justified, the same

arguments would reach to twenty, fifty, or to any given number. If this doctrine was admitted, what fence or protection could the laws or the conſtitution afford againſt arbitrary power? The friends and promoters of that ſyſtem, in order to eſtabliſh their favourite mode of government, would have nothing more to do, than, in the abſence of parliament, under the colour of loyalty, or pretence of danger, to promote ſubſcriptions for the raiſing of troops; and when theſe were once embodied and armed, would their arguments, their ſilent votes, or their reſolutions, within them walls, or any act of theirs without, prevent, even for a moment, the ſubverſion of the conſtitution? With reſpect to the purpoſes for the effecting of which thoſe troops were raiſed, and the ſuppoſed neceſſity ariſing from the general ſtate of public affairs, as well as from the unhappy war with our colonies, they ſaid, that either parliament had no right at all to interfere in ſuch matters, or they were the beſt and only proper judges, both of the purpoſes and the neceſſity. They concluded by warning the Miniſters with great bitterneſs, that although the eſſence of the conſtitution was loſt, it behoved them ſtill to preſerve at leaſt the forms of it; and not to venture, under the ſubterfuge of a long adjournment, contrived by themſelves for the purpoſe, to exerciſe the great conſtitutional, and indiviſible power of parliament, that of granting money. For, they inſiſted, that the preſent meaſure was virtually no leſs; the Miniſters had incurred the actual expenditure, and bound the faith of parliament in the firſt inſtance, and then they call upon the Commons, as a matter of courſe, to provide for that expenditure.

The Miniſter defended the meaſure on ſeveral grounds; on that of neceſſity; on the impracticability of communicating, what was not known to the Miniſters themſelves at the time of adjournment; and laſtly, he inſiſted, that the meaſure was in itſelf perfectly innocent, with reſpect both to conſtitution and law. The neceſſity, he preſumed, would not be diſputed; the arguments uſed, and the poſitions laid down every day on the other ſide, went to the eſtabliſhment as an undoubted fact, that the preſent force in America was not adequate to its purpoſe. If then the colonies ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in rejecting all reaſonable terms of accommodation, the right policy, the œconomy, and the wiſdom, of uſing the moſt vigorous exertions to bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy concluſion, and to render the enſuing campaign deciſive, was ſo obvious, that it muſt ſurely flaſh conviction on all parties and orders of men. He ſaid it was not in the power of adminiſtration before the receſs, to bring the matter as a meaſure before parliament, becauſe, in fact, except in a very few inſtances, they were totally ignorant of what afterwards happened. Offers, indeed, had been made; but how far the ſpirit would have extended; or in what inſtances it might have been thought proper to receive or reject ſuch offers, were matters at that time unknown. And, as to the charges thrown out with ſo much vehemence and acrimony, of illegality, breach of the conſtitution, and contempt of parliament, he

denied

denied that they were in any degree founded. The American war, he ſaid, was a conſtitutional and a popular war; it was particularly a parliamentary war; what then could be more conſtitutional, than the offers made by the people, and accepted of by the crown? The right and authority of the ſupreme legiſlature was denied; arms had been taken up by our rebellious ſubjects in America, in maintenance of that denial; a numerous, and very loyal part of the people at home, had expreſſed their abhorrence of ſo unnatural a rebellion; and, in proof of the ſincerity of their ſentiments, offered their perſons and their purſes in ſupport of the conſtitutional rights of their country. Was ſo laudable an action, ever before marked with ſuch reproach and condemnation?

The Houſe being in a committee of ſupply on the 4th of February, a motion was made by the Secretary at War, that the ſum of 286,632l. 14s. 6d. ſhould be granted for cloathing the new forces, for the current year; this motion occaſioned a renewal of the debate, which was ſupported with great vigour on both ſides. We ſhall, however, without diſtinction of time or place, bring together in one point of view, the moſt material arguments which were offered at different times in either Houſe, upon a ſubject which was ſo much, and ſo warmly agitated in both.

We have already ſeen the ground taken by the Miniſter in defence of the meaſure. In the further proſecution of the queſtion, the point of legality was principally ſupported on the ground of precedent, drawn from the time of the rebellion in the year 1745, and the beginning of the late war. In the former of theſe æras, ſeveral of the nobility and gentry raiſed regiments at their own expence; and ſubſcriptions were not only opened and received, but perſons went about from houſe to houſe to collect money for the common defence; in which caſe, though no abſolute force was uſed, it was well underſtood, that a refuſal to contribute, however unwilling any individual might be, or however ill it might ſuit, with the real, though ſecret ſtate of his circumſtances, would ſubject him to be marked as diſaffected, and render his future ſituation in that neighbourhood diſagreeable and uneaſy. In the latter inſtance, ten new regiments had been raiſed by the crown; and the city of London had ſubſcribed a large ſum of money (which example was followed by other corporations and public bodies) for the raiſing of men for the public ſervice. The firſt of theſe meaſures, they ſaid, having been cavilled at by the diſaffected of that time, and alſo by others, who though well diſpoſed to government, yet either doubted its being conſtitutional, or directly queſtioned its legality; the late Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, whoſe principles with reſpect to the conſtitution, and to the rights and ſecurity of the ſubject, can never be called in doubt, publicly undertook, with his uſual ability, its ſupport and defence, and, whilſt he aſſerted its legality and propriety, reprehended the cenſure thrown upon it in ſtrong and deciſive terms. And with reſpect to the ſecond, ſo far from its being then objected

objected to; Mr. Secretary Pitt, wrote a moſt florid letter to the corporation of London, full of acknowledgements, in the King's name, for their zeal and immediate ſervice, as well as for the laudable example which they had ſet to others.

A great law Lord, at the head of his profeſſion, ſaid, that although the Bill of Rights declared, that to keep a ſtanding army within the kingdom in time of peace, was contrary to law; yet that proviſion in the declaration of rights, could by no means apply to the preſent queſtion, when we were not only in a ſtate of war, but engaged in a war of a moſt important and eventful nature. One of the law officers in the Houſe of Commons, ſaid, that the Bill of Rights law ſpoke for itſelf, and was conditional; and that the Mutiny Act, was regulating, not reſtrictive: that if it was not, it would be the moſt dangerous law that ever was enacted; for it muſt be conſtrued ſo as entirely to tie up the King's hands, from uſing proper means for the defence or preſervation of the kingdom; let the exigencies of the times, or the neceſſities of the ſtate, be what they may. His ſecond, in that Houſe, alſo contended, that contributions, really and purely voluntary, were legal in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word. Some other gentlemen of the ſame profeſſion in that Houſe, and who were uſually on the ſame ſide, conſidered the meaſure as illegal; but ſaid, that as the rebellion ought to be quelled by any means whatever, the means in this inſtance muſt be juſtified by the neceſſity, and they would therefore vote for the ſupply.

Another great law Lord, in the other Houſe, ſaid, that the King, by his prerogative, was empowered to levy men and raiſe an army. When men were raiſed, the new levies were reported to parliament, whoſe duty it then was, if they judged the meaſure right and neceſſary, to provide for their ſubſiſtence; or otherwiſe, if they diſapproved of the meaſure, to paſs their cenſure on it by giving a negative to the ſupply, which was in effect a reſolution for diſbanding the troops. With reſpect to the argument ſo much urged and inſiſted on, that parliament ought to be conſulted as to the raiſing of men, previous to new levies of any kind; he ſaid, that long experience had ſhewn the impolicy of ſuch a cuſtom, and therefore it was never practiſed. The King, in raiſing an army, as in making a ſubſidiary treaty, never applied to parliament till after each was effected; and it had for ages been deemed a ſufficient ſecurity to the conſtitution, that parliament had it in its power to diſband the one, or to ſet aſide the other, by paſſing its negative upon either.

The noble Lord ſaid it was a fact well known, that every man might give the King money; it was equally well known, that every man might either leave or give the King land; it had been often done, and no perſon ever dreamed of its being illegal. That there could not be a greater miſrepreſentation than in comparing the preſent ſubſcriptions to benevolences; the donations ſo nominated in antient times, though called free-

ree-gifts, were notoriously the contrary; men were, when a commiſſion for public benevolences to the crown was iſſued, compelled to contribute, and if they refuſed, or withheld their proportion, they loſt their liberty, and were ſent to priſon. Let it be conſidered what the purpoſe was of the preſent ſubſcriptions; it was generouſly and laudably to aſſiſt the King with levy money; a matter often practiſed, and always eſſentially ſerviceable to the ſtate. The nation could not poſſibly be injured. The public ſubſcriptions went to furniſh additional levy money, to make the bounties larger than government uſually gave, and by that means to quicken and render more eaſy the filling of the old corps, and the completing of the army. Suppoſing even that more men were raiſed than the number allotted by parliament, what would the conſequence be? Nothing more, than that the crown muſt apply to them for ſubſiſtence money to maintain thoſe extra troops. It would then be in the power of either Houſe to negative the new levies, by refuſing the ſupply, who muſt of courſe be diſbanded. In this final upſhot of things, the new recruits would have to return home, with the money in their pockets which they had received from the bounty of the ſubſcribers; and theſe latter, who could be the only loſers, would ſacrifice ſo much money as a teſtimony of their loyalty and zeal. But what miſchief or loſs could the nation thereby ſuffer? Or what injury could the liberties of the ſubject, or the priviſeges of parliament ſuſtain, by any part of the tranſaction.

It was ſaid, that the unqualified cenſure and reproach, which was thrown upon the places and countries where the levies were made, and upon the men of whom they were compoſed, were equally unjuſt and ungenerous. What happy ſpot of our iſland could be ſhewn, which, in the long courſe of our diſſentions and civil wars, had not undergone the cenſure, or ſuffered under the taint of rebellion? Was it then equitable or reaſonable to ſtigmatize every diſtrict or country, which had ever produced a rebel, or a band of rebels? Were the ſins of the fathers to rain down for ever upon the heads of their deſcendants through all generations? Or what was ſtill, if poſſible, more abſurd and unjuſt, were thoſe whoſe anceſtors had been entirely innocent, or even perhaps meritorious, to undergo the ſame common curſe and puniſhment, only becauſe they had the misfortune of being born in the ſame country, and breathing the ſame air? A part of the people in queſtion, had by their eminent ſervices in the laſt war, ſufficiently atoned for any faults or crimes imputable to their anceſtors, and freely waſhed out with their blood, any ſtigma which the conduct of the latter could be ſuppoſed to leave on their country.

On the other ſide it was ſaid, that thoſe precedents which had been quoted, did not in any degree come up to the queſtion, or in any manner juſtify the preſent meaſure. In times of great public danger, and circumſtances of uncommon exigency, what at other periods would not only be imprudent but illegal, might become warrantable. The tyrant's plea,

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ſtate necessity, had occaſionally given a ſanction to many meaſures which were not ſtrictly juſtifiable with regard to the conſtitution. On this ground, and on no other, the raiſing of regiments, and other acts in the ſervice of government, during the immediate danger of the laſt rebellion, either were, or could be excuſed. In the year 1745, beſides being involved in a dangerous foreign war, a moſt inveterate rebellion was raiſed within the kingdom, which went to the direct ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and the total overthrow of all our civil and religious rights. Rebellion then ſtalked with giant ſtrides towards the capital; and was approaching faſt to the gates of the palace. In ſuch a moment of imminent danger, when all law, government, property, and perſonal ſecurity were at ſtake, every other conſideration and matter muſt neceſſarily give way, to ſelf preſervation and immediate defence. The ſituation, which threw us back into a temporary ſtate of nature, ſuperſeded all other conſiderations. It was then undoubtedly right to provide for the public ſafety, by the beſt means which the nature of the caſe would admit; and when both the laws and the conſtitution were at ſtake, it would be ridiculous to heſitate at a temporary violation of them for their defence.—But how, ſaid they, did that caſe reſemble this of America, where the time did not preſs; where the enemy was three thouſand miles off; and where we had ſtill a vaſt fleet and army, both victorious? This is not a meaſure taken from neceſſity to be referred to a parliament not then ſitting—but a parliament actually ſitting is prorogued for the purpoſe of carrying the meaſure into execution.

The latter inſtances, they ſaid, were ſtill more remote in all their parts from the preſent queſtion. The new regiments, which were raiſed in the beginning of the laſt war, had the virtual ſanction of parliament. A ſtanding act, called an act of credit, had been paſſed in favour of his late Majeſty, by which the ſanction of parliament was granted in certain predicaments, to all the operations of the crown. (This poſition was, however, controverted; and the act of credit was ſaid to be of a later date, than the raiſing of the forces.) But without any ſuch ſanction, the addreſſes of both Houſes, upon the ſubject of the war, and of the national defence, or even the vicinity, and alarming preparation of the enemy, would have ſufficiently juſtified the meaſure.

As to the ſubſcriptions raiſed by the city of London and other public bodies during the late war, they were ſaid to have been diſpoſed of in the moſt conſtitutional manner; they were not applied to raiſe or maintain an army independent of parliament, but to further the public ſervice, by granting premiums to recruits for the filling up of the old regiments, and to ſeamen, or able landmen, for manning the navy. But in the preſent inſtance, 15,000 men are raiſed, or appointed to be raiſed, during the ſitting, and without the conſent or knowledge of parliament; whilſt a ſelf-created body of men at the London Tavern, venture to propoſe themſelves as a ſubſtitute for parliament, and to aſſume

ſſume its moſt eſſential property, nd inalienable right and autho- ity, that of granting money, which to be diſpoſed of without its ontroul, either to the mainte- ance of this new army, or to any ther purpoſe which the wiſdom of he crown, or in reality its Mini- ers, might deem fitting.

A great law Lord, who had ome years ago filled the firſt ci- il office under the crown with igh and univerſal applauſe, re- robated the meaſure in all its arts, as well as much of the doc- rine which was now advanced by is profeſſional opponents in its upport. He pronounced the mea- ure of raiſing troops, without the onſent, and during the ſitting of arliament, to be abſolutely ille- al, unconſtitutional, and a high iolation of the fundamental pri- ileges of parliament. That, to udge of the neceſſities of the tate, in point of meaſures offen- ive or defenſive, and to make pro- iſion accordingly, was of the ery eſſence of parliament; and hat to take any meaſure there- ore, while the parliament was in eing, and of courſe in an active, nd not paſſive ſtate, without pre- ious information, conſultation, nd advice, was an act little ſhort f ſuperſeding its authority, and tripping it of its rights. And hat the committees at the London Tavern and at Briſtol, had acted daringly illegal, and truly alarm- ng part; they had aſſumed a le- giſlative power, and had acted in hat capacity, in which, according o the ſpirit of the conſtitution, nd the expreſs meaning of the Bill of Rights, parliament only were empowered to act. He con- cluded by declaring, that both the meaſure, and the arguments which were brought in ſupport of it by the two learned Lords in high office, tended to no leſs in their conſequences, than the utter ſub- verſion of the conſtitution.

A lawyer of the firſt eminence in his profeſſion, and who had alſo been, ſome years before, one of the firſt law officers of the crown in the other Houſe, entered more deeply into the queſtion of legality, with reſpect to the raiſing of men; after a moſt curious and learned inveſtigation of the law, commencing with it as it ſtood before the cuſtom of raiſing or keeping mercenary ſoldiers in time of peace had been practiſed, and brought down to the introduction of the mutiny act, he drew from thence a poſitive deduction, that there was not the colour of ſup- port, afforded either by the com- mon or ſtatute law, nor even by the acts of uſurped prerogative, to the doctrine of making levies without the conſent, and during the ſitting of parliament.

Others quoted the ſtanding preamble to the annual Mutiny Act, which expreſsly declares, that the King ſhall not raiſe an army within the kingdom in time of peace. They aſked, if the of- fenſive meaſures carried on by go- vernment at its own diſcretion, in endeavouring to quell a rebellion at 3,000 miles diſtance, could be conſidered as endangering the in- ternal ſecurity of this country in ſuch a degree, as could warrant ſo flagrant a violation of the conſtitu- tion and laws? They obſerved that ſtanding armies had been the con- ſtant engines of tyranny, by which the civil rights and liberties of the people had been deſtroyed in every

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of state in Europe. And that the principal argument used on the other side, namely, "that there could be no danger in the raising of an army by the crown, as parliament must be applied to for its payment," was not only overthrown by the very act which it was brought to defend, but that that position shewed the enormity and danger of the act in the strongest colours; for the army is not only raised, but the example is set, and reduced to practice, how money may be provided for the support of that army, without the concurrence or controul of parliament.

Nor did the question of benevolences and free gifts, undergo less discussion, nor their being again brought into practice, incur less censure, than the doctrine of raising forces without the participation of parliament. They were declared to have been illegal at all times, and in all the stages of the constitution. Benevolences, they said, were first introduced in the turbulent, distracted, and bloody times of Edward the fourth. They were among the numberless deplorable consequences of our unhappy civil wars of that period; and had been constantly and uniformly condemned by all our great legal and constitutional authorities. They had been suppressed by two acts of parliament. And even in the arbitrary reign of James the first, when he attempted to procure benevolences in a manner exactly similar to the present, by sending his confidential servants to different parts of the kingdom to raise spontaneous and voluntary subscriptions; although the measure was unaccompanied with any circumstance of force whatever, yet Mr. St. John, who was esteemed the best constitutional lawyer in the kingdom, and who became afterwards Lord Chief Justice, opposed those subscriptions with the greatest vehemence, and declared, (along with other still stronger expressions) that the attempt to get money for the King's use in that way, was a breach of his Majesty's coronation oath; and that it was no less than an abetting of perjury, in all those who subscribed. And although Mr. St. John was prosecuted in the Star Chamber, he was acquitted; and the most arbitrary and tyrannous court that ever existed, has thereby left a judgment on record, that resistance to such subscriptions, by any means, or in any language, is not reprehensible.

They said, that every gift to the crown for public purposes, was in aid, and had been early and wisely marked out, as a breach of the privileges of parliament. The evident spirit of the constitution at all times, and independent of any particular laws, which were only passed to cure some immediate violation of it, was, that the crown should receive no supplies whatever, but through the medium of parliament; for that would be to make the crown independent of parliament, and of course to render parliament an useless burthen to the nation. Money is power; money produces armies; and the liberties of all countries must fall before armies.

The Bill of Rights declares, "That the levying of money for, or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative without grant of parliament, or for a longer time, or in any other manner, than the same is or shall be granted,

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is illegal." If it cannot be denied, that to levy money is to raiſe it, it muſt be equally acknowledged, that the meaſure under conſideration, has conſiſted in the raiſing of money to the uſe of the crown without grant of parliament; and that for the worſt and moſt dangerous of all poſſible purpoſes, the raiſing of an armed force independent of parliament.

To ſhew that they had not introduced novel doctrines upon the ſubject, and as an inſtance, that the concurrence of parliament had at all times been deemed neceſſary to render even voluntary benevolences legal, they quoted the ſtatute of the 13th of Charles the Second, by which, they ſaid, it appeared, that notwithſtanding the madneſs of joy with which a great part of the nation was ſeized at the reſtoration, and the conſequent diſpoſition to make almoſt any conceſſions to the crown, together with the inevitable diſtreſſes which that Prince laboured under, in conſequence of his long baniſhment and penury; yet the parliament of that time, although too tender to lay any additional burthens upon the people, would not ſuffer the precedent to be eſtabliſhed, of his preſſing wants being ſupplied, by any aid or benevolence from the wealthy and well diſpoſed part of his ſubjects, without the authority of an expreſs and poſitive law for the purpoſe. They accordingly paſſed the law in queſtion, by which the term for the receiving of benevolences, to be purely voluntary, was not only limited to a moderate period; but the folly, prodigality, and vanity of individuals, was guarded againſt, by a ſtrict limitation of the ſums of money which they were allowed to beſtow upon the crown; no Commoner being permitted to exceed 200l. nor Peer to exceed 400l. in his benevolence.

They obſerved, that the preſent meaſure overthrew the only colourable argument which had ever been brought to juſtify the conduct of parliament in endeavouring to tax the colonies, and thereby bringing on the preſent nefarious war, with all the fatal conſequences which are ſtill to attend or ſucceed their final loſs. It had been held out, "That if the colonies, now that they were grown powerful and opulent, gave free grants to the crown, as they had hitherto cuſtomarily done upon requiſition, the crown might become independent on parliament for ſupplies." This, they ſaid, became the conſtant cry of Miniſters to amuſe and to deceive the people; and the cloak to hide their worſt deſigns. The unparalleled ſelf denial, and patriotiſm of the crown, in thus rejecting a proffered tyranny, became alſo, under their immediate direction or influence, not only the conſtant theme of praiſe with the whole tribe of miniſterial writers; but the ſtanding doctrine, and the unceaſing ſource of flattery in the pulpit, with all thoſe prudent and numerous labourers in the vineyard, who did not wiſh to ſow their ſeed in a barren or ungrateful ſoil. And the terrifying apprehenſion of danger ariſing from the foregoing miniſterial poſition, was continually held out as a ſcarecrow to parliament, until they were at length driven into thoſe toils of abſurdity in which they reſolved, That the American legal aſſemblies

blies should not give and grant their own money, lest they should render the crown independent of parliament, but that they themselves would give and grant the American money, without its real owners having any share at all in its disposition. And shall we now, said they, suffer the same measure to be adopted and carried into execution at home, and under our noses, by private persons, the prevention of which in legislative bodies, was the pretext for involving us in that unnatural and savage war by which we have lost America.

In the House of Commons, the manner of raising the new forces, was no less condemned in point of political œconomy, with respect to expence, inefficacy in point of purpose, and injustice to the old standing corps of the army, than in what related to the laws and the constitution. They insisted, that upon every principle of œconomy, and every idea of military judgment, the augmentation, if at all necessary, should have been effected, by filling up the old regiments to their full war complement, which was the method practised in the last, as well as in others of our former wars. By that means, an equally numerous, and a much more effectual addition in point of service, would have been made to the army. Every military man, said they, will acknowledge the extreme difficulty in the act, as well as the great length of time that is necessary, to the forming of a body of men, who are all entirely raw, and all equally unacquainted with arms, to military habits, discipline, and a necessary adroitness in their evolutions and mechanical exercises. Whereas if a third, or even an equal number of the same men, are incorporated with the steady veterans of an old regiment, they become soldiers insensibly; and the discipline of the one, being supported by the bodily strength and vigour of the other, they will form a joint body nearly invincible.

They proceeded to examine what real benefit the public would derive from the so much boasted generosity of the subscribers and raisers of regiments. They estimated the expence of raising a thousand new levies, at about 50001. and for so much money, supposing the subscriptions to be real and voluntary gifts, and that those men were applied to the filling up of old battalions; they allowed, that the public would be obliged to, and really benefited by the generosity or patriotism of the subscribers. But instead of this œconomical, wise, and established practice, on the side of the public, and this disinterested generosity, on that of the individual, what is the real state of the case? The public receives with one hand from a contractor, under the name of a free-gift for the raising of men, a very small portion of what it is giving to him with the other in a contract; and to complete this curious bubble, the thousand men are formed into a new regiment for the benefit of the raisers; who, if they chuse to sell the commissions, will receive three or four times as much ready money for them, as the amount of the whole expence in raising the men; and for this imaginary present of 5000l. the public must pay at least 30,000l. which is the lowest estimate at

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which the full and half-pay of the officers can be rated. Thus, if the 16 regiments, now raising, or in contemplation, can be completed, the whole extent of the ſuppoſed gratuities to the public will amount to 80,000l. for which the nation is to pay, at the loweſt computation, no leſs than 480,000l. Such, ſaid they, are the diſintereſted benefits offered to the nation by contractors, addreſſers, and ſcheimers; ſuch the political wiſdom, and prudent economy of our Miniſters; and ſuch the attention they pay to alleviate thoſe diſtreſſes, which they have themſelves brought upon a ruined and unhappy people.

Not was the injury and injuſtice offered by this meaſure to the army, and the prejudice to the ſervice in general, leſs, they ſaid, than the impoſition upon the public, and the danger which it held out to the conſtitution. Rank and promotion were given in a new and unprecedented manner. New and unknown men, or only known by their having obtained commiſſions in thoſe new regiments, which were ſuddenly raiſed and as ſuddenly broken at the tail of the late war, were now brought forwards from their obſcurity, to jump at once over the heads, and to take the lead of thoſe brave officers, who had ſerved with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reputation in both wars, and who were at this inſtant wedding their blood, or ſacrificing their conſtitutions, in the deſart foreſts, or under the burning ſuns of America. Gentlemen had been appointed to the command of regiments, who were never in the ſervice before, to the great injury and diſcouragement of all the officers of the army. If it was neceſſary or determined, they ſaid, to raiſe new regiments, they ſhould in juſtice have been offered to the oldeſt Lieutenant Colonels in the ſervice; who would not only have gladly embraced the offer upon the preſent terms, but who would individually, if ſuch a bargain had been ſitting for government, have advanced conſiderable ſums of money for the purchaſe of the opportunity. And, as to the recruiting ſervice for the old regiments in the uſual manner, it was not only entirely annihilated by this meaſure, but the extraordinary premiums now given, muſt neceſſarily cauſe an extraordinary deſertion from the eſtabliſhed corps.

They ſaid, that perſecution was as oppoſite to their principles as injuſtice. They did not wiſh to viſit the crimes of the fathers upon the children. They had given the cleareſt proofs of the contrary diſpoſition; and perſons in the minority, had not only been conſenting, but even been forward and active in the reſtoration of deſerving men, who had by their good ſervice expiated the crime of former rebellions. As little could they be ſuſpected of meaning to proſcribe particular countries for being fertile in rebellion. But it was impoſſible to avoid ſuſpecting the motives to the ſubſcriptions, or the purpoſes for which the new levies were raiſed, when it was ſeen that the contributors to the former were chiefly contractors, would-be contractors, jobbers, and other ſuch like vermin of the ſtate, who gave a penny to the public purſe with a view of robbing it of a pound, and that the latter, with a marked and ſingular care and predilection, were entirely the offſpring of places,

which had at all times been notorious for their Jacobite principles, and which had produced many of those who were deeply and principally concerned in the last rebellion. That such sudden and unaccountable professions or appearances of loyalty from such persons, could not fail of exciting doubt and jealousy in any case; and afforded great room for believing in the present, that they had rather changed their object, and abandoned in a fit of despair, that man in whose cause they had formerly been so active, than that they had by any means relinquished those high, prerogative, and arbitrary principles, which had so peculiarly attached them to him and his family. But when it was also considered that these very men, were the principal addressers for enslaving three millions of their fellow-subjects in America, are still the advocates for continuing all the calamities and horrors of the present cruel and unnatural war, and are now the first to take up arms in this country, and the only persons entrusted with them, common sense will tell us, that there is something more than loyalty or attachment to the House of Hanover in this conduct on their side; and that upon the whole, it is full time for every person who loves his country, and reveres its constitution as established at the revolution, to be seriously alarmed for both.

Some few in both Houses, carried the charge of partiality in the court, and the danger of placing the sword in improper hands, which was coupled along with it, to a still greater length. They said, that although they had no prejudices with respect to persons being born on one or the other side of a hill or a river, yet when so manifest a predilection was shewn to certain particular districts, as to confine the raising of a whole army (and in so extraordinary a manner) entirely within them, to the utter exclusion of the rest of the nation; and when it was also considered, that those people, so favoured and selected, were themselves tainted with the most incorrigible prejudices, and the most violent animosity, to the country, the constitution, or to both, it was impossible not to be alarmed at the consequences. They said, that there were many gentlemen of the best and noblest families in England, who had dedicated their lives with the most distinguished zeal and spirit to the military service of their country; and who having fought our foreign battles, with great glory to themselves, and advantage to the nation, and being also deeply interested in the preservation of the state, were not only the proper persons to be entrusted with its defence, but were also entitled to such rewards as attended that distinction. It was upon this ground, that a noble Earl who had moved for the opinion of the judges on the question of the new levies in the House of Lords, declared in his place, that if the legality of the measure was established, he also would raise a regiment, not for the purpose of its going to America, but that of remaining in England, to assist in protecting our liberties.

The expedient of redeeming public credit by an application to private benevolence, and of supporting the boasted dignity and authority

rity of government, by ſending about a begging box for the benefit of the treaſury, were thrown into various ſhades of ridicule, in which the produce of the ſubſcriptions to the regiments, and the ſtate of ſubſcription to the loans and rates of the publick funds were ſet in oppoſition, and the incompetency of the one to the ſupport of the other expoſed in many ludicrous points of view.

The queſtion being at length put in the committee of ſupply, upon the Secretary at war's motion, that 286,632l. 14s. 6d. ſhould be granted for cloathing the new forces, it was carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 223 to 130. The having any diviſion upon a queſtion of ſupply, and its being oppoſed by ſo conſiderable a minority, were two unuſual circumſtances which attended this motion. The debate was warmly renewed on the next day, being the 5th of February, upon receiving the report from the committee, but the queſtion was again carried. We do not remember any buſineſs which created ſo much heat in parliament.

This buſineſs was introduced in the Houſe of Lords by the Earl of Abingdon, who having given previous notice ſoon after the receſs, moved, on the 27th of January, "That a day be fixed for ſummoning the judges to attend this Houſe, in order to take their opinions upon the preſent mode of raiſing troops, without the authority of parliament." The attendance of the judges was, however, overruled by the majority, and the motion withdrawn by the noble Earl. It was principally contended on one ſide, that the judges were only called upon to attend, when they were to give their opinions on matters of mere law, relative to queſtions previouſly framed, and ariſing from facts already proved to the ſatisfaction of the Houſe; that the motion of any ſingle Peer for their attendance was nugatory; and that a convention of the judges in their judicial capacity, could only be obtained by an order of the Houſe at large.

In anſwer to this doctrine, it was urged in vain by the Lords in oppoſition, That during the ſitting of parliament, the judges were, as appeared by their journals, daily attendants upon that Houſe; that there were writs always iſſued previous to every new parliament, requiring their attendance; that their proper place was on the Wool Sacks; that they formed in ſome meaſure a part of the Houſe; and that according to its rules and orders they were always ſuppoſed to be preſent. They contended farther, that although, on account of their other important avocations, the conſtant attendance of the judges was excuſed, and their preſence was only expected when they were ſpecially ſummoned; yet, they inſiſted, that a motion for their attendance, by any noble Lord in his place, was a motion granted as a matter of courſe, comprized within the ſtanding order of the Houſe; and that it was contrary to parliamentary cuſtoms to refuſe it. This was inſiſted upon ſo poſitively by the Duke of Richmond, that he called upon the Lords on the other ſide, to produce a ſingle precedent of ſuch a refuſal. It was however thought

more eligible to eſtabliſh a precedent, than to put the judges to the taſk of a legal deciſion on the meaſure in queſtion.

The conſideration of the queſtion on which it had been propoſed to have taken the opinion of the judges, having been laid over to the 4th of February, the buſineſs was on that day reſumed by the Earl of Abingdon, who made the two following motions, "Reſolved, that it be the opinion of this Houſe, that the giving or granting of money, as private aids, or benevolences, without the ſanction of parliament, for the purpoſe of raiſing armies for his Majeſty's ſervice, is againſt the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and the letter of the law." And, "Reſolved, that it be the opinion of this Houſe, that the obtaining of money by ſubſcription, and under the direction of a committee of the ſubſcribers, to be applied in raiſing of men for his Majeſty's ſervice, in ſuch manner as his Majeſty ſhall think fit, is not only unconſtitutional and illegal, but a direct infringement of the rights, and an abſolute breach of the privileges of parliament."

The debates were long and warm, and exceedingly intereſting, from the great diſplay of legal and conſtitutional knowledge which was exhibited; an amendment was moved early in the debate, by a noble Lord who was then high in office, but who is ſince dead, and which went not only to the total overthrow of the original reſolutions, but to the eſtabliſhment of the very principle which they were intended to condemn. The intended amendment was, that after the words, "Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this Houſe," the following ſhould immediately ſucceed, "that voluntary ſubſcriptions of money, to be applied towards completing the troops which his Majeſty has ordered at this time to be levied for the public ſervice, are contributions for legal purpoſes, made in a warrantable manner, and highly meritorious."

This amendment being productive of much animadverſion, and condemned as unfair and unuſual by the other ſide, and not ſeeming to be approved of by ſome Lords on the ſame, was withdrawn; and the queſtion being at length put, the original reſolutions were rejected by a majority of juſt three to one, the numbers being 90 to 30 who ſupported the motion upon a diviſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Various motions preparatory to the enquiry into the ſtate of the nation. Duke of Grafton's motion for papers rejected. Mr. Fox and Colonel Barre's motions alſo rejected. Complaints on the refuſal of papers, and of the defectiveneſs of thoſe which were preſented. Avowed motives of the oppoſition in the enquiry. Mr. Fox opens the enquiry in the grand committee of the Commons. Reſolution moved and rejected. Mr. Burke's motions relative to the employment of the ſavages. Rejected after long debates. Mr. Fox's motions in the committee, relative to the ſtate of the forces in America from the commencement of the war, and the loſſes ſuſtained on that ſervice, rejected, after much debate. Debate on the appointment of a Chairman, on opening the committee of the Lords. Lord Scarſdale voted to the chair on a diviſion. Debates on the Duke of Richmond's motion againſt ſending any part of the old eſtabliſhed home military force on diſtant ſervice. Motion rejected. Merchants give evidence at the bar, of the great loſſes ſuſtained by commerce in the courſe of the war. Counter evidence, intended to ſhew the national advantages derived from the war. Several reſolutions moved by the Duke of Richmond, founded on the facts ſtated in the evidence of the Merchants. Reſolutions ſet aſide, after much debate, by the previous queſtion.

THE critical ſituation of affairs, both foreign and domeſtic, naturally directed the public attention to the opening of the committee on the ſtate of the nation; whilſt hope and anxiety were kept equally awake to the reſult of that enquiry. As the time approached, frequent motions were made by the leaders of oppoſition in both Houſes, for the various ſpecies of information which they deemed neceſſary, towards elucidating the different ſubjects which they propoſed as objects of future diſcuſſion, and the ſupport of thoſe points which they wiſhed to eſtabliſh.

In ſome inſtances theſe motions were complied with, and in others rejected. We have already touched upon the circumſtances which tended to a change of diſpoſition in the Miniſters upon this ſubject. A motion made by the Duke of Grafton on the 27th of January, fell within the latter predicament. This motion was for "a copy of the anſwer ſent to the Commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to his Majeſty's colonies in America, in conſequence of their letter to Lord George Germaine, dated the 30th of November 1776, excepting ſuch part of ſaid anſwer as might affect the ſafety of any individual." It was oppoſed by the Miniſters on the ſame general grounds which were taken by thoſe in the Houſe of Commons previous to the receſs, for the refuſal of all papers that might tend to the diſcloſure of any negociation between the Commiſſioners and the Americans, pending the ſuppoſed exiſtence of ſuch negociation. An uncertain

limitation of time, but capable of including the duration of the powers granted to the Commiſſioners.

On the other ſide a new ground of argument was afforded, from the letter which produced the anſwer in queſtion being already before the Houſe; ſo that the one ſeemed a neceſſary appendage to the other. It alſo appeared by the letter in hand, that the Commiſſioners were not only doubtful as to the extent of their own powers; but that they were in a ſtill greater ſtate of uncertainty, with reſpect to the propriety of exerciſing thoſe which they knew they poſſeſſed; and that upon theſe accounts they had ſtated their difficulties, and written to adminiſtration for inſtructions.

Upon this ground the oppoſition contended, that the conduct of the Miniſters in the inſtructions which they then gave, muſt have conſequently determined the event of the ſubſequent meaſures purſued by the Commiſſioners. If that conduct, ſaid they, was wiſe, prudent, and expedient, as we ſuppoſe it was, they can have no reaſonable objection to ſubmit it, any more than the motives upon which they acted, to the conſideration of the Houſe; but if this is refuſed, it will then certainly be equally fair in argument and conſonant with reaſon to preſume, that being conſcious of their own miſconduct, and afraid of its being expoſed, they avail themſelves of their preſent influence to ſcreen it from the knowledge of the public.

To this, and much more, which was advanced on that ſide, the inexpediency of diſcloſure, was the concluſive reply, and afforded an inexpugnable line of defence on the other. The Lords in office, however, at the ſame time, totally diſclaiming all deſire or intention of with-holding any information which could with propriety be communicated; and aſſerting, that the paper in queſtion, if it had been produced, would not have anſwered any of the purpoſes for which it was ſo eagerly demanded. Indeed the noble Lords ſeemed to be ſtrangers in ſo extraordinary a degree to the paper now demanded, and to vary ſo much in their ideas of its nature and contents, that this ſingular circumſtance afforded an opportunity for a charge which was ſtrongly urged on the other ſide, that no ſuch paper either did now or ever exiſt; that no anſwer or inſtructions had been ſent to the Commiſſioners; but that in this, as in other caſes of the greateſt national importance, the public buſineſs had been totally neglected. After conſiderable debates, the motion was rejected without a diviſion.

A motion made on the ſame day in the other Houſe by Mr. Fox, met with a ſimilar fate, being diſpoſed of by the previous queſtion without a diviſion. That motion was in part, upon the ſame ground with one made in the other Houſe, by the Earl of Chatham before the receſs, being a requiſition of copies of the inſtructions given to General Burgoyne, together with ſuch parts of Sir William Howe's inſtructions, as tended to any co-operation with the northern army. It was oppoſed upon the ground of impropriety and unfairneſs with reſpect to the abſent General, who ſhould in juſtice be preſent to explain and defend his conduct, when-

whenever any ſuch enquiry was inſtituted. The Miniſters had no objection, they ſaid, to any ſcrutiny that related merely to themſelves; but in this buſineſs, beſides the juſtice due to the abſent, they were themſelves particularly affected in point of delicacy; for they found that many gentlemen underſtood a paſſage in the General's letter, as acknowledging in ſome degree, fault or error on one ſide or other, and as ſeeming to bring the matter to an iſſue, whether it lay with himſelf or with the Miniſters; ſo that in theſe peculiar circumſtances, it was impoſſible for them to agree to any enquiry into the ſubject, until he was preſent.

On the other ſide, the oppoſition diſtinguiſhed between general enquiry, and particular charge or accuſation; the motion, they ſaid, neither led to or ſuppoſed any charge or accuſation, either againſt the General, or againſt the Miniſters; it only required the knowledge of inſtructions, which the Houſe muſt at ſome time be in poſſeſſion of, and which was at preſent particularly neceſſary for the directing of its judgment, in the forming a true eſtimate of the progreſs and ſtate of the American war, and being thereby enabled to determine upon the moſt prudent and feaſible meaſures for the reſtoration of the public tranquility. And that the inſpection of theſe inſtructions could no more preclude a future enquiry into the conduct, than it could eſtabliſh the juſtification of any of the parties concerned. However theſe matters might be, the motion was thought ill timed; and the refuſal of Miniſtry to lay theſe papers before the Houſe was generally juſtified.

This motion being diſpoſed of in the manner we have mentioned; Colonel Barre moved, that "copies of all letters and extracts of letters, which had paſſed between General Gage, Lord Howe, Sir William Howe, and General Carleton, from the 1ſt of July 1775, to the 27th of January 1778," ſhould be laid before the Houſe. Colonel Barre made alſo two other motions on the 29th of January, requiring accounts of the ſtate of the artillery, &c. in ſtore in America, at the commencement of the year 1774, and of the quantity ſince ſhipped for that continent. The two firſt of theſe motions were ſupported on the certainty, that tranſactions ſo long paſſed could have no effect on any preſent operations. The laſt was particularly grounded on the vaſt charge of the artillery beyond the example of any former war. The firſt and laſt were both however overruled on the ſame principle, the dread of giving information to the enemy.

The complaints made in both Houſes by the oppoſition for the rejection of papers were not greater than thoſe which they continually repeated, of the failure of delivery with reſpect to thoſe already ordered, and the exceeding defectiveneſs, erroneouſneſs, and unſatisfactorineſs of thoſe which were preſented; and which they ſtated, as being totally incompetent to the purpoſes for which they had been ordered; and, as ſhewing rather a mockery of the authority of parliament, than a due compliance with its reſolutions.

The Miniſters replied, that when gentlemen moved for papers, they frequently did not ſee or conſider the extent to which their motions went. That contracts for cloathing, victualling, and ſupplying the troops with rum, porter, and the various other articles neceſſary for the ſervice, together with the treaſury minutes relative to all ſuch contracts for four entire years, had been demanded. That theſe were ſo exceedingly voluminous, that it required more time than the Miniſters themſelves could have apprehended to obey the order of parliament. That they did not with to evade the enquiry; it was their ſincere deſire to comply, as ſtrictly as poſſible, with the orders of parliament. But that they neither did, nor ſhould, conſider themſelves reſponſible for any incorrectneſs that might appear in the accounts. They denied that any information was deſignedly withheld. No doubt could be entertained, but that the different offices preſented ſuch materials as they were poſſeſſed of, ſo far as they had been included in the orders which they received. It might happen in ſome caſes, that the accounts which were demanded had not been received. In others, perhaps, the original motions had not been directed to the proper offices. But theſe were not matters that lay with them.

The complaints on the other ſide, however, continued to the laſt; nor did they acknowledge that the cauſe was ever entirely remedied. Some accounts they ſaid were deficient, others imperfect, and ſome totally omitted. Reſponſibility was ſhifted one moment, and official knowledge the next. Thoſe, who under the immediate authority of parliament, endeavoured to procure information for its guidance, in matters of the greateſt national importance, were wearied and baffled by chicane and evaſion. It was not this, or it was not that perſon's buſineſs to give information; or the papers did not belong to this or to that office, was the ſatisfaction they received; and thus they were left to grope their way through a chaos of uncertainty and error. It was the buſineſs of Miniſters, they ſaid, and would have been their practice, if they had relied on the rectitude of their conduct, or the wiſdom of their meaſures, to have procured, without giving any trouble to the other ſide, every ſpecies of information that could be wanted, in order to their own exculpation, and thereby to eſtabliſh a perpetual record of their innocence and ability.

Before we enter into any detail of the ſubject, it may not be entirely unneceſſary to take a ſhort view of the avowed motives of the oppoſition in this enquiry; including alſo, the objects which they wiſhed to eſtabliſh thereby, and the concluſions to draw therefrom. The grand motive of the whole enquiry was the eſtabliſhment as an incontrovertible fact, of, not only the expediency, but the abſolute neceſſity of bringing the American war to the ſpeedieſt poſſible concluſion. — Of reſtoring harmony upon a broad, and conſequently equitable bottom between the mother country and her colonies.— And the eſtabliſhment of a permanent union at any rate, but ſtill upon

upon the beſt terms which the preſent unhappy ſituation of affairs would admit of between them.

To obtain this end it was neceſſary, they ſaid, to combat and overthrow thoſe doctrines which had been ſo long held out by the Miniſters, ſo conſtantly ſupported and adopted by thoſe vaſt majorities which were ſeen in two parliaments, and to an invincible perſeverance in which, the conteſt, war, and all their conſequences to both countries were attributed by the oppoſition. But as theſe doctrines had hitherto been impregnable to all arguments founded on probability, the natural reaſon of things, hiſtorical evidence, or analogy, and unſhaken by all ſpeculations into future evils or dangers; it was now thought neceſſary to try them by the ſtrong teſts of eſtabliſhed facts and recent experience, founded on, and immediately riſing from their own principles.

Upon this ground of proceeding it was neceſſary in the firſt inſtance, in order to obviate delay and trouble in the progreſs, to eſtabliſh certain leading facts as ſimple and incontrovertible poſitions; ſuch as, that the war had laſted for a certain ſpecified time; that a certain force by ſea and land had been employed in its proſecution; that it was attended with a certain ſtated expence of money and of lives, and that our utmoſt efforts in a three years war, had not produced any material advantage. From a few eſtabliſhed facts of this nature, and all founded upon the documents before them, various deductions and concluſions were to be drawn, and various queſtions of political conſideration ariſing from the whole, were to be ſtated, examined, and to become objects of parliamentary enquiry, deliberation, and deciſion.

Thus, if our utmoſt efforts in a three years war had produced no material change of circumſtances in our favour, it became an object of the utmoſt moment to weigh the conſequences on all hands, which might probably attend our further perſeverance in the conteſt. On this point, ſeveral queſtions of the greateſt magnitude and importance, would naturally and neceſſarily ariſe. The firſt would be, whether our reſources, in any probability or hope of ſucceſs, were equal to the longer continuance of ſo great an exhauſture of blood and treaſure? If this appeared in the affirmative, the next conſideration would be, whether the object was equivalent to the expence, loſs, and riſque of the purſuit? The queſtion of practicability muſt form another object of conſideration; and if it appeared, that our utmoſt exertion of force had already failed of effect, when the enemy was much weaker, and more incapable in every reſpect than at preſent; it would remain to be ſhewn, upon what ground of reaſon or probability our hope of future ſucceſs was founded.

Theſe matters being diſcuſſed, the probability of a foreign war afforded the next great queſtion; and on this part of the ſubject the oppoſition contended, that the danger of our becoming victims to the malice and ambition of our natural enemies, in the ſtate of debility and exhauſture brought on by our civil conteſt, when our principal military force was at a diſtance of three thouſand miles,

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and ſuch meaſures perhaps taken by the enemy, as would render its return to our defence exceedingly doubtful, if not impracticable, preſented a ſtate and ſituation of public affairs, the moſt tremendous that this country, in its greateſt perils, had ever encountered. This great branch of the ſubject led naturally to an enquiry into the ſtate of our military home defence, both by land and by ſea, including with theſe kingdoms, that alſo of our Mediterranean garriſons; and the defectiveneſs which appeared upon this enquiry, afforded room for the ſubſequent reſolutions which were moved for, to prevent the farther leſſening of our domeſtic force, by ſending any more of the old troops to America.

Feb. 2d. Mr. Fox opened the enquiry in the grand committee of the Houſe of Commons, with his uſual ability, energy, and perſpicuity, in a ſpeech which continued for about two hours. Although, in the ample explanation which he gave of the motives and propoſed ends of the enquiry, he took a comprehenſive retroſpective view of the conduct of American affairs, from the adoption of thoſe meaſures which he ſuppoſed led directly to the enſuing troubles, to the actual commencement of hoſtilities, and the proſecution and events of the war; yet he obſerved, that the particular matter which he ſhould refer on that day to their deciſion, would only compoſe a ſmall part of the buſineſs, which, he hoped, would thoroughly engage the further conſideration of the committee. He requeſted of the Houſe, not to mix the matter in hand with any thing that had paſſed before, but to go plainly and directly to the buſineſs; to conſider, with the attention and temper which the great importance of the ſubject required, the actual ſtate of their country, and in what manner Great Britain might be extricated from the critical ſituation in which ſhe then ſtood. He wiſhed, in conſidering the ſubject, that all gentlemen would at leaſt agree ſo far with him, as to diveſt themſelves of all former opinions, of all favourite ideas, and of all thoſe prejudices which might have been contracted in the courſe of paſt debate, and ſtrengthened by the warmth of altercation; that they would take up their opinions anew, as they aroſe naturally from the ſubject of enquiry, or were founded on fair deductions from the information before them; neither conſidering themſelves as friends or enemies to America, nor regarding that country as an object either of love or hatred; but conſidering it merely as a part, and a very conſiderable part of the Britiſh empire.

The method he ſhould lay down, he ſaid, as the moſt likely to bring men to a right underſtanding in reſpect to the preſent ſtate of the nation, and to point out the conduct which it would be our intereſt in future to purſue, would be ſimple, conciſe, and, he hoped, equally clear and concluſive; he would ſtate certain incontrovertible facts from the papers before them, and draw the fair, if not inevitable concluſions ariſing from thoſe facts. Thus, with reſpect to the army, he would ſtate, that in the four years, commencing with 1774, and ending with 1777, an army, conſiſting in each year of a certain number of thouſands of men,

men, had been employed in America, and that certain military operations had been performed by that army; he would shew that army to have been much stronger and more numerous within that period, and the enemy to have been much weaker and more incapable of war, than both are at present: he should in the next place state the impossibility of increasing that army. The hopelessness of success with an inferior force, after the repeated and continued failure with one much greater; and then he would shew the enormous expence which had been already incurred, its rapid increase, and the inability of the nation to its support.

The resources in men and money thus failing, it was a natural conclusion, and could not in fairness to the ministers but be supposed, that there must be some sort of negociation in hand towards an endeavour of accommodating matters; and in this part of the business, he said, it could not be too much lamented, that his motion for the papers relative to that subject had been rejected; for as the committee would thereby have discovered, and become competent judges of the nature of those impediments that had hitherto prevented such negociations from producing their proper effect, they would of course be enabled to provide such adequate remedies, as would effectually remove every obstruction to the restoration of the public tranquillity.

As prefatory to the retrospective view which he took of those measures that led to the present state of affairs, he laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom, That it was impossible for any country to fall within so few years from the high pitch of power and glory which we had done, without some radical error in its government. After stating the agreement with the East-India company as the immediate source of all the subsequent troubles, he observed that the ministers upon that occasion fell into a most capital error; by looking through the wrong end of the perspective, they mistook a great object for a little one; they took thirteen colonies for one; and the whole continent of America for the single province of Massachuset's Bay. They forgot that a southern colony, Virginia, was no less jealous of its rights, nor warm in their assertion, than Massachuset's; and they forgot that common danger would unite them all. Through this fatal error, of not being aware of the weight of that opposition which they were to encounter, their means were totally disproportionate to the end which they proposed; and it will not be questioned as an undoubted maxim in politicks, that every attempt to establish power, or to crush insurrection, with means inadequate to the end, will only serve to increase opposition in the one case, and to establish, instead of suppressing rebellion in the other.

Yet, totally blind to these consequences, the measures which the ministers pursued against the town of Boston, and colony of Massachusets, were of such a nature as necessarily compelled the other twelve colonies to become hostile in their own defence, and to enter into a common band of union with that town and colony. He insisted that parliament would not

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have paſſed the irritating and hoſtile laws of the year 1774, if it had not been for the defective and partial information laid before them by the miniſters; but that, on the contrary, if they had been acquainted with the real nature, with the true ſtate and extent of the oppoſition in America, they would have adopted the moſt healing and conciliating, inſtead of the moſt irritating and violent meaſures. In treating of the cauſes which led to the final determined oppoſition and ſtrict union of the colonies, he particularly reprobated the bill for the bringing of Americans for trial to England, and the Quebec Act. The former, he ſaid, without entering into the queſtion of its juſtice or injuſtice, ſhould, ſince it had been adopted as a meaſure of policy, have been ſupported upon the ſame ground, by a force equal to the terrors which it announced, and to the alarm which it inevitably excited. But as the act excited indignation at our injuſtice as well as terror, ſo the inſufficiency of the army, by which it was to be enforced, only excited the deriſion of the Americans without leſſening their reſentment. It taught them to contemn the power of this country, as much as they abhorred its injuſtice.

The Quebec Act, he ſaid, united all parties in America. The moſt moderate, or thoſe who were ſuppoſed the beſt affected to the Britiſh government, could ſcarcely after that ſay a word in favour of the intentions of the legiſlature. They ſaw a form of government eſtabliſhed, which the violent held out as the model of that which was to be extended over the whole continent. It afforded an unanſwerable argument, that the intentions of Great Britain were hoſtile and vindictive in the extreme; and that they had no reſource left but in ſelf-defence. The moderate party, if any ſuch were ſtill left, were ſtruck dumb. Thus, the framers of the Quebec Act, he ſaid, whoever they were, became in fact the great and effective friends of the violent party in America. If they had not thus ſeaſonably interpoſed, there would have been a chance of America's being divided; or at leaſt the degrees of reſiſtance would have been different in the colonies. But this made them all not only more firmly united, but equally zealous and animated; equally determined to go all lengths rather than ſubmit.

He then ſtated the impolicy of rejecting the very dutiful and affectionate petition from New York; and the unhappy conſequences that reſulted from that rejection. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe acts and circumſtances of irritation, violence, and malignity; notwithſtanding the bitterneſs and animoſity ariſing from the blood firſt drawn at Lexington, and afterwards more profuſely ſhed at Bunker's Hill; America, he ſaid, ſtill ſeemed unwilling to have recourſe to thoſe fatal extremities, which to the loſs and ruin of this country ſhe has ſince unhappily adopted. She once more applied, but it was for the laſt time, to the equity and wiſdom of government, for peace, ſecurity, and a renewal of amity. The petition which the Congreſs preſented through Mr. Penn to the throne, was, all circumſtances conſidered, couched in terms of uncommon moderation,

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as well as of the greateſt reſpect; and, beſides diſclaiming every idea of that independency with which they had been charged in the preceding ſeſſion, contained the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of duty, as well as the warmeſt of affection. Every body knows the fate of that petition, and that it was not even deemed worthy of an anſwer. The conſequences of that rejection will probably be too long felt and remembered.

He then combated the poſition laid down by the miniſters, and upon which they juſtified the rejection of that petition, namely, that the Americans were not ſincere in their profeſſions or propoſals; and that they only held them out to gain time for preparation, and to deceive their own people, whilſt the ſcheme of independence was already fixed and determined upon by them. In reviewing the operations of the war, the principal concluſion he wiſhed to draw was, that from the inefficacy of the great force already employed, and the little advantage that had been derived from the very conſiderable ſucceſſes which had upon ſeveral occaſions attended our arms, it was now evident to a demonſtration, that from ſome inherent and inſuperable obſtacles, the ſcheme of coercion was abſolutely impracticable; and that negociation now afforded the only hope of bringing the conteſt to any termination, that would not prove ruinous, if not fatal to this country.

Having eſtabliſhed (as he conceived) this poſition, Mr. Fox proceeded to clear the way for his immediate motion, by an enquiry into the ſtate of our home defence; in which he made it appear from the papers before them, that at this time, when we were in immediate danger of encountering the whole force of the houſe of Bourbon united with that of America, the army in England and Ireland, including the garriſons of Gibraltar and Minorca, had been ſo exceedingly reduced and weakened by the continual drain for the war, as to fall ſeveral thouſand men ſhort of that peace eſtabliſhment, which had been deemed neceſſary for our protection in ſeaſons of the greateſt tranquillity.

Upon this ground, and upon the idea which he ſtated and ſupported, that no force which we were now capable of ſending to America, could render the army there ſo powerful as it had been at the commencement of the preceding campaign, which however produced no effect, that could in any degree juſtify the hope or expectation of complete conqueſt, he moved, as a reſolution of the committee, for an addreſs to his Majeſty, that no part of the old eſtabliſhed national forces in theſe kingdoms, or in the garriſons of Gibraltar or Minorca, ſhould be ſent to America.

To the infinite ſurprize of every body without doors, who had ſeen ſo full a houſe drawn down to attend the reſult of an enquiry of ſo much expectation, no debate whatever enſued, nor was the ſmalleſt reply made to the ſpeech or the motion. In this ſingular ſituation, the queſtion being called for, the motion was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 259, to 165 by whom it was ſupported. So large a minority appearing in ſupport of the queſtion, ſeemed to indicate that more diſcuſſion ought

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to have been employed. By that appearance also, occasion was given to the sanguine on one side to hope, that it prefaged some considerable change in the disposition and conduct of parliament. Such was the event of the first day's enquiry into the state of the nation in the house of commons.

Feb. 6th. In a few days after Mr. Burke moved for an address to lay before the house, copies of all papers that had passed between any of his Majesty's ministers and the Generals of his armies in America, or any persons acting for government in Indian affairs, relative to the military employment of the Indians of America, in the present civil war, from the first of March, 1774, to the first day of January, 1778.

He supported the motion with his usual ability, in a speech of great length, (near three hours and a half) which excited so much applause, that many gave it a preference to any other he had ever spoken. Indeed this applause was carried to such a pitch, that while one gentleman, in his place, wished it to be printed, and affixed to all the church-doors which contained the proclamation for a general fast, a member of great distinction and in high office congratulated the ministers upon admitting no strangers on that day into the gallery, as the indignation of the people might have been excited against them to a degree, that would have endangered their safety. No very particular account of this speech has appeared. The abstract in the public prints was nearly the following.

Mr. Burke observed, that one of the grand objects of the enquiry into the state of the nation, was the condition and quality of the troops employed in America. That an account of the king's *regular* forces, and those of his *European* allies, were already before them. That hitherto no account had appeared of his *irregular* forces, particularly those of his *Savage* allies; although great dependance had been placed upon them, and they had been obtained at a very great expence. That it was necessary to examine into this point; because an extension of their mode of making war had lately been strenuously recommended. The prevailing idea was, that, in the next campaign, the plans hitherto pursued were to be abandoned; and a war of distress and intimidation was to take place of a war of conquest, which was now found to be impracticable.

He said that this mode of war had already been tried upon a large scale, and that the success which had hitherto attended it would afford the best evidence how far it might be proper to extend it to all our troops, and to all our operations. That if it did not promise to be very decisive as a plan merely military, it could be attended with no collateral advantages, whether considered with respect to our reputation as a civilized people, or to our policy, in regard to the means of reconciling the minds of the colonies to his Majesty's government.

He then stated what the nature of a war, in which Indians were the actors against a civilized people, was; and observed, that the fault of employing them did not consist in their being of one colour or another; in their using one kind of weapon or another; but in their way of making

making war; which was so horrible, that it not only shocked the manners of all civilized nations, but far exceeded the ferocity of any other barbarians that have been recorded either by ancient or modern history. He observed, that the Indians in North America had but two principal objects in their wars; the one was the indulgence of their native cruelty, by the destruction, or, if possible, the extermination of their enemies; the other, which always depended on the former, was the glory of acquiring the greatest number of human scalps, which were hung up and preserved with the greatest care in their huts, as perpetual trophies of victory, conquest, and personal prowess. As they had neither pecuniary emoluments, nor those honorary titles or distinctions, which are so flattering in civilized nations, to bestow, the rewards of danger and warfare consisted in human scalps, in human flesh, and the gratifications arising from torturing, mangling, roasting alive by slow fires, and frequently even devouring their captives. Such were the rewards of Indian warriors, and such the horrors of an Indian war.

He then proceeded to shew, that the employment of the Savages in the wars between the French and the English, did not in any degree come up to the measure in question, nor did it stand on the same principles. When those nations first made settlements in North America, the Indian tribes were, comparatively, numerous and powerful states; the new settlers were accordingly under an inevitable necessity, not only of cultivating their friendship, and forming alliances with them, but of admitting them as parties in their contests and wars with each other; the affairs of both nations were so inextricably entangled with those of the people who had sold or given them lands, and admitted them to a share of their country, that they could not be separated; their contracts on both sides created a mutual interest; and while the Savages retained any degree of their original power, they could not be indifferent to the disputes that arose among their new neighbours.

But the case was now totally altered. The English colonies were the only Europeans in North America; and the Savages were so entirely reduced in number and power, that there was no occasion for holding any political connection with them as nations. They were now only formidable from their cruelty; and to employ them was merely to be cruel ourselves in their persons: and thus, without even the lure of any essential service, to become chargeable with all the odious and impotent barbarities, which they would inevitably commit, whenever they were called into action.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to examine the arguments or apologies that had been used by the ministers in either house, in defence or alleviation of the measure. These he arranged under three heads, the first and principal of which was contained in the assertion, "That if his Majesty had not employed them the rebels would." To this he answered, that no proof whatever had been given of the Americans having attempted an offensive alliance with any one tribe of savage Indians. Whereas the imperfect papers already

ready before the house demonstrated, that the King's ministers had negociated and obtained such alliances from one end of the continent of America to the other. That the Americans had actually made a treaty on the footing of neutrality with the famous Five Nations, which the ministers had bribed them to violate, and to act offensively against the colonies. That no attempt had been made in a single instance on the part of the King's ministers to procure a neutrality; and, that if the fact had been (what he denied it to be) that the Americans had actually employed those Savages, yet the difference of employing them against armed and trained soldiers, embodied and encamped, and employing them against the unarmed and defenceless men, women and children, of a country, widely dispersed in their habitations, was manifest; and left those who attempted so inhuman and unequal a retaliation without a possibility of excuse.

The other heads of defence were, "That great care had been taken to prevent that indiscriminate murder of men, women, and children, which was customary with the savages;" and "that they were always accompanied by disciplined troops to prevent their irregularities." On these he observed, that if the fact had been true, the service of the Savages would have been a jest; their employment could have answered no purpose; their only effective use consisted in that cruelty which was to be restrained; but he shewed, that it was so utterly impossible for any care or humanity to prevent or even restrain their enormities, that the very attempt was ridiculous: in proof of which, both the present and former wars afforded numerous instances; and it particularly appeared both in General Burgoyne's and Col. St. Leger's expeditions, that although no pains were neglected to check their barbarity, they indiscriminately murdered men, women, and children, friends and foes, without distinction; and that even the slaughter fell mostly upon those who were best affected to the King's government, and who, upon that account, had been lately disarmed by the Provincials. The murder of Miss M'Rea on the morning of her intended marriage with an officer of the King's troops, and the massacre in cold blood of the prisoners who had been taken in the engagement with Gen. Harkemer, only needed to be mentioned to excite horror, and at the same time to shew the impracticability of restraining the barbarities of the Savages.

With respect to the latter of the foregoing positions, (that the Savages had always been accompanied with regular troops) Mr. Burke gave it a direct contradiction. He shewed that whole nations of Savages had been bribed to take up the hatchet, without a single regular officer or soldier amongst them. This had been particularly the case of the Cherokees, who were bribed and betrayed into war, under the promise of being assisted by a large regular force; they had accordingly invaded Carolina in their usual manner, but for want of the promised support, were nearly exterminated; and the remains

mains of that people now lived in a ſtate of ſervitude to the Carolinians.

He ſtated the monſtrous expence, as well as the inefficacy, of that kind of ally; and the unfortunate conſequences that had attended their employment. That one Indian ſoldier coſt as much as five of the beſt regular or irregular European troops. That the expence of theſe Indians had not been leſs than 150,000l. and yet there never had been more than ſeven or eight hundred of them in the field, and that only for a very ſhort time. So that it appeared as if our miniſters thought, that inhumanity and murder could not be purchaſed at too dear a rate. He ſhewed that this ally was not leſs faithleſs, than inefficacious and cruel. That on the leaſt appearance of ill ſucceſs, they not only abandoned their friends, but frequently turned their arms upon them. And he attributed the fatal cataſtrophe at Saratoga to the cruelties exerciſed by theſe barbarians, which obliged all mankind, without regard to party, or to political principles, and in deſpite of military indiſpoſition, to become ſoldiers, and to unite as one man in the common defence. Thus was the ſpectacle exhibited of a reſiſtleſs army ſpringing up in the woods and deſerts.

He alſo paſſed ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the endeavours in two of the ſouthern colonies, to excite an inſurrection of the negro ſlaves againſt their maſters. He inſiſted that the proclamation for that purpoſe was directly contrary to the common and ſtatute law of this country, as well as to the general law of nations. He ſtated in ſtrong colours the nature of an inſurrection of negroes, the horrible conſequences that might enſue from conſtituting 100,000 fierce barbarian ſlaves, to be both the judges and executioners of their maſters; and appealed to all thoſe who were acquainted either with the Weſt India Iſlands or the Southern Colonies, as to the murders, rapes, and horrid enormities of every kind, which had ever been acknowledged to be the principal objects in the contemplation, of all negroes who had meditated an inſurrection. The vigour and care of the white inhabitants in Virginia and Maryland, had providentially kept down the inſurrection of the negroes. But if they had ſucceeded, he aſked what means were propoſed for governing thoſe negroes, when they had reduced the province to their obedience, and made themſelves maſters of the houſes, goods, wives, and daughters, of their murdered lords? Another war muſt be made with them, and another maſſacre enſue; adding confuſion to confuſion, and deſtruction to deſtruction.

The reſult of his ſpeech was, that our national honour had been deeply wounded, and our character as a people debaſed in the eſtimation of foreigners, by thoſe ſhameful, ſavage and ſervile, alliances, and their barbarous conſequences. That inſtead of any military effect of value, they had only led to defeat, ruin, and diſgrace; ſerving to embitter the minds of all men, and to unite and arm all the Colonies againſt us. That the ineffective attempt upon the negroes, was the grand cauſe of that greater averſion and reſentment, which appeared in the Southern, than in

many of the Central and Northern Colonies, of their being the firſt to abjure the King, and of the declaration made by Virginia, that if the reſt ſhould ſubmit, they would notwithſtanding hold out ſingly to the laſt extremity; for what ſecurity could they receive, that if they admitted an Engliſh governor, he would not raiſe their negroes on them, whenever he thought it good to conſtrue any occaſional diſturbances into a rebellion, and to adopt martial law as a ſyſtem of government.

He concluded, that the only remedy for the alienation of affections, and the diſtruſt and terror of our government, which had been brought on by theſe inhuman meaſures, was for parliament to enquire ſeriouſly and ſtrictly into them; and by the moſt marked and public diſapprobation, to convince the world that they had no ſhare in practices, which were not more diſgraceful to a great and civilized nation, than they were contrary to all true policy, and repugnant to all the feelings of humanity. For that it was not in human nature for any people to place a confidence in thoſe, to whom they attributed ſuch unparalleled ſufferings and miſeries; and the colonies would never be brought to believe, that thoſe who were capable of carrying on a war in ſo cruel and diſhonourable a manner, could be depended on for a ſound, equitable, and cordial peace; much leſs that they could be ſafely entruſted with power and dominion.

The miniſters could ſcarcely have any new ground to take in this debate, and accordingly applied their force principally to ſupport thoſe aſſertions or arguments, which had been ſtated and combated, by Mr. Burke. They inſiſted, that every thing that had been advanced relative to a neutrality on the ſide of the Indians, was deluſive, and utterly impracticable in fact. That the diſpoſition of the Indians, and the applications made to them by the Colonies, afforded a clear and indiſputable propoſition, that no other alternative was left, but that of either employing them ourſelves, or ſubmitting to the conſequences of their enmity. That the operations of a war in America muſt neceſſarily be combined with the nature of the country, ſtill more than half a wilderneſs, as well as with the nature and diſpoſition of the native inhabitants of that wilderneſs; inſomuch, that no war ever was, nor ſtill can be carried on in that country, in which the Indians will not inevitably mix. And that ſuppoſing their aſſiſtance had been rejected on both ſides, they would notwithſtanding have become a deſtructive party in the war, by ſcalping and murdering each indiſcriminately, wherever they found themſelves ſuperior in force. Thus, they contended, that the employment of the Indians was a matter of abſolute neceſſity, and by no means a meaſure of choice or inclination.

They ſaid, that no propoſals of neutrality had ever been made to the Indians by any of the contending parties in America, whether French, Engliſh, or Americans, excepting only when the propoſing party had failed in its endeavours to procure their aſſiſtance, and would thereby prevent their operation on the oppoſite ſide. That

That this had been particularly the case of the Congress with respect to that neutrality which had been so much boasted as an instance of moderation and humanity. That the Indians had at all times been a principal object of American policy, with every European nation that held possessions on that continent. That Indian treaties had been entered into in the last war, and those people employed successfully against our French and Christian neighbours, without the measure exciting any part of that outcry and complaint which is now so industriously raised. That those treaties had been renewed, confirmed, and continued, down to the present time; that it was well known that superintendants were constantly employed at a great expence by government, to create and preserve alliances with the Indian nations; and that parliament gave every session the fullest sanction to this policy, in approving of and recognizing those alliances and treaties, by granting specific sums of money to the disposal of those superintendants, for the purpose of being laid out in presents, and distributed among the leading warriors and chiefs of the Indian nations.

The minister remarked on the observation that had been made, of danger arising from strangers being admitted to hear the debate; he said, that he also was very glad of that circumstance of an empty gallery, but that it proceeded from a very different cause; for he would have been apprehensive that if the public had been acquainted with the unfounded charges and aspersions brought by gentlemen on the other side, to traduce the honour and character of their country, it might, indeed, have raised their indignation and resentment to a very dangerous degree. He also entered into some defence of the measure of emancipating the negroes in Virginia, and encouraging them to join the royal army. He said the proclamation did not call on them to murder their masters, as had been stated in the debate; it only called upon them to take up arms in defence of their sovereign. He acknowledged the employment of the savages to be a bad, but stated it as an unavoidable measure; and combated the charges of cruelty by recriminating upon the Americans, who, he said, hung up their own people by dozens, for no other crime than their supplying our camp with provisions.

After a warm debate of seven hours, Mr Burke's motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 223, to 137 who supported the question. That gentleman, notwithstanding, followed his first motion by several others—For copies of all treaties and conventions with the Indians of North America, and all messages, speeches, and symbols, sent by any persons acting in his Majesty's service, or under their orders, from the 1st of March, 1774.—For an account of all money, arms, ammunition, stores, and the quantity, kind, and value of goods given to any of the said Indians, or consigned to any person for them, on account of his Majesty, or any person employed in his or the public service.—For an account of the numbers, nations, and names of chiefs of the American Indians, who have been in arms against the colonies of

North America, since the 1st of March 1774; as also of those who have acted in his Majesty's marines, with their state and number as by the last returns, and where employed—for an account of the number of negroes of Virginia who have repaired to his Majesty's standard, from the 1st of March 1774, and the corps which they formed or were embodied in, together with the names of the officers commanding the said corps, and serving therein; as also their number and condition, as by the last return—And lastly, For copies of all orders given, and information received, relating to the raising negroes for his Majesty's service, in North and South Carolina. All these motions were separately negatived.

Feb. 11th. In a few days after, the House being in a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Fox stated a number of facts relative to the war in America, which were founded on conclusions drawn from the papers before them. As the accounts given in relative to the armies in America, were so extremely deficient, in those heads of information, from whence any knowledge could be derived of the specific loss of men sustained in the war, and that those in particular which related to the state of the foreign troops, presented little more than a blank in that respect, the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Fox, who conducted the enquiry in both houses, adopted the same simple method for remedying that defect, and thereby establishing the point of fact. For this purpose, having established from the documents before them, the exact number of effective men which were in America, in the year 1774, and previous to the commencement of hostilities, which they shewed to be 6,864, they added to that amount the number of reinforcements and recruits, whether native or foreign, which had been sent from Great-Britain, Ireland, or Germany, during the intermediate time; and these aggregates being cast into one round sum, and compared with the number of effective men, which from the last returns appeared to be still left on that continent, the difference, amounting to something about twenty thousand, was stated as the exact loss of men sustained in the war to the latest date, whether by desertion, slain in battle, dead through disease, or otherwise incapacitated for service, by wounds, captivity, or sickness.

Mr. Fox having opened the ground which he was to take, with his usual perspicuity, explained the nature of a succession of twelve motions which he intended to make, and of the points which they went to establish. He would shew, to the satisfaction of the committee, that we had lost 20,000 men by the war, and that the expence of treasure had already amounted to full twenty-five millions. He would then appeal to the judgment of the committee, considering, that we had gained nothing by this fatal contest hitherto, and that instead of the undisciplined rabble we were first engaged with, we were now to contend with a powerful, numerous, and well-disciplined enemy, whether it was not full time for them to reflect in the most serious manner, on the very critical and alarming situation of public affairs. To consider, whether

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our resources of men and money were equal to the difficult and hazardous task of conquest; or if that should appear, on due examination, to be totally impracticable, whether it was not incumbent on parliament, immediately to devise some means for putting an end to our public calamities, and to endeavour to avert those imminent dangers with which we are on every side threatened. That in every consideration of this mad, improvident, and destructive war, they should bear constantly in mind, that besides our having suffered such disgraces in its progress as this country never before experienced, all those thousands of lives and millions of money, had not only been thrown away to no manner of purpose, but that on the contrary, that vast expence of blood and treasure had rendered conciliation infinitely more difficult, and consequently our situation as a nation infinitely worse, than if the sword had never been drawn, a shilling spent, or a life lost.

He then proposed his leading motion as a foundation for the succeeding, and as an incontrovertible fact arising from the evidence before them, viz. "Resolved, that it appears to this committee, that in the year 1774, the whole of the land-forces serving in North America, did not amount to more than 6,864 effective men, officers included."

The Secretary of War said, that however they might have been founded in point of fact, he could not have avoided disapproving of the resolutions, as being highly improper and ill timed; but that when he also knew, that some of the principal of them were totally unfounded in fact, he could have no difficulty in giving them a direct negative. The honourable mover had stated as a fact, that 20,000 men had been already lost in this war; this, he contended, to be a gross error, for he could demonstrate by returns which he had in his hands, that the whole number slain in three years war did not exceed 1200. He did not mean to include in that number those who died natural deaths, who deserted, were made prisoners, or who had been rendered unfit for service by wounds or sickness; but only such as had been slain in battle. And that if this erroneous statement of the loss of men was to go out into the world under the sanction of parliament, it would not only establish falsehood, but very pernicious ideas, with respect to the state, nature, conduct, and consequences of the war.

The minister declared the propositions to be reprehensible and impolitic in the highest degree; and was amazed, that while our affairs were represented to be in the most critical and alarming situation, how the author of that assertion could, with any colour of reason, propose that the state of our armies should be exposed to our enemies, during the actual state and existence of a war, which, according to the language held on that side, was every day expected to be extended in a still more dangerous degree; but that if he had even approved of the purport of the motion, it was impossible he could agree to it, until the prodigious difference in calculation, which appeared to be no less than sixteen to one, between the honourable mover, and the noble lord at the

head of the war office, from whom also the whole information upon the subject was derived, could be in some manner settled. That he would therefore recommend to Mr. Fox to withdraw his motion, until this great difference in point of calculation was settled, when it would be time enough to consider the merits of the question; but that if this was not agreed to, he must be under a necessity of endeavouring to set it by, by moving to report some progress.

To this it was replied, that the mover had not supposed or stated, that 20,000 men had been actually slain outright in battle; he had only shewn and stated from the documents before them, that the deficiency of the force sent to America, exclusive of what was raised in the country, amounted at the date of the latest returns to that number. That however some parts of the question might be interesting to humanity, it availed but little to the public, and nothing at all to the service, what proportions of that twenty thousand had been killed upon the spot in action, died of their wounds, perished by disease or fatigue, deserted to the enemy, or who lived to present a maimed and mutilated spectacle of human nature at home, condemned to drag out a life of misery, and to exist a dead burthen and constant expence to their country.

That it was not the fault of opposition if false or imperfect accounts had been laid before parliament; they had taken great pains to prevent or to remedy those defects. But that if the noble Lord sent in papers of a different complexion from those which he relied on for his own private use and information, it was no wonder that there should be mistakes in the calculations, and that those mistakes should also be exactly such as the noble Lord pleased. But they insisted that there could be no mistake to affect the question in its principal and material point. The state of the effective force sent out, and of that which still remained, could not be controverted; and the difference was the undoubted loss sustained in the war. The noble Lord's calculation of the number actually slain, they said, might be easily overthrown, but it was no part of the present business.

In answer to the noble Lord at the head of the treasury, they observed, that an enquiry into the state of the war, and consequently of the army, was the principal object of the committee. That it would be a farce to talk of enquiring into the state of the nation, and to omit those great objects, which in fact included every thing that could be worth their enquiry. That if enquiry was not made during the war, it could never be made to any purpose; it would be too late when the die was cast, the contest concluded, and our fate, perhaps for ever, decided; and that at any rate, if the men who now opposed it succeeded, and still continued in office, they could easily evade all enquiry into their conduct when the subject was no longer interesting. That the establishment of such a doctrine would amount to no less in effect, than a public remission of all crimes and treasons committed by men in office against the state during the continuance of a war; for that iniquitous Ministers would have nothing more to do for their security

in the utmoſt ſtate of turpitude, than to prolong a war, to the detriment and ruin of their country, until the indignation of the people was exhauſted, and that their crimes were at length obliterated from the public memory. They concluded by aſſerting, that the Miniſter's pretence or argument for oppoſing the motion, on the danger of expoſing the ſtate of our forces to the enemy, was not more frivolous in point of argument, than it was repugnant to practice, and unſupported by precedent; and that their journals abounded with inſtances, of parliamentary enquiries into the ſtate of our fleets and armies, the conduct of commanders, and the cauſes of miſcarriage, public loſs, or diſgrace, being inſtituted in the midſt of the heat, violence, and danger, of our moſt arduous wars.

The debate was well ſupported; moſt of the principal members of the oppoſition having taken a conſiderable ſhare in the queſtion. As the Miniſter had announced to the Houſe previous to the ſpeaker's quitting the chair, that he ſhould on the following Tueſday, the 17th, lay before them a plan of conciliation with America; this notice occaſioned much converſation, and ſome animadverſion, diſtinct from the main ſubject. The oppoſition declared, that if the noble Lord's intended plan of conciliation, was fair and open, founded in juſtice, good faith, and right policy, and warranted by the principles of the conſtitution, it ſhould meet with the moſt hearty and unreſerved concurrence on their ſide of the Houſe. But they had too much cauſe for fearing that it would not anſwer that deſcription; for they could ſcarcely be perſuaded, (unleſs the ideas of cruelty and meanneſs were inſeperable,) that the ſame men who had rejected the moſt humble petitions and dutiful remonſtrances with haughtineſs and contempt, could ever conſent to hold out any plan that was fairly meant to ſecure thoſe rights, which they had ſo long endeavoured to annihilate by the ſword.

A young gentleman of great fortune, and of ſtill greater expectations, whoſe father had firſt laid or adopted the ſcheme of American taxation, and who had himſelf hitherto given ſome ſupport to the war, upon the ſame principle, and in the common hope which operated upon ſo many, of obtaining an effective revenue from the colonies, after explaining the motives for his preſent conduct in voting with the oppoſition, which were not founded upon any departure from his former principles and opinions, but entirely owing to the unhappy meaſures purſued by government, which had now reduced thoſe to be merely matters of ſpeculation; he then reprobated with an extraordinary degree of ſeverity the whole conduct of adminiſtration, whether with reſpect to the American buſineſs in general, or to the war in particular.

In the courſe of a very able ſpeech, he deplored the diſgrace brought, not upon our arms, but on our counſels, by the ill-fated, raſh, and undigeſted expedition from Canada. He lamented the want of protection to our commerce, the conſequent weight of inſurance on our merchants, and the declining ſtate of public credit. He hoped a day of retribu-

tion would come, when Miniſters would be called to a ſevere account for the diſgrace and infamy which they had brought upon their country, by involving it in a war which they were incapable of conducting, and deceiving the nation into an immenſe expence and great loſs, by holding out promiſes of a revenue which their inability had obliged them to abandon. He ſincerely wiſhed that the noble Lord's plan of conciliation might ſucceed; but he had every reaſon in the world, he ſaid, to apprehend it would not. A previous confidence between the parties, was the very life and baſis of all negociation and treaty. The noble Lord himſelf would not venture to ſay, that any ſuch ſource of accommodation ſubſiſted between Miniſters and the ruling powers in America. Nobody was ignorant, he ſaid, that every poſſible occaſion had been given by the preſent adminiſtration, to fix in the breaſts of the people of America and their leaders, the moſt rooted hatred and inveterate rancour. Under ſuch ſingular circumſtances of diſappointment and diſgrace on one ſide, and ſuch provocations on the other, he would appeal to the candour of thoſe whoſe diſpoſitions might lead them to the higheſt point of expectation, whether there was the moſt diſtant proſpect of any ſucceſs from a treaty, which was to be conducted on the part of Great Britain, by men who were univerſally execrated from one end of the continent of North America to the other.—Men, he ſaid, whoſe beſt and ſincereſt intentions would be only interpreted as lures to enſnare and betray. Under the full influence of theſe perſuaſions, he could not but fear, that whatever the noble Lord's intentions might be, his plan would be rejected by America, which would only furniſh Miniſters with an apology for trying the experiment of one more fatal and diſgraceful campaign; after which he would venture to predict, that all further attempts to ſubdue, or hopes to treat with America would be at an end, and that country irretrievably loſt for ever to this.

The Miniſter refrained from taking any notice of the aſperities that had dropped from this gentleman, and only gave a general anſwer to his opinions, along with thoſe which had been thrown out by others, relative to his propoſed ſcheme of conciliation. He ſaid, that as he never meant to negociate away the rights of this country, to procure himſelf any temporary convenience; ſo he never wiſhed to encroach on thoſe of America. His own private opinion never varied; but if his propoſition ſhould not meet with the approbation of the majority in that Houſe, or that it ſhould undergo any alteration, in either event he would gladly acquieſce. As to the particular favourable diſpoſition of America towards individuals or parties in that or the other Houſe, he ſaid, that by every thing that had yet appeared, all men and all parties ſeemed equally obnoxious to them; and whenever propoſitions came to be made, he was inclined to believe, that the object of the colonies would not be by whom they were made, but whether they were ſuch as anſwered their expectations. For his own part, he was ready and willing to reſign the diſ-

agreeable

agreeable task to whoever was thought better qualified, and was contented to accept of it. He wished as sincerely for pacification as any one person in either House; and so the end was obtained, it was a matter of no consequence to him by whom, or in what manner it was accomplished.

Mr. Fox had thrown out in his speech, that he had been informed it was intended to send out other Generals, and that upon that ground, great expectations were formed on the success of the ensuing campaign. For himself, he said he expected, that whoever should succeed to the present gentlemen in command, would meet with the exact fate of their predecessors; they would be one day charged with indolence, inactivity, and want of spirit; with a designed procrastination of the war, from motives of lucre and private interest; and on the next, with quixotism, knight errantry, and disobedience to instructions. He then gave ample testimony to the bravery and good conduct of the Generals; contended, that they did not miscarry through want of skill in their profession, or from any neglect of their duty, but merely from their being employed on a service, in which it was impossible for them to succeed; and that if Ministers shewed any trace of wisdom throughout their whole conduct, it was in their choice of officers; although they now basely insinuated, that it was only in the choice of Generals that they had been deceived; and that it was to their fault alone, that all the miscarriages in the prosecution of the American measures were to be imputed. No reply was made to these observations.

Mr. Fox's first motion was at length set aside about 11 at night, by another, for the Chairman's leaving the chair, and reporting some progress, which was carried upon a division by a majority of 263 to 149. He then, notwithstanding the advice of the Ministers, as in the first instance, to withdraw his other propositions, determined to take the sense of the House upon each singly, and they all accordingly received a separate negative without a division.

During this warfare in the House of Commons upon various parts of the general enquiry into the state of the nation, that great and important subject was not less agitated in the House of Lords, where it was conducted with unusual temper and ability, together with a perseverance scarcely to be paralleled, by the Duke of Richmond; who was also exceedingly well supported by nearly all the principal characters of opposition among the Lords. Nor was there less address shewn in one House than the other, in the manner of frustrating the principal objects of enquiry.

A debate on the choice of a chairman, upon the opening of the general committee on the 2d of February, being a matter in itself of little or no consequence, afforded an early indication of the temper which was likely to prevail with the majority in the course of the business. The noble Duke who moved for the committee, had nominated the Duke of Portland as Chairman, which was immediately opposed on the other side by the nomination of Lord Scarsdale,

dale. It was faid in fupport of the latter, that it was a rule of that Houſe for one perſon always to take the chair in ſuch caſes; that the noble Lord in queſtion had frequently preſided in it with the greateſt propriety and dignity; and that it would imply a tacit diſapprobation of his conduct, to appoint a new Chairman while the former was preſent. It was further ſaid, that as the buſineſs of the committee was likely to be arduous, it would require all the known induſtry and experience of the noble Lord to be conducted with propriety.

The Duke of Richmond replied, that he had no particular reaſon for naming the noble Duke, but that his character and abilities entitled him to every mark of honour and attention which they could beſtow; that it had been always uſual for the perſon who moved for a committee of the whole Houſe to be complimented with the nomination of a Chairman, as a matter of courſe; and that although it was otherwiſe a matter of no conſequence, he wiſhed his nomination in this inſtance to be adhered to, as it would appear ſome ſort of inſult to the noble Duke if it were ſet aſide. He concluded with obſerving, that it appeared an ill omen with reſpect to the important buſineſs before them, that they ſhould not enter upon it with that cordiality and amicable union of ſentiment, with which he had hoped to find them inſpired; declared that no ſolid objection had been offered to the noble Duke's taking the chair; and lamented ſo early a manifeſtation of party ſpirit.

It was farther contended on the ſame ſide, that there was no order or reſolution of the Houſe which entitled one Lord to be Chairman more than another; but that, in ſtrict duty, each of them ought to diſcharge the office in his turn; and that if any one Lord had taken more than his ſhare of the duty, it ſhould be an argument why he ſhould be relieved from it both then and in future; and that it was a jeſt to talk that any particular degree of experience or knowledge of buſineſs was neceſſary to its diſcharge, as there was not a member of either Houſe who was not fully competent to the duty.

On the other ſide it was ſtill inſiſted, that the Chairman who had been once appointed in a committee of the whole Houſe, was after, when preſent, conſidered as perpetual Chairman; and that ſuch being the uniform rule, thoſe who attempted to depart from it, and not thoſe who adhered to it, were to be charged with manifeſting a ſpirit of party. The matter being put to the queſtion, the Duke of Richmond's nomination was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 58 to 33, and Lord Scarſdale accordingly took the chair.

Although the Duke of Richmond took a wide range through the extenſive ſubjects of their deliberation, he confined the immediate buſineſs of the day to the ſtate of our home military defence, and having with great pains and labour drawn clear calculations from a multitude of perplexed and undigeſted accounts, he endeavoured to convince the committee of its great deficiency, conſidered merely as a *Peace Eſtabliſhment*. He then ſtated

ſtated the great and immediate probability of a foreign war, which was alſo acknowledged and confirmed by the ſpeech from the throne; and from thence drew the impolicy and danger of rendering our home defence, deficient as it already was, ſtill weaker, by any further drains for foreign ſervice.

Upon this ground he made the following motion as the foundation of an addreſs: "Reſolved, that this committee, taking into conſideration the continuance of the armaments in the ports of France and Spain, of which his Majeſty was pleaſed to inform parliament in a ſpeech from the throne at the opening of this ſeſſion; and alſo taking into conſideration that a very great part of our naval and land forces are on the other ſide of the atlantic ocean, and therefore not applicable to the defence of this kingdom upon any emergency; and that the forces in Great Britain, Ireland, Gibraltar and Minorca, are at this time leſs in number by 5673 men, than the eſtabliſhment has been in times of tranquillity and peace; is of opinion, that no part of the old corps, which are left in Great Britain, Ireland, Gibraltar or Minorca, can be ſpared for any diſtant ſervice, without leaving this kingdom and its immediate dependencies in a moſt perilous, weak, and defenceleſs condition, thereby inviting a foreign war, and expoſing the nation to inſult and calamity."

The motion was principally oppoſed by the Lords in adminiſtration upon the following grounds. The impolicy in expoſing to rival powers the weakneſs of our home defence. The impropriety of parliament interfering in any manner to reſtrain the crown in the exerciſe of its inherent prerogative, that of raiſing, directing, and employing of the military force of the kingdom; and that to reſtrain or regulate that exerciſe, would be in fact to ſuſpend it. That the defence of this kingdom did not depend on its army. The navy was our great and ſure bulwark of defence. Our fleets had ever been irreſiſtible; and our navy was never in a more reſpectable condition than at preſent. It was, in its preſent ſtate of preparation, the great pledge for our internal ſecurity, and for the pacific conduct of our neighbours. The paſſage in the King's ſpeech had been totally wreſted from its purpoſe; and the inference drawn from it was unfounded and unjuſtifiable. The nature and extent of the dependance which ſhould be placed on the diſpoſition or profeſſions of foreign courts, varied with circumſtances; and it would be highly unwiſe in the courſe of political events to rely ſolely on aſſurances. That predictions of the ſame nature with the preſent, relative to the conduct and deſigns of foreign powers, had been frequently repeated for ſome years, but were not yet in any inſtance juſtified by experience. But that in any caſe, ſuppoſing the worſt that could poſſibly happen, and that all that was held out on the other ſide ſhould be realized; ſurely it would be exceedingly imprudent to invite a war, by acquainting our foreign rivals in power and greatneſs, that we were either unprepared or unable

unable to meet an enemy. They concluded, that the resolution would amount to a public acknowledgment of our inability to reduce the Americans; and consequently to the renunciation of all our rights, and to the establishment of their independence.

The Lords in opposition ridiculed the ideas of secrecy affected on the other side; which they also represented as an insult on the understanding of that House. Could they themselves imagine, that any person in or out of it, with the most common share of understanding and information, could swallow down such an absurdity, as that our foreign enemies were ignorant of the state of our land forces, and of our home defence. The detail of the names and numbers of the several corps, and the places of their distribution, is constantly in print. The estimates are annually and publicly laid before parliament. The accounts from which the resolution is drawn are now before parliament. Not a single solid objection, they said, had been made to the noble Duke's motion; his facts were unanswered, and thereby established; no man had ventured to contradict or controvert them. All they have advanced, exclusive of the shameful pretence of deceiving our enemies, by concealing our weakness in one instance, and making a false display of our strength in another, amounts to no more, said they, than that we should now, in the instant of greatest danger which this country ever experienced, repose a thorough confidence in the vigilance and ability of those ministers for our future preservation, who by a long series of error and misconduct, and a failure, through inability, of all their measures, have at length brought our affairs to the present perilous crisis. In the course of the debate, a war with France was repeatedly declared to be inevitable; a noble Duke predicted with confidence, that it would take place before three months were elapsed; he said, that to prevent a junction between France, Spain, and America, we should make peace with the latter at all events; and exclaimed with eagerness, "Peace with America, and war with all the world."

The question being at length put, the Duke of Richmond's motion was rejected upon a division by a majority of 93 to 31.

The committee on the state of the nation being resumed on the 6th, several eminent merchants were brought by the Duke of Richmond to be examined at the bar, whose evidence went to establish the great losses which our commerce had sustained by the war. The examinations were long and interesting; no pains were omitted by the Lords on either side of the House in their enquiries; nor were those on the ministerial side deficient in point of stricture and cross examination. Upon the whole, the evidence was unusually clear and accurate.

To lessen or weaken the effects which might be produced by this enquiry into the state of our commercial losses by the war, the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty thought it fitting in three days after to bring counter-evidence before the committee, in order to shew the advantages which it had afforded. His Lordship observed, that as the noble Duke had brought

witnesses

witneſſes to prove the loſſes ſuſtained by the commerce of this country, it was neceſſary, as well for their information, as to prevent an *ex parte* evidence from going abroad into the world, to ſhew how far the loſſes ſuſtained by Great Britain had been compenſated for, whether by the prizes taken from our rebellious colonies, or by the opening of new branches of commerce. He then moved, that the witneſſes whom he had brought for the purpoſe ſhould be examined at the bar.

This was objected to by the Duke of Richmond as informal. He ſaid, he could not eaſily diſcern for what purpoſe this evidence was to be produced. For to form a juſt eſtimate of the effect of this war on our commerce, the trade loſt muſt be ſet againſt the captures made; and though they ſhould prove equal, (which he believed would not be ſeriouſly aſſerted) all the captures made from our trade by the Americans would be ſo much clear loſs. But whatever it might turn out, he ſaid, he would by no means endeavour to preclude his Lordſhip from bringing what evidences he pleaſed relative to this enquiry at a proper time; that his own lay open to his croſs-examination, and he had it in his power to controvert every thing they advanced; but that to take up another matter before the former was diſpoſed of, was unparliamentary; and was beſides, not dealing with that candour and openneſs which might be expected. He then appealed to their lordſhips, whether in every ſtage of the enquiry he had not previouſly acquainted them with the ſubſtance of his intended motions; only wiſhing and hoping that every noble Lord would have been influenced by the ſame motives which actuated himſelf, namely, an earneſt deſire to come at every degree of information, which might open any way for attempting to relieve or alleviate the preſent very great diſtreſſes of this country.

To this it was anſwered by a great law Lord, that the ſubjects on which the committee was to hear evidence were blended; loſſes had been proved, and eſtimates made to the diſadvantage of Great Britain; and as the evidences now to be examined intended to prove, that thoſe eſtimates were not ſo conſiderable as they had been ſtated, it was certainly quite regular to proceed on that examination. This opinion was, however, controverted; and after a conſiderable debate, the motion for examining the witneſſes was carried upon a diviſion by a majority of 66 to 25.

The noble Earl's witneſſes amounted only to three; the firſt of whom, being a proctor belonging to the court of Admiralty, was brought forward to teſtify the number of American prizes which had been condemned in his court. The ſecond, was a conſiderable adventurer in a whale fiſhery, which had been diſcovered and proſecuted with great advantage in the ſouthern American ſeas, as well as on the coaſts of Africa, by the Britiſh colonies, before the commencement of the troubles; but which had only of late been attempted from this country, on its dropping out of the hands of the Americans, and in conſequence of the ſcarcity and high price of oil, through the general failure in our fiſheries.

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The third, was an old captain in the Newfoundland cod and whale fisheries.

It appeared from the evidence of the second, that the southern fisheries were capable in time, and under the blessings of tranquillity, (more especially if they could be retained as a monopoly) of becoming exceedingly profitable. The sperma ceti whale, which abounds in those seas, is represented as being by far the most valuable of his species. He stated that fifteen vessels of about 170 tons each, had been employed in that fishery the preceding year; but it was drawn out upon his cross-examination, that the returns in product that year, (which was however deemed very successful) run upon an average only between forty and fifty tons to each vessel. It was at the same time known, although we believe not directly specified by this witness, that the very oil which was the product of this fishery, as well as those of all others, were now risen to about double their usual price. He also acknowledged, that they were under a necessity of employing four American harpooners in each vessel, as the British seamen were not yet capable of executing that capital part of the business.

It did not seem that the third witness established any thing very material. He only stated what was evident to every body, that as we had now a monopoly of the Newfoundland fishery by the exclusion of the Americans, so, if we were capable of prosecuting it to the utmost extent, the whole profits, which they formerly shared with us, would, in that case, center entirely in our own hands. But he was obliged to acknowledge, that the present scarcity of seamen prevented in a very great degree our profiting of that circumstance: and upon being closely pressed, he seemed uncertain, whether, laying by all consideration of the European markets, we should even be able to supply our West-India islands from that fishery, if the pressing of seamen was continued in its present rigour by the Admiralty. He acknowledged that we were obliged to employ American harpooners in the Newfoundland whale fishery.

On the 11th of February, the committee being resumed, the Duke of Richmond recapitulated the evidences which he had brought before them, preparatory to a set of motions which he had to make, being, he said, only resolutions of plain matters of fact, arising from the evidence before them, and which would be grounds for their lordships further deliberation.

His Grace accordingly stated his resolutions to the following effect: That in the course of trade, a very considerable ballance was always due from the merchants in North America to the merchants of Great Britain, towards the discharge of which remittances were made in goods to a great amount, since the commencement of the present troubles, and whilst the trade between this kingdom and the colonies was suffered to remain open.—That since the passing of the several acts for prohibiting the fisheries of the colonies in North America, their mutual intercourse with each other, all trade and commerce between them and this kingdom, and for making prize of their

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ships, and distributing their value, as if they were the effects of our enemies, amongst the seamen of his Majesty's navy, the number of vessels belonging to Great Britain and Ireland, taken by ships of war and privateers belonging to the said colonies, amount to 733.—That, of that number, it appears that 47 have been released, and 127 retaken; but that the loss on the latter, for salvage, interest on the value of the cargo, and loss of a market, must have been very considerable.—That the loss of the remaining 559 vessels, which have been carried into port, appears, from the examination of merchants, to amount at least to 2,600,000l.—That of 200 ships annually employed in the African trade, before the commencement of the present civil war, whose value, upon an average, was about 9,000l. each, there are not now forty ships employed in that trade, whereby there is a diminution in this branch of commerce of 160 ships, which at 9,000l. each, amount to a loss of 1,440,000l. per annum.—That the price of insurance to the West Indies and North America, is increased from two, and two and a half, to five per cent. with convoy; but without convoy, and unarmed, the said insurance has been made at fifteen per cent. But generally ships in such circumstances cannot be insured at all.—That the price of seamen's wages is raised from one pound ten shillings, to three pounds five shillings per month.—That the price of pot-ash is increased from eight shillings to three pounds ten shillings per hundred weight.—That the price of sperma-ceti oil has increased from thirty-five pounds to seventy pounds per ton.—That the price of tar is raised from seven and eight shillings, to thirty shillings per barrel.—That the price of sugars, and all commodities from the West Indies, and divers sorts of naval stores from North America, is greatly enhanced.—That it appears to this committee, that the present diminution of the African trade, the interruption of the American trade to the West Indies, and the captures made of the West-India ships, have greatly distressed the British colonies in the West Indies.—That the numbers of American privateers, of which authentic accounts have been received, amount to 173; and that they carried 2556 guns, and at least 13,840 seamen, reckoning 80 men in each ship.—And that of the above privateers, 34 have been taken, which carried 3,217 men, which is more than 94 men to each vessel.

The noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty declared, that every day's experience served to confirm him in his original opinion, that the enquiry into the state of the nation was pregnant with the most ruinous consequences, and could not be productive of the smallest benefit. That it only went to publish to the world those things which in prudence and policy should be concealed. That no war could be conducted without difficulty, embarrassment, and loss; but that it was a new system of policy to let enemies into the secret of national difficulty or imbecility. But he also contended that the American commerce had suffered more than ours by the war; that upon the whole, we had in that respect been gainers in the

contest; and that upon a fair examination a conſiderable ballance would be found in our favour.

In ſupport of this poſition, he controverted the evidence given by the merchants; ſaid that their eſtimates in point of value were rated too high; and their liſts of ſhips taken by the enemy erroneous. That if ſome branches of commerce failed, (which ever was and will be the caſe with all nations, whether in peace or in war) others of greater value were eſtabliſhed. Upon this ground, he eſtimated the benefits to be derived from the ſouthern fiſhery, and even its preſent value, at a very high rate; and the American ſhare of the Newfoundland fiſhery, which was calculated in its duplicate ſtate of a prize to us, and a loſs to them, was appreciated in the ſame manner. The noble Lord ſtated the number of American prizes which had been taken at 904, which eſtimated, he ſaid, at the very moderate valuation of 2,000l. each ſhip and cargo upon an average, would amount to 1,808,000l. to which, if the value of the fiſheries was added, it would appear that this country was not benefited leſs already by the war than 2,200,000l. beſides that every ſhilling of that money was a total loſs to our rebellious colonies. He concluded, that theſe facts totally overthrew the Duke's reſolutions in point of eſtabliſhing an eſtimate of national loſs; and that although nobody wiſhed more for an end to the war than he did, yet its continuance was in many reſpects advantageous to this country, and would be ſtill more ſo.

On the other ſide the Lords were earneſtly called upon to conſider, that the queſtions which they were to decide upon, were facts already eſtabliſhed before them, and to which, without a total violence to reaſon and propriety, they could not refuſe their aſſent. That ſo far the ground was cleared for their further deliberations, and opened a view in one great national department, how far the further proſecution of the war would be conſiſtent with ſound policy, and with the public welfare. And the ſuppoſed danger of affording information to our enemies, relative to facts which were already of public notoriety, met with that degree of ridicule with which the ſubject had of late been not unfrequently treated.

The noble Duke who was the propoſer of the motions obſerved, that as they did not mix with any other matter, the noble Earl's detail did not in any degree interfere with them, and could not with any colour of propriety or reaſon be brought to ſet them aſide. He obſerved with exceeding ſeverity, that the dangers with which we were ſurrounded, and the calamities in which this country was overwhelmed, could no longer excite ſurprize or wonder, when a miniſter at the head of the marine, that moſt capital department of the ſtate, and upon which its power and preſervation entirely depended, ſhould betray ſuch ſhameful and total ignorance of trade and commerce, as to lay down as an incontrovertible poſition, that, becauſe the great number of ſhips we had loſt in the war might be balanced by another number of veſſels taken from the Americans, the nation, upon the whole, conſequently ſuſtained no loſs. He aſk-

ed, whether any other Lord present could be perſuaded, that the commerce of this country was not affected by the loſs of 773 veſſels, eſtimated in value at conſiderably above two millions of money, which had been taken from our merchants, becauſe an equal value in prizes (ſuppoſing the fact to be true, which was, however, by no means admitted) had been taken from the Americans, and diſtributed among the ſeamen of the royal navy. The caſe was ſtill the more deplorable, he ſaid, as the value of all thoſe cargoes, if we had not been at war with the Americans, would, in the circuitous courſe of trade, have centered in Great Britain.

Some difficulty aroſe as to the mode of diſpoſing of the queſtion. For the nature of the facts ſtated in the reſolutions ſcarcely admitted of a direct negative, and the putting of the previous queſtion is not cuſtomarily practiſed in committees. To ſolve this difficulty a noble Lord high in office moved, that the chairman ſhould quit the chair, on which the committee divided, when the motion was carried by a majority of 80 to 32 Lords. The Houſe being thus reſumed, the Duke of Richmond moved his ſtring of reſolutions, when the previous queſtion was put upon each ſeparately, and carried.

CHAP. VII.

Petition from the county of Norfolk. Lord North's conciliatory propoſitions. Two bills brought in thereon. Effect of the Miniſter's ſpeech. Conduct of the minority with reſpect to his conciliatory ſcheme. Mr. Fox ſtates his information of the concluſion of a treaty between France and the American deputies; calls upon the Miniſter for an explanation on that ſubject. Progreſs of the bills. Mr. Serjeant Adair's motion for the appointment of commiſſioners, after much debate, rejected. Mr. Powys's motion to admit a clauſe for the repeal of the Maſſachuſets Charter Act, rejected on a diviſion. Motion by Mr. Powys for the repeal of the American Tea Act, and by Mr. Burke for extending the proviſions of the Declaratory Bill to the Weſt Indies; both agreed to. Conciliatory bills paſs the Commons. New houſe-tax. Mr. Gilbert moves for a tax of one-fourth upon ſalaries, annuities, penſions, fees, and perquiſites of offices under the crown. Motion carried upon a diviſion; but rejected the following day, on receiving the report from the Committee, by a ſmall majority. Mr. Fox's motion in the Committee of Enquiry, relative to the ſtate of the royal navy, after much debate, ſet aſide by the previous queſtion. Mr. J. Luttrell's motion for an inſtruction enabling the American commiſſioners to promiſe the removal of any miniſter or miniſters, who they ſhould diſcover to be ſo obnoxious to the colonies, as thereby to prevent the reſtoration of tranquillity, rejected upon a diviſion. Letter from General Gates to the Earl of Thanet read by the Marquis of Rockingham. Motion by the Duke of Richmond, that the letter ſhould lie on the table, after ſome debate, rejected. Duke of Richmond's motions relative to the ſtate of the forces in America, after much de-

bate, set aside by the previous question. State and amount of the expences incurred by the war in America, set forth by the Duke of Richmond; who proposes a number of resolutions founded thereon, which are all set aside as before. Motion for the attendance of the Surveyor of the navy, made by the Duke of Bolton, and rejected upon a division. Several subsequent motions made by the same nobleman, and tending to an enquiry into the state of the navy, after considerable debates rejected. American conciliatory bill passed by the Lords. Enquiry into the conduct of the transport service by the Earl of Effingham, whose resolutions thereon are rejected.

A Petition of uncommon energy, signed by 5,400 inhabitants of the county of Norfolk, including the city of Norwich, was presented and read to the Commons on the morning of the day that the Minister was to lay open his conciliatory plan with America. In this piece, a comprehensive view was taken of the conduct of public affairs, and the effect of public measures, both at home and abroad. Among others, the measure of raising men and money by free gifts and contributions for the service of the crown, a purpose for which, they say, they were called upon themselves, in a manner equally alarming, by persons of great power and rank in his Majesty's service, receives the most explicit marks of their disapprobation. The piece abounds with strong expressions.—"A misrepresentation of our unhappy "situation would be a mockery of "our distress. An empire is lost. "A great continent in arms is to "be conquered or abandoned." After a melancholy representation of public affairs, they trust, "that "the House of Commons, whose "duty calls, and whose competence and constitution enables "them to come to the bottom of "those evils, will seriously enquire into the causes of our present calamitous situation, for "we greatly fear that we, with "the rest of your constituents, "have been hitherto greatly deceived and deluded, with regard to the nature, the cause, "and the importance of the American troubles, as well as concerning the means of quieting "them, both legal and coercive; "else, we should not have the "misfortune of seeing acts of parliament made, only to be sent "back to be repealed; armies "sent out to enforce them, only "to be returned to us as prisoners "under capitulation; and, to "speak with the filial confidence "of free subjects, we plainly declare ourselves unwilling to "commit any more of our national glory to attaint, and the "persons of more of our countrymen to foreign hardships and "perils, without any common "human security, that they shall "not, by the same error, be "exposed to the same calamities "and disgraces, which many of "those have fallen into who have "already been sent forth. Without wise councils at home, we "cannot have empire or reputation abroad."

The noble Lord at the head of affairs, however little satisfied he might be with the censures passed or implied in this petition upon public conduct and measures, could find

and nothing in it to militate with any propositions that tended to a conciliation with America. He introduced his conciliatory propositions with a recital of his creed in all American matters. In that he asserted, that peace had at all times been his governing principle. That with that object in view, his conduct had been uniform, and his measures consistent; but that events had been in general exceedingly untoward. That he had always known, that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue; that there were many sorts of taxes which could not at all be laid on that country; and of those that could, few would prove worth the charge of collection. That although the Stamp Act was the most judicious that could be chosen for that purpose; yet, notwithstanding the high rate at which that duty had been formerly estimated, he had not believed its produce would have been a very considerable object.

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That he, accordingly, had never proposed any tax on the Americans; he found them already taxed when he unfortunately came into administration. That as his principle of policy was to have as little discussion on these subjects as possible, and to keep the affairs of America out of parliament; so, as he had not laid, he did not think it adviseable for him to repeal the tea tax; nor did he look out for any particular means of enforcing it. That the measure of enabling the East-India company to send teas on their own account to America, with a drawback of the whole duty here, was a regulation of such a nature, being a relief instead of an oppression, that it was impossible he should suppose it could have excited a single complaint amongst the Americans, much less to be productive of the consequences that followed. These he attributed in part to the disaffected, and in part to those who were concerned in a contraband trade, who represented it to the populace as a monopoly; so that the people were excited to tumult upon a principle totally distinct from every idea of taxation.

With respect to the coercive acts, he said they were called forth by, and appeared necessary in, the distemper of the time; but that in the event they had produced effects which he never intended, nor could possibly have expected. That immediately upon the discovery of that failure, he proposed, before the sword was drawn, a conciliatory proposition. His Lordship said he thought at the time, and still continued to think, the terms of that proposition would form the happiest, most equitable, and most lasting bond of union between Great Britain and her colonies. But, that by a variety of discussions, a proposition that was originally clear and simple in itself, was made to appear so obscure, as to go damned to America; so that the Congress conceived, or took occasion to represent it as a scheme for sowing divisions, and introducing taxation among them in a worse mode than the former, and they accordingly rejected it.

He complained that the events of war in America had turned out very differently from his expectations, and from what he had a right to expect; and that the great and well appointed force sent out,

and amply provided for by government, had produced a very disproportioned effect hitherto. That he could not but confess himself exceedingly disappointed at this failure of effect in our military force. He did not mean at that time to condemn, or even to call into question, the conduct of any of our commanders, but he had been disappointed. That Sir William Howe had been in the late actions, and in the whole course of the campaign, not only in the goodness of troops, and in all manner of supplies, but in point of numbers too, much superior to the American army which opposed him in the field. That General Burgoyne, who was at length overpowered by numbers, had been in numbers, until the affair at Bennington, near twice as strong as the army under General Gates. Considering all these things, the events had been very contrary to his expectation. But to these events, and not to those expectations, he must make his plan conform.

As the foundation of his conciliatory scheme, he proposed the bringing in two bills under the following heads: "A bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his Majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America." And, "A bill to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America."

The noble Lord observed, that it was intended to appoint five commissioners, and to endow them with very extensive powers. They should be enabled to treat with the Congress by name, as if it were a legal body, and so far to give it authenticity, as to suppose its acts and concessions binding on all America. To treat with any of the provincial assemblies upon their present constitution, and with any individuals in their present civil capacities or military commands, with General Washington, or any other officer. That they should have a power to order a suspension of arms. To suspend the operation of all laws. And to grant all sorts of pardons, immunities, and rewards. That they should have a power of restoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of its ancient constitution, as it stood before the troubles; and in any of those where the King nominated the governor, council, judges, and other magistrates, to nominate such at their discretion, until his further pleasure was known.

That as the deficiency of powers in the former commissioners had been objected to, so the Congress had raised a difficulty, on pretence of the non-admission of their title to be independent states. To remove that difficulty, should the Americans now claim their independence on the outset, he would not insist on their renouncing it, until the treaty had received its final ratification by the King and parliament of Great Britain. That the commissioners should be instructed to negociate for some reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire when re-united; but to take away all pretence for not terminating

minating this unhappy difference, the contribution was not to be insisted on as a *sine qua non* of the treaty; but that if the Americans should refuse so reasonable and equitable a proposition, they were not to complain, if hereafter they were not to look for support from that part of the empire, to whose expence they had refused to contribute.

He observed it might be asked, if his sentiments had been always such with respect to taxation and peace as he had now stated them to be, why he had not made this proposition at an earlier period? To this he answered, his opinion had ever been, that the moment of victory was the proper season for offering terms of concession. And with an eye to several reflections which had of late been thrown upon him by the tory party, and hoping perhaps to obviate some part of that greater weight of censure which he now apprehended from that quarter, he declared, that, for his part, he never had made a promise which he did not perform, or receive any information which he did not communicate. That he only kept back the names of those who had given him information, and which it would have been unfaithful and inhuman to divulge. That, he promised a great army should be sent out, and a great army had accordingly been sent out, to the amount of 60,000 men and upwards; that he had promised a great fleet should be employed, and a great fleet had been employed, and is still employed; he promised that they should be provided with every kind of supply, and they had been so most amply and liberally, and might continue to be so for years to come. And, that the House had all along been in full possession of the whole subject, so that if they were deceived, they had deceived themselves.

The Minister concluded a long, able, and eloquent speech, which kept him full two hours up, by saying, that on the whole his concessions were from reason and propriety, not from necessity; and that we were in a condition to carry on the war much longer. We might raise many more men, and had many more men ready to send; the navy was never in greater strength, the revenue but little sunk, and a few days would shew that he should raise the funds for the current year at a moderate rate. But he submitted the whole, with regard to the propriety of his past and present conduct to the judgment of the House.

A dull melancholy silence for some time succeeded to this speech. It had been heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation to any part, from any description of men, or any particular man in the House. Astonishment, dejection, and fear, overclouded the whole assembly. Although the Minister had declared, that the sentiments he expressed that day, had been those which he always entertained; it is certain, that few or none had understood him in that manner; and he had been represented to the nation at large, as the person in it the most tenacious of those parliamentary rights which he now proposed to resign, and the most remote from the submissions which he now proposed to make. It was generally therefore concluded, that

something more extraordinary and alarming had happened than yet appeared, which was of force to produce such an apparent change in measures, principles, and arguments.

It was thought by many at that time, that if the opposition had then pressed him, and joined with the warm party which had hitherto supported the Minister, but which was now disgusted and mortified in the highest degree, the bills would have been lost. But, in fact, they took such a hearty part with the Minister, only endeavouring to make such alterations in, or additions to the bills, as might increase their eligibility, or extend their effect, that no appearance of party remained; and some of his complaining friends vexatiously congratulated him on his new allies. These new allies, however, though they supported his measures, shewed no mercy to his conduct.

Mr. Fox complimented the Minister on his conversion, and congratulated his own party on the acquisition of so potent an auxiliary. He was glad to find that his propositions did not materially differ from those which had been laid before them by his friend Mr. Burke three years before; and reminded the House, that although they were then rejected by the Minister, three years war had convinced him of their utility. He observed that the noble Lord was so perfect a proselyte, that the very same arguments which had at that time been so ineffectually used by the minority, and in nearly the same words, were now adopted by his Lordship. He ironically applauded his resolution in relinquishing the right of taxation, from the high satisfaction which it must afford to several country gentlemen, who had placed so firm a reliance on his former declarations. Nor was he less pleased with the power to be given to the commissioners for restoring the charter of Massachusets, as that was a proof of his Lordship's wisdom in framing the act by which it was destroyed. For, to do, and to undo, to destroy and to restore, were not only the singular prerogative, and high felicity of power, but they were also the most exalted acts of wisdom.

He wished that this concession had been made more early, and upon principles more respectful to parliament. To tell them, that if they were deceived, they had deceived themselves, was neither kind nor civil to an assembly, which, for so many years, had relied upon him with the most unreserved confidence. That all public bodies, like the House of Commons, must give a large confidence to persons in office; and their only method of preventing the abuse of that confidence, was to punish those who misinformed them concerning the state of their affairs, or who had conducted them with negligence, ignorance, or incapacity.

The noble Lord's defence of measures, if he could have established a real defence, would have done the highest honour to his logical abilities, as it would have been no less than a justification of the most unjustifiable measures that had ever disgraced any minister, or ruined any country. But his whole arguments might be collected into one point, and all his excuses into one apology, when the whole would be comprized, and fully expressed, in the simple word

word ignorance! a palpable and total ignorance of every part of the ſubject.—He hoped, and he was diſappointed.—He expected a great deal, and found little to anſwer his expectations.—He thought America would have ſubmitted to his laws, and they reſiſted them.—He thought they would have ſubmitted to his armies, and they beat them with inferior numbers.—He made conciliatory propoſitions, and he thought they would ſucceed, but they were rejected.—He appointed commiſſioners to make peace, and he thought they had powers, but he found they could not make peace, and nobody believed they had any powers.

He, however, ſaid, that as the preſent propoſitions were much more clear and ſatisfactory than the former, for neceſſity had at length compelled the noble Lord to ſpeak plain, they ſhould accordingly receive his ſupport, and he ſuppoſed that of all his friends on the ſame ſide of the Houſe. Undoubtedly, ſaid he, they would have given full ſatisfaction, and have prevented all the loſs, ruin, and calamity, which England and America have ſince experienced, if they had been offered in time. But if the conceſſion ſhould be found ample enough, and then found to come too late, what puniſhment will be ſufficient for thoſe miniſters who adjourned parliament, in order to make a propoſition of conceſſion, and then neglected to do it, until France had concluded a treaty with the Independent States of America, acknowledging them as ſuch? He did not ſpeak from ſurmize, he ſaid; he had it from authority which he could not queſtion, that the treaty he mentioned had been ſigned in Paris ten days before, counting from that inſtant. He therefore wiſhed the miniſtry would give the Houſe ſatisfaction on that very intereſting point; for he feared that it would be found, that their preſent apparently pacific and equitable diſpoſition, with that propoſition which ſeemed the reſult of it, owed their exiſtence to the previous knowledge of the concluſion of a treaty, which muſt, from its nature, render that propoſition as uſeleſs to the peace, as it was humiliating to the dignity of Great Britain.

Others of the oppoſition, ſaid, that they would vote for the propoſition, as they would for any thing that looked even towards, or that could in any poſſible event tend to a reconciliation; but they declared at the ſame time, that they had not the ſmalleſt hope of its producing any good effect. For they did not think it to be in nature, and conſequently not poſſible, that the Americans, after having been driven to the final extremity and laſt refuge of mankind againſt oppreſſion, ſhould now, when they had ſucceſsfully eſtabliſhed their independency by arms, again commit thoſe rights and immunities, which they have juſt redeemed at ſo dear a price, to the cuſtody of thoſe very men, who have convulſed the empire in all its parts, through the unnatural violence of the efforts which they uſed for their deſtruction; nor that any art could induce them to receive the olive branch from thoſe hands, which were ſo deeply polluted, and ſtill reeking with the blood of their country.

Some of the country gentlemen, who had all along ſupported the miniſtry in general, and who were

supposed particularly attached to this minister, being much piqued at that expression of his, that "they had not been misled or deceived," rose in great warmth and asserted, they said with indignation, that they had been grossly deceived and misled by the uniform language of government for three years past; and one gentleman went so far as to say, that he should feel for the humiliating blush of his sovereign, when he gave his assent to the proposed bills. On the declaration of a great law officer, that a security for the congress debts, and a re-establishment of the credit of their paper currency, would be one of the objects of the commission, and one of the principal inducements held out to that body to return to its allegiance, another gentleman, zealously attached to the court declared, that he would much more readily consent to give currency to forged India bonds, and counterfeit bank notes, than to paper which had been fabricated to carry on rebellion against the King and parliament of Great Britain. In general that party declared, that as the point of taxation, which could be the only rational ground of the war, was now given up, peace should be procured by any means, and in the speediest manner. Nor did the Minister escape being asked, as taxation had not at any time been his object, what were the real motives of the war? and whether he had sported away thirty thousand lives with thirty millions of money, and in that amusement put not only the unity, but the existence of the empire to the hazard, merely to try the mettle of the Americans, and to discover what spirit they would shew in the defence of every thing that was dear to them.

Such things must be borne in such situations. The Minister being closely pressed on different hands for some explanation relative to the treaty said to have been concluded between France and America, at length declared, that he had no authority upon which to pronounce absolutely with respect to that event; that a report had for some time prevailed, that such a treaty was in agitation; that its conclusion was not only possible, but perhaps too probable; that, however, as it had not yet been authenticated by the Ambassador, the presumption lay that it had not taken place. This brought out an exclamation from a gentleman in opposition, that when the nation was at a very large expence, in supporting diplomatique establishments, and representatives of majesty, in the different courts of Europe, it was in the highest degree shameful, and not a little alarming, that in a matter of such momentous concern, the intelligence of a private gentleman should be more early, or more authentic, than that of the Minister of Great Britain.

In the progress of the bills Mr. Serjeant Adair moved, that it be an instruction to the committee of the bill for appointing commissioners, that they have power to make provision for nominating the commissioners by the bill. He said, that this was no infringement on the prerogative of the crown; it was no matter that lay within its ordinary federal capacity; it was a commission appointed by parliament, in order to treat about the

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rights

rights of parliament itself, the suspending its laws, and the surrender of its rights, or of what it had always considered or claimed as such; that for the House to give blindly such a power out of its hands, to be exercised at the mere pleasure of the crown, and by persons to them utterly unknown, was in effect a complete surrender of the whole constitution of this country into the hands of the King. That he therefore thought himself bound to resist this most unconstitutional measure by every means in his power; that as to any difficulties which might be supposed in the execution of this mode of appointment, they had been all completely got over in the East-India bill, where, with such sufficient facility, parliament had nominated commissioners for a matter of mere executive government, and one in which no parliamentary rights or powers were at all concerned. That he hoped, as himself and the other gentlemen of the late minority had given, and would continue to give, so clear a support to the conciliatory measures of the Minister, late as they were adopted, he also hoped the Minister, on his part, would likewise act a fair and candid part with them, and not take them in for a dangerous extension of prerogative, whilst they were joining him in an attempt to restore peace to the country.

The learned gentlemen on the other side contended, that a compliance with the motion would be taking the executive power out of the hands of the crown. That to hold out to the world at this time, that parliament entertained any jealousy of the crown, would tend greatly to counteract, instead of in any degree promoting the good effects, that were intended by the bill; and might also, in the present critical juncture of affairs, be attended with very pernicious consequences otherwise. That it would be a violent act, after having empowered and directed the crown to carry on the war, and after having authorized the crown to make peace, if it could have been effected by the submission of America, for the legislature on a sudden to hold their hand and say, the crown shall not negociate for peace. That there was no instance of parliament taking such an appointment into their own hands, excepting once in the reign of Richard the Second, and that act was repealed a few years after with reproach, as an usurpation of the rights of the crown. That the progress of such a business in the House would be attended with the grossest inconveniences; the consequent discussion of names and of individuals would be odious in the highest degree; and as it was impossible that 550 persons should ever agree in such a nomination, the history of their dissentions would accompany the commission to America. But if it were true, as it was every day said on the other side to be, that the ministers could command a majority, then the nomination would of course lie in the crown without its avowal; and parliament would thereby be precluded from its natural controul upon ministers, of calling them to account for misadvising the crown in the appointment, however future circumstances might render such an interference necessary.

They further said, that the powers intended to be given by the commission,

mission, could not be safely executed by any other persons than those appointed by the crown. That the crown had been entrusted with the appointment of commissioners to treat upon the union of the two kingdoms, who had power to suspend the acts of parliament which prevented a free trading intercourse between both, during the progress of the treaty; and that they had been ordered to keep the whole transactions secret, which order they had inviolably observed. They concluded, that nothing could give a proper weight and support to the present commission, but the perfect confidence which parliament shewed that they reposed in government.

The motion was, notwithstanding, supported with great spirit by some of the principal speakers in the opposition. They said, that the present was a question merely of men. That the measure was already decided upon, which was to give a full power to dispose of all the legislative acts, and all the legislative powers of parliament, so far as they concerned America. That there never had been such a trust delegated to men, and that therefore nothing was ever more important than the proper choice of them. That if ministers had hitherto shewn, in any one instance, that they had formed a right judgment on men, they would admit that they ought to be entrusted with the nomination of men upon this occasion. Exclusive of honesty, which, they said, they would enter into no discussion of with the ministers, the ground of confidence in men was founded on two things; namely, that they were incapable of deceiving others, and were alike incapable of being deceived themselves. That the ministers had been repeatedly and publicly charged in that house, by those who had all along supported their measures, with having deceived them; and that their only justification had been, that they were themselves deceived in every particular relating to America. Now, take it, said they, which way you please, whether they were deceivers, as their friends assert, or deceived, as themselves alledge, they are not fit on either ground to be trusted. They, who had judged so ill of the men they had credited in all their information concerning America, would not judge better in the choice of those whom they nominated to get rid of the fatal consequences of that ill information. They said, that the constant defence made by the ministers, with regard to the ill success of their army in America, was the incapacity, error, or neglect of the generals they had themselves appointed; that although they did not believe that to have been the real cause, yet on their own confession, they had made a wrong judgment of the persons they had employed; and if they were so unhappy in the choice of generals, what reason was there to suppose they would prove more fortunate in the choice of negotiators?

They further contended, that nothing could so effectually defeat the purpose of the commission, as the least thought that parliament reposed any confidence in the present servants of the crown. That this would be a perpetual source of distrust, jealousy and animosity to the Americans. That nobody could pretend, nor could

ould they themſelves venture to ſſert, that this miniſtry, or any erſons of their appointment, ould have any title to the confi- ence of America. The miniſters ere all the declared and eſtabliſh- d enemies of America, and were nly brought to a late and abject ubmiſſion, by a failure of their ut- moſt efforts to oppreſs them by orce. If theſe have the appoint- ent of commiſſioners, they will eceſſarily be men of their own amp, character, and complexion: erſons who would be much more olicitous to ſcreen their employers han to ſerve their country; and who from nature, education, and abits, are much better qualified to ritate than to appeaſe America. An high officer of the ſtate, ſaid hey, who has been the author of ll the violent and coercive mea- ures againſt the colonies, will, in irtue of his office, have the no- ination of the commiſſioners. uppoſe, ſaid they, the Americans hould lay down as an indiſpenſible reliminary to an accommodation, he removal or puniſhment of this iniſter, would any body pretend hat the perſons nominated by him ould be conſidered as impartial ommiſſioners, or fitting perſons to iſcharge the great truſt repoſed in hem by the ſtate and parliament f Great-Britain? But they were ominated, they ſaid, at the in- olence of miniſters, who, when hey ſhould be wrapped in ſack- loth and aſhes, for the deſolation nd ruin which they had brought pon their country, were preſump- uouſly making demands of unli- mited confidence, and calling to ave the few remaining powers hich had been left to parliament urrendered into their hands.

They concluded with laying it down as an axiom, that no good could proceed from any negociation whatever, in which the preſent miniſters had any ſhare or concern. They obſerved, that the preſent momentous affair was not too little to be undertaken by parliament itſelf; that if parliamentary rights muſt be negociated upon, it was fit- ting to be done by a committee of the two houſes of parliament. That in order to ſettle India affairs, a com- mittee of the houſe had ſat in Lea- denhall-ſtreet; they might as well ſit in America; if the diſtance was greater, ſo was the magnitude and importance of the object. But they ſaid, the ſcheme and drift of the whole was evident. The miniſters intended to pay their court, and to obliterate their crimes, by increaſ- ing the prerogative in the ſame proportion that they leſſened the empire. And thus the preſent war, which was pretended to be made for the double purpoſe of prevent- ing the crown from obtaining a re- venue from America independent of parliament, and aſſerting the power of the houſe of commons to tax all the Britiſh dominions, would at length terminate in a ſurrender of the right of taxation, and of all other parliamentary rights, whe- ther of advice or controul, which interfered in any degree with the power of the crown.

The motion was rejected with- out any diviſion being demanded by the oppoſition. The miniſters took no ſhare in the debate, and the oppoſition ſeemed unwilling to throw any impediment in the way of the bills, when the only hope, ſmall as it was, which they placed on their ſucceſs, depended on the diſpatch with which they were

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expedited through parliament, and afterwards forwarded to America.

Upon the diſpoſal of this motion, another was made by Mr. Powys, That it ſhould be an inſtruction to the committee on the conciliatory bills, to receive a clauſe for the repeal of the Maſſachuſetts charter act. This motion drew out much mixed converſation upon American affairs; official men ſeemed not now to be ſo much pinned to opinion as uſual; and ſome other gentlemen, who had not generally made any great diſplay of their ſentiments, were now rather more communicative upon the ſubject. Upon the whole, it would have appeared at this moment that a great majority of the houſe had at all times execrated the American war; but that many had been led individually in the crowd from one ſtep to another, without looking much farther before them, and ſtill expecting the laſt to be concluſive, until the American declaration of independence aſtoniſhed them with a new, awful, and unexpected creation of public affairs. This alarming appearance of things ſeemed to leave no other alternative, than the ſitting down ſupinely with the loſs of the colonies, or the greateſt national union, and the moſt vigorous exertions for their reduction. The failure in arms exhibited another ſcene equally novel and unexpected, and ſeemed at this time pretty generally to excite a kind of melancholy wiſh, that many of thoſe extremities had been avoided, which it was not now in the power either of fortune or wiſdom entirely to remedy.

Several of the miniſter's friends, however, ſtrongly condemned his preſent conciliatory meaſures; and indeed the only rubs the bills met with in their paſſage was from his own ſide. Some of theſe inſiſted upon the exerciſe as well as the right of taxation in their utmoſt extent; and even went ſo far as to aſſert, that it was a right ſo inherent in parliament, and ſo eſſentially woven into the conſtitution, that no reſignation of it could be valid. Others, who were more numerous, lamented the degradation which the bills would bring upon the government, the counſels, and the dignity of this country. They inſiſted, that our reſources were not only great, but inexhauſtible; and that nothing but a ſpirited and vigorous exertion of our powers was wanting for the accompliſhment of much greater matters than the ſubjugation of America. They bitterly lamented that puſillanimity in our counſels, which, after ſo great an expence of blood and treaſure, could ſubmit not only to give up all the objects of the conteſt, but meanly enter into a public treaty with armed rebels, and thereby virtually acknowledge and eſtabliſh that independence which they claimed. They ſaid, that while it would ſerve greatly to excite the courage of the rebels, and increaſe their inſolence in the higheſt degree, it would on the other hand greatly diſpirit our own troops, totally diſſolve all that confidence and hope, which the loyal or well-diſpoſed Americans had repoſed in our faith or our power, and would beſides render us contemptible in the eyes of all European ſtates. To crown this climax of ill conſequences, they predicted that the bills would not produce the end propoſed,

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To this the oppoſition ſaid, that although they totally differed with thoſe gentlemen in all their other poſitions, they very nearly agreed with them in their prediction. They had great apprehenſions, that from the lateneſs of adopting the meaſure, it would not produce that happy effect, which they themſelves ſo much wiſhed, and which they were certain a great majority of the nation, deriving conviction from feelings which were much more forcible than any logical deductions, began now moſt ardently to pant after. They acknowledged, that the chances in point of calculation were infinitely againſt the ſucceſs of the meaſure; but ſtill there was a chance; and the object of a peace with America was of ſo tempting a nature, including not only the happineſs but the preſervation of this country, that the ſmalleſt chance againſt whatever ſuperiority of odds, was not to be given up at any price. It was upon this account, they ſaid, that they overlooked many things which they diſapproved of in the bills, as they would not in any manner impede or delay the buſineſs, where ſuch a prize was at ſtake.

Mr. Powis's motion occaſioned a long mixture of converſation and debate, which was continued till half paſt twelve at night. Some gentlemen, even in office, wiſhed to extend it to the total repeal of all the American obnoxious laws. Indeed it was agreed on all ſides, that upon the principle of conciliation, this muſt be a meaſure of neceſſity; and the miniſter himſelf, in opening his propoſitions, had declared his willingneſs to give up all the obnoxious American laws, from the 10th of February, 1763. The only difference of opinion now upon the ſubject was the time of carrying the meaſure into execution; that is, whether it ſhould be preliminary to, or a conſequence of the treaty. Although the miniſter gave no ſpecific opinion upon the ſubject, and indeed mixed but little in the debates ſince the introduction of the buſineſs, yet as thoſe confidential perſons, who are at all times ſuppoſed to be in the ſecret of affairs, took the latter part of the alternative, and that, notwithſtanding the preſent conciliatory temper of the houſe, the motion was at length rejected by a majority of 181 to 108; no doubt can be entertained that his ſentiments were on the ſame ſide of the queſtion.

The bills underwent great alterations in their progreſs both through the houſe and the committee. Whether it proceeded from a change of opinion, or from whatever other cauſe, the powers to be entruſted with the commiſſioners were much narrowed from what had been at firſt held out by the miniſter. The oppoſition complained that parliament had diveſted itſelf effectually of thoſe powers; but inſtead of their being communicated to thoſe perſons who were to negociate a treaty at ſo great a diſtance, where immediate concluſions might be abſolutely neceſſary, a circumſtance which alone afforded the oſtenſible motive for their being demanded or granted, they were reſerved at home in the hands of the miniſters, to be hereafter detailed as they thought proper. This was eaſily accompliſhed by the means of the crown lawyers, under the colour of making thoſe

powers agree with inſtructions, whoſe nature and purpoſe were totally unknown to all perſons excepting themſelves and the miniſters. Some of the oppoſition complained greatly of this conduct, which they ſaid was totally ſubverſive of the great principle of the bill, viz. That commiſſioners upon the ſpot would be better able to determine what was immediately fitting to be done, than parliament or any other body could, at the diſtance of three thouſand miles; but the expunging from the bill of thoſe diſcretionary powers which were intended for the commiſſioners, rendered it, they ſaid, with reſpect to its avowed purpoſe, little more than a piece of waſte paper, ſo that as it then ſtood, its real effect could be only to veſt in the miniſters a ſuſpending power out of parliament, under the form and colour of inſtructions to commiſſioners, inſtead of the open and uſual mode of carrying it by bill through both houſes. The danger of the precedent, in this view of the buſineſs, and the competence of thoſe who were to be entruſted with ſuch a power, afforded ſufficient ground for animadverſion; but the eager hope of attaining the great point in view, ſubdued all other conſiderations, and prevented any great degree of oppoſition.

Some members of the oppoſition were the means of conſiderably extending the effect of the bills with reſpect to their original purpoſe.

2ith. Mr. Powis having moved, That it be an inſtruction to the committee, to receive a clauſe for the repeal of the American tea-act, paſſed in the year 1767, it was agreed to. And Mr Burke, having on the ſame day moved, that the proviſions of the bill ſhould be extended to the Weſt-Indies, this motion was likewiſe agreed to.

The title of the bill relative to taxation was alſo totally altered from its original ſtate. It was foreſeen that the words "for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes," would be exceedingly offenſive to the Americans, as being declaratory of the right, and merely a ſuſpenſion of the exerciſe. The new title, under which it was paſſed, being in more general terms, it was hoped would have given ſatisfaction, and was as follows: "For removing all doubts and apprehenſions concerning taxation by the parliament of Great-Britain, in any of the colonies, provinces and plantations in North-America and the Weſt-Indies, and for repealing ſo much of an act made in the ſeventh year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, as impoſes a duty on tea imported from Great-Britain into any colony or plantation in America, or relates thereto."

Although the third reading of the bills brought out a conſiderable ſhare of mixed debate and converſation, yet they were both paſſed without a diviſion. March 2d.

The miniſter found it neceſſary to lay a new tax on houſes, and another upon wines, in order to ſecure the intereſt of ſix millions which he was obliged to borrow for the ſervices of the enſuing year. This occaſioned ſome debate in the committee of ſupply, the houſe-tax being conſidered, by the gentlemen in oppoſition, as 9th.

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being not only a land-tax in effect, but as being alſo exceedingly diſproportionate and oppreſſive, and falling particularly heavy upon the inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter, who already paid ſo vaſt a proportion to the land-tax, and whoſe burdens, including with that, poor-rates, window-tax, watch, lights, pavement, and other impoſts, amounted in ſeveral pariſhes to more than eight ſhillings in the pound. Whilſt, to render it ſtill more grievous, it frequently happened that thoſe who were the leaſt able to bear them, bore the heavieſt burthens.

The queſtions being however agreed to, Mr. Gilbert, having ſome days before given notice to the houſe of his intention, after lamenting the negligence and prodigality with which the national buſineſs was conducted, and ſtating the neceſſity of appointing a committee to enquire into the expenditure of the public money, more particularly into the exorbitancy of contracts and the abuſes of office, then moved, That the better to enable his Majeſty to vindicate the honour and dignity of his crown and dominions, in the preſent exigency of affairs, there be granted one fourth part of the nett annual income upon the ſalaries, fees, and perquiſites of all offices under the crown, excepting only thoſe held by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, the Chancellor, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, Miniſters to foreign parts, Commiſſioners, Officers in the army and navy, and all thoſe which do not produce a clear yearly income of two hundred pounds to their poſſeſſors; the tax alſo extending to all annuities, penſions, ſtipends, or other yearly penſions iſſuing out of the Exchequer, or any branch of the revenues; and was to commence from the 25th of March, 1778, and to continue for one year, and during the continuance of the American war.

Such was the temper which at that immediate time happened to be prevalent, or rather, ſuch was the effect ariſing from the general diſſatisfaction excited by the untoward appearance of public affairs, that this motion, which was made by a gentleman in office, and cloſely connected with one branch of miniſtry, to the aſtoniſhment of everybody, and to the exceeding alarm of adminiſtration, was carried by a majority of 100 to 82 in the committee. And although the miniſters ſummoned all their forces from all quarters within reach on the enſuing day, in order to oppoſe the motion on receiving the report from the committee, yet with all their ſtrength, it was rejected only by a majority of ſix, the numbers upon a diviſion being 147, to 141 who ſupported the queſtion. Nor would it have been loſt if the oppoſition had been at all unanimous in its ſupport. For ſome of their principals conſidered it as a meaſure which would have been exceedingly diſtreſſing to individuals, without any adequate public advantage. For men in office frequently had no other ſupport but their income, and had been long uſed to live up to its full extent; and thoſe who had intereſt with government would be repaid from the public purſe (frequently with advantage) what they had ſeemed to contribute towards it; and the only real contribution would ariſe from thoſe, who being

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destitute of interest, were the least capable of bearing the tax.

11th. On the following day, the committee into the state of the nation being resumed, the state of the navy was the subject introduced by Mr. Fox, who after clearing and laying out his ground with his usual ability, and several introductory motions, proposed the following as the result of the whole, "Resolved, that the present state of the royal navy, for the defence of Great Britain and Ireland, is inadequate to the very dangerous crisis of public affairs."

Mr. T. Luttrell took a principal share in this debate, and apologised for the length of time which his course of investigation must necessarily take up, from the double consideration, that most of the naval papers which had, after so much trouble, been at length laid before them, were ordered by the House in consequence of motions made by himself, and that he was bound, now that the means were in his hands, of maintaining and making good those reiterated charges which, in the two preceding, as well as the present session, he had brought against the ministers of the admiralty department. In this course of investigation and calculation, which took up about three hours, he particularly stated, that the public had paid about double the sum for the ordinaries and extraordinaries of the navy during the last eight years, which the estimates of the same services had amounted to in the eight years which commenced with the year 1755, and ended with 1762, a period which included the whole of the late war.

The motion was well supported, all the principal speakers of the opposition taking an active share in the debate. A great naval commander, in whom the nation reposed the greatest hope and confidence in case of foreign danger, took the same side, although he was then under appointment to the command of the grand fleet which was intended for our home defence. On the other side, the question, in point of debate, was only opposed by the admiralty and treasury benches. It was at length got rid of by the previous question, without a division.

On the following day the Ministers were not a little surprized at an unexpected motion made by Mr. James Luttrell, for an address to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to instruct the Commissioners, whom he might name, for the purposes of carrying into execution the present American bills, that in case they should find, that the continuance in office of any public Minister, or Ministers of the crown of Great Britain, should be found to impress such jealousies or mistrust in one or more of the revolted colonies, as might tend materially to obstruct the happy work of peace and sincere reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies; that the said Commissioners might be enabled to promise, in his Majesty's name, the earliest removal of such Minister or Ministers from his councils.

This motion was highly resented by the Ministers, and not less warmly supported by a great part of the opposition. Others, however, on that side differed in opinion,

nion, and although they acknowledged, that there was but little room to hope for conciliation or peace with America under the auſpices of the preſent Miniſters, yet they conſidered the propoſed meaſure as too humiliating and degrading to this country; and thought, that if it ſhould be found neceſſary (as they conceived it was) to change Miniſters, it ought to be done previouſly, and not to be the conſequence of a treaty with the Americans. The motion was at length rejected upon a diviſion by a majority of 150 to 55.

Whilſt various matters were thus continually agitated by the Commons, the Lords did not ſeem to be much more at eaſe in their Houſe. For what with the enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, the occaſional objects of diſcuſſion of which the preſent times were ſo productive, and the uſual ſtationary buſineſs, few days paſſed without affording ſomething intereſting. A ſingular letter had been written by General Gates, ſoon after the convention of Saratoga, to the Earl of Thanet, with whom it appears that General had formerly lived in habits of great intimacy and friendſhip. This letter, which was forwarded to the noble Earl through the medium of General Burgoyne, was, excepting a ſhort obſervation on the ſeverity of General Lee's confinement, and a ſhorter remembrance to two common friends, entirely upon public buſineſs.

The conquering General, after a ſhort view of the fate of the northern Britiſh army, haſtens to declare, that "born and educated in England, he cannot help feeling for the misfortunes brought upon his native country, by the wickedneſs of that adminiſtration, who began and had continued this moſt unjuſt, impolitic, cruel and unnatural war." He ſtates, that the diſmemberment of the empire, the loſs of commerce, of power and conſequence amongſt the nations, with the downfal of public credit, are but the beginning of thoſe evils, which muſt inevitably be followed by a thouſand more, unleſs timely prevented by ſome lenient hand, ſome great ſtate phyſician, with the firmneſs, integrity and abilities of a Chatham, joined to the wiſdom, virtue and juſtice of a Camden. Such a man, he ſays, aided and ſupported by perſons as independent in their fortunes as unſullied in their honour, and who never bowed their heads to Baal, might yet ſave the ſinking ſtate.

But that great object he contended could only be obtained by a confirmation of that independency, which the people of that continent were determined only to part with along with their lives. Such a Miniſter, he ſaid, would do as all other wiſe ſtateſmen had done before him. He would be true to the welfare and intereſt of his country; "and, by reſcinding the reſolutions paſſed to ſupport that ſyſtem which no power on earth can eſtabliſh, he will endeavour to preſerve ſo much of the empire in proſperity and honour, as the circumſtances of the times, and the mal-adminiſtration of thoſe who ruled before him, have left to his government."

"The united ſtates of America," he ſaid, "are willing to be the friends, but never will ſubmit to be

the ſlaves of the parent country. They are by conſanguinity, by commerce, by language, and by the affection which naturally ſprings from theſe, more attached to England than any other country under the ſun. Therefore, ſpurn not the bleſſing which yet remains. Inſtantly withdraw your fleets and armies; cultivate the friendſhip and commerce of America. Thus, and thus only, can England hope to be great and happy. Seek that in a commercial alliance; ſeek it ere it be too late, for there only you muſt expect to find it."

He concluded with the following declaration: "theſe, my Lord, are the undiſguiſed ſentiments of a man that rejoices not in the blood ſhed in this fatal conteſt; of a man who glories in the name of an Engliſhman, and wiſhes to ſee peace and friendſhip between Great Britain and America, fixed upon the firmeſt foundation."

The noble Earl who had received the letter was ſo much indiſpoſed with a cold; that, on the 16th of February, when he introduced it, he was only able barely to inform the Houſe who it came from, its purport, and to deſire it might be read by the clerk. This was oppoſed by the court Lords, who held that it would be exceedingly improper for that Houſe to enter into any correſpondence with a rebel officer or General, or to frame any reſolution upon his information; and that the letter might alſo contain matter which it would be highly unfitting for their Lordſhips to hear. As it could not however be controverted, that the noble Earl would have had a right to read the letter as a part of his ſpeech, if he had been in health ſo to do, the objections were accordingly removed by the Marquis of Rockingham's undertaking that office for him.

The Duke of Richmond then moved that the letter ſhould lie on the table, which brought on a very conſiderable debate; it being contended on one ſide, that the authority which it came from, a rebel General in arms againſt his Sovereign, would have been in itſelf a ſufficient ground for the rejection of the motion. But that it was beſides only a private letter from one gentleman to another, and containing merely the opinions of an individual. Were the Congreſs bound to abide by any propoſitions held out by General Gates, or to ratify his concluſions? It was beneath their own dignity to make a private correſpondence, if it had not been even encumbered with thoſe particular circumſtances which rendered it totally inadmiſſible, in any degree the ſubject of their deliberations. But what in fact did this letter hold out? The very terms vaguely mentioned in it, were ſuch as their Lordſhips had repeatedly reprobated, when propoſed to them by ſome of their own body, and placed in a much more agreeable dreſs and form. It contained an inſinuation, that America was determined to preſerve her independency. Was General Gates's word a ſufficient authority to the King's ſervants for acceding to that poſition? Were they to withdraw the army and the fleet, and to throw the nation at the feet of America, merely upon his advice or aſſertion? That part of it which conſiſted in an invective againſt the preſent adminiſtration,

miniſtration, they ſuppoſed would rather draw the contempt than the attention of the Houſe. Thoſe who were fond of invectives againſt Miniſters, might frequently have an opportunity of hearing them much more forcibly and elegantly expreſſed, by noble Lords within theſe walls than by Mr. Gates.

On the other ſide it was contended, that General Gates, from his ſituation, rendered exceedingly conſpicuous by his late ſucceſs, was a perſon of great weight and importance in America; that the only means of obtaining the ſenſe of the people in that country, was by hearing the ſentiments of ſuch men; that the circumſtance of his being an Engliſhman, and the conſideration of that affection, which, if he had not even declared it, every body muſt judge from his own feelings, that he ſtill inevitably retained for his native country, ought to afford the greater weight to his opinions; that it would have been happy indeed if ſuch information had been hitherto properly regarded, inſtead of the deluſive and fatal repreſentation of things, which had been tranſmitted by prejudiced or intereſted Governors, and other official perſons, by which Miniſters had repeatedly acknowledged themſelves to have been miſled, and through whoſe means, the nation had been evidently decoyed into that ruinous war, which has brought on all our preſent calamities. That the motion was attended with a peculiar propriety at preſent, from the notice given by the Miniſter in the other Houſe, of his intention to lay a plan of pacification with America ſpeedily before parliament; a meaſure which muſt render every ſpecies of information neceſſary; and why not read Mr. Gates's letter here, when Commiſſioners were to be ſent with powers to treat with him perſonally in America? They ſaid that the ſprings of government had been hitherto polluted, becauſe the channels of intelligence had been ſtopped; that Miniſters had not only ſhut their own eyes conſtantly to the light of truth, but had uniformly endeavoured to render it equally inviſible to parliament; and, that to reject the motion, would be to ſhew a determination of ſtill purſuing that ruinous ſyſtem, which had already produced ſuch fatal effects, of ſhutting their ears to information, and continuing wilfully and perverſely in error.

The motion being rejected without a diviſion, the committee of enquiry into the ſtate of the nation was reſumed, when the Duke of Richmond opened the buſineſs of the day by obſerving that he had ſeveral reſolutions to propoſe, which were intended to eſtabliſh the ſtate of the army, and the number of effective men ſerving in America, in the different years of 1774, 1775, 1776, & 1777, with the ſervices and events of each campaign, as they appeared from the papers which were referred to the conſideration of the committee. Having then ſtated the neceſſity of the committee's coming to ſome reſult upon the matters that appeared before them, as the name or pretence of an enquiry would otherwiſe become an abſolute mockery; he moved his firſt reſolution, viz. "that it appears to this committee, ſo far as they are informed from the returns referred to them, that the greateſt number of regular

land forces serving in North America, in 1774, did not exceed 6884 men, including officers."

The Lords in administration opposed the motion upon the ground of impropriety and inexpedience. It would be needless, they said, to repeat the arguments which they had used in a late debate, as they applied in every instance to the present occasion. The circumstances corresponded so exactly in both cases, that there could be no doubt, that the same motives which then induced their Lordships to reject those resolutions which originated in the same quarter, would operate equally with respect to the present. If the noble Duke persisted in his motion, they would be under a necessity therefore of moving that the Chairman should quit the chair, in order to make way for the previous question.

This concise method of preventing the establishment of facts, and frustrating the ends of the enquiry, was reprehended with great warmth and vehemence by some of the Lords on the other side. They said, that if Ministers were thus enabled and determined, to get rid of every proposition founded on undeniable facts which appeared in the enquiry, merely by a brief rejection, and without any reasons assigned, it would be better at once to put an end to an investigation, from which so much good had been augured, and by which the nation had been so long amused. That it would be acting a much more manly part, for the Ministers to avow their sentiments openly, and to break up the committee, than thus insidiously to deceive the public, by holding out an opinion that they countenanced the enquiry, and at the same time using such underhand measures as effectually checked its progress, and rendered it totally useless and nugatory. And that the only idea which they had hitherto held out, for the committee's not coming to resolutions of fact, "lest it should afford a knowledge of our real condition to our enemies," was so replete with absurdity, that it would appear a libel upon any body of men, who were only furnished with the most moderate share of common intelligence, to suppose it could have the smallest influence upon their conduct. But that even that argument, wretched as it was, could not apply in the present instance; for resolutions of facts, by being merely proposed, exposed all that could be known to the world, as effectually under the previous question, or a negative, as under an affirmative vote. The effect therefore of their refusing to concur, would not be the preventing of truth from being known; but making it known, that they had a dislike to declaring the truth.

A great law Lord, who has been long out of office, declared, that it had been at all times the usage of parliament to form resolutions on matters of fact, which resolutions were considered as the data from which the conclusions were to be drawn; and finally to be the ground of the measures meant to be proposed, in consequence of such information. He said, he was free to declare, that the present mode of putting a negative on every resolution proposed, was in fact pretending to give information, but refusing the use of that information. For when every fact was established, the whole enquiry

at an end, and the grand conclusions relative to future measures came to be made, where were the facts to be found on which the House was to proceed? They were indeed to be found in the Journals, but under the infliction of a negative by the previous question, which in so many words imported, that as it had not been necessary or proper to resolve the facts, it must of course be unnecessary and improper to agree to the conclusions. This argument, he said, was obvious and incontrovertible. It would in fact amount to a premature dissolution of the committee; and if administration were determined to adhere in the future progress of the enquiry to that conduct they had hitherto observed, he thought it much better to dissolve it at once; much more candid to stop its mouth, than by a mere outside shew of an enquiry, to amuse the people without doors with high expectations, when it was finally resolved, by those who led majorities within, that no one benefit or advantage whatever should be derived from it. He concluded, that from the conduct of the Ministers, he had long apprehended with concern that this would have been the fate of the committee; but that as soon as he was informed that the Minister in the other House had proposed introducing a plan for peace, (which was the sole object of the committee) pending the enquiry, his doubts were changed to a certainty, and he saw at once through the whole scheme of the manœuvre. He saw that a substitute was adopted in the place of the enquiry, to prevent a clamour without doors; and that under the cover of this contrivance, the committee would meet with a violent and immature death from the hands of the Minister and his mutes.

The severity of manner as well as of language, with which these and other strictures were passed, could not fail to draw out some explanation from the other side. The Lords in administration declared, that they could not see the utility or the necessity of the committee's coming to any resolution at present; nor did they think, in fact, that it was their business so to do; that they were to proceed regularly with the enquiry, and after having gone through it progressively, and adverted to every distinct object of it, were to form some general conclusion deduced from, and grounded upon the result of the whole investigation. A great law Lord, in the first office of the state, agreed, that it was always customary for committees to agree to resolutions of fact; but he endeavoured to weaken the force of that concession by asserting, that the conclusions intended to be deduced from those facts ought to be opened to the committee, previous to their entering into any resolution upon the subject; and, that as the noble Duke's intentions, in that respect, were, as yet, altogether a secret to the committee, although, so far as he could guess, they were probably of the same nature with some inadmissible propositions, that had been lately heard of in favour of America, he would accordingly vote for the Chairman's leaving the chair.

The question being at length put, for Lord Scarsdale to leave the chair, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of forty; the numbers being 66 to 26. The committee being thus dissolved for

the preſent, the Duke of Richmond made his original motion, which he followed with eleven others upon the ground we have already ſtated, all of which were ſeparately rejected by the previous queſtion without a diviſion.

The committee being again reſumed on the 19th of February, the Duke of Richmond propoſed their entering into an inveſtigation of the expences which the American war had coſt the nation; and in order to obviate that dread and averſion which he knew was prevalent, with reſpect to the intricate and tireſome nature of accounts, he had already, himſelf, with exceeding labour and perſeverance, gone through all the operoſe work of calculation. Thus, infinite quantities of matter, detail, and calculation, being compreſſed under their reſpective heads, and comprized in a comparatively ſmall compaſs of ſpace, became, without any great degree of trouble or fatigue, manageable ſubjects of comment and enquiry.

The noble Duke having ſtated the cauſes which rendered their being well informed on this part of the ſubject of the war particularly neceſſary, proceeded to ſtate the extraordinary expences ariſing from the war, of each of the four laſt years ſeparately, and the whole being aſcertained, as nearly as it could yet be poſſibly done, amounted to the groſs ſum of 23,894,792 l. He then ſhewed, from the example of the laſt war, as well as by various calculations, that if the great work of peace was to be now accompliſhed in the ſpeedieſt poſſible manner, there would remain behind a farther tail of expence, which, at the moſt moderate computation, would amount to at leaſt nine millions. So that the public expence attending the American conteſt, however ſpeedily and happily it might now be brought to a concluſion, and independent of all other contingent loſſes, would, at the loweſt calculation, amount to near thirty-three millions ſterling.

To eſtabliſh theſe facts, he framed a ſtring of reſolutions, founded upon the accounts before them, declaring the ſeveral heads of ſervice, and the amount of the total extra expence in each year. He hoped, that as the reſolutions of fact which he was about to propoſe, would eſſentially further the project for peace, which they knew was ſpeedily to come within their Lordſhips conſideration, and as they would alſo ſerve to open the eyes of the public, and convince the people at large of the neceſſity of putting an immediate end to the war, that they would meet with no oppoſition; much leſs that they ſhould not experience the fate of the ſeveral others which he had moved in the courſe of the enquiry. He then concluded by moving his leading or preliminary reſolution.

The Lords in adminiſtration did not attempt to controvert the calculations, but conciſely declared, that the reſolutions were highly inexpedient, unparliamentary, and incapable of anſwering any uſeful purpoſe. That they could by no means agree to the doctrine, that the mere matter of reſolutions being founded in fact, could be any ſufficient cauſe for their being agreed to. There were many truths that might be eaſily aſcertained, which it would be exceedingly improper

proper to declare, or to give a parliamentary ſanction to. That it was equally inexpedient and fooliſh to expoſe the national weakneſs and infirmities. And, that inſtead of promoting the purpoſe held out by the noble Duke, the publiſhing of facts declarative of weakneſs, would produce a directly contrary effect, and render any plan of peace that could be propoſed, infinitely more hazardous and difficult. That if they had foreſeen the purpoſes to which it had been intended to direct the committee, they would have oppoſed its formation originally in the moſt open and direct manner. They threw out ſome hints towards its diſſolution, and concluded with moving that the Chairman ſhould leave the chair.

The Duke of Richmond replied, that our weakneſs was already perfectly known to every body but ourſelves, and had been ſo long before the commencement of the committee; but if any doubt could remain on that head, the reſolutions themſelves, recorded upon the Journals, and from thence communicated to the public, under full information that their authenticity as facts could not be queſtioned, even by the perſons who had given them a negative, annihilated all pretence of concealing our preſent dangerous and defenceleſs ſtate, either from our enemies, or from the people of this country. It would therefore, he ſaid, be much more conſonant with that haughty and explicit tone affected by Miniſters, to declare, that the motive which induced them to put a negative upon ſuch matters of undoubted fact was, that thoſe facts contained the moſt full and unequivocal proofs of their miſconduct; that they informed the nation, that its preſent alarming and ruinous ſituation was brought upon it by a ſet of Miniſters, who had wantonly plunged it into an unjuſt and unnatural war; who had ſpilt its beſt blood, and already waſted twenty-four millions of its treaſure; and who at length, after perſiſting in thoſe weak and wicked meaſures for more than three years, and after refuſing ſo much as to hear of any terms, but ſuch as would have reduced the colonies to abſolute ſlavery, were now preparing to ſue for peace, and to make the moſt humiliating conceſſions.

The queſtion being put upon the motion for quitting the chair, it was carried upon a diviſion by a majority of 66 to 28. The Duke of Richmond then moved his ſeveral reſolutions, which were all ſeparately ſet aſide by the previous queſtion.

Previous to the diviſion, that nobleman had taken notice, that he had gone through as many heads of the public enquiry, as came properly within his knowledge, habits of life, or mode of application; that he hoped ſome other Lords would take up the buſineſs where he ended; and that particularly, thoſe papers on the table, relative to the navy, would be taken into due conſideration, by thoſe Lords who were properly maſters of the ſubject. In this he evidently pointed to a noble Duke and Earl, who being themſelves high in the naval ſervice, had for ſome time, by the ſolicitude of their enquiries into its ſtate and condition, given no ſmall occaſion to call forth the ability of the noble Lord who preſided in that department. This part of the enquiry

was accordingly taken up and purſued by the Duke of Bolton, who was particularly and profeſſionally ſeconded by the Earl of Briſtol.

On the 25th of February, the Duke of Bolton moved that the Surveyor of the navy ſhould attend the Houſe. This was perſonally oppoſed by the noble Lord at the head of the navy, who inſiſted that the giving any further information on the ſubject was both unneceſſary and inexpedient. He had ever held but one opinion, he ſaid, in that reſpect, which was, that it would be highly imprudent, even in its preſent very flouriſhing ſtate, to divulge its condition. On the other ſide it was contended, that the motion was in direct conformity with the order of the Houſe, which had long ſince directed an enquiry into the ſtate of the navy, and that all information relative to the ſubject ſhould be communicated to the committee; without which, indeed, the name or preſence of an enquiry, would appear too ridiculous for the place and ſubject.

The debate of courſe brought out much animadverſion with reſpect to that great and flouriſhing ſtate of the navy, which had been ſo triumphantly held out, and ſo frequently repeated, ſince the opening of the ſeſſion. Nor was this unmixed with declarations of apprehenſion and concern, at now diſcovering (as they expreſſed it) in this ſeaſon of danger, that thoſe repreſentations were totally unfounded, and the flattering hopes raiſed upon them of courſe illuſive. The noble Lord at the head of that department, ſtill, however, ſupported, with unabated firmneſs, the validity of his former poſition, and inſiſted, that the navy was never in a greater or more flouriſhing ſtate than at preſent; but ſomething having, ſeemingly, ſlipped from him, probably owing to the warmth of altercation, as if it were a maxim of policy with all ſtates, not only to keep their naval affairs a profound ſecret, but to give exaggerated repreſentations of their maritime force, and to ſtate ſhips upon paper which were not actually fit for ſervice; theſe expreſſions, or ſomething tantamount to them, did not by any means ſerve to leſſen the ſeverity of obſervation on the other ſide.

Two precedents were alſo brought by a noble Lord, one from the Journals of the Lords, and the other from the Commons, ſhewing, that in the year 1707, a ſimilar enquiry to the preſent having been then inſtituted, notwithſtanding the dangerous and widely extended war in which we were involved, and notwithſtanding that Prince George of Denmark was then at the head of the admiralty, yet without any regard to thoſe conſiderations, or to that neceſſity of ſecrecy now dwelt upon; an account was laid before both Houſes, of the quantity and value of the naval ſtores in all the yards, and many other matters of equal importance and delicacy to the full, as the objects of the preſent enquiry, were then fully and publicly diſcuſſed. This brought out an obſervation, that if the preſent motion was rejected, it would be a proof that they treated the preſent firſt Lord of the admiralty with greater reſpect, than their anceſtors had done the huſband of the Queen of England

lead upon a ſimilar occaſion. The motion was however rejected, by a majority of 23 to 11 Lords.

The committee being again reſumed on the 2d of March, the Duke of Bolton opened the buſineſs with a ſpeech, tending to point out from the papers before them, much miſmanagement in the conduct of naval affairs. He dwelt particularly upon the great mercantile loſſes we had ſuſtained; which he attributed principally, to the refuſal, or miſemployment of convoys, and to the want of judgment in ſtationing our ſhips and frigates of war.

He entered into the neglects and errors with relation to a proper defence of the Weſt Indies. He then took a wide range through the whole circuit of naval affairs, in which he diſplayed much profeſſional ſkill and ability, and concluded a long ſpeech with ſeveral motions for reſolutions, tending principally to ſhew the ſtate of our fleet ſerving in America under Lord Howe, with reſpect both to ſhips of war and frigates; their original complement of men, with the loſs they had ſuſtained in the war; with the ſtate, number, and condition of the line of battle ſhips for home defence, and of the frigates for home ſervice.

The noble Earl, whoſe conduct had been the ſubject of cenſure in this ſpeech, after correcting ſome errors in point of fact or calculation, which, he ſaid, the noble mover had fallen into, entered into a diſcourſe of no ſmall length in order to do juſtice to the merits of his own adminiſtration of naval affairs. In this detail, he repeated ſome aſſertions, which had long before been the ſubject of much animadverſion, relative to the deplorable and moſt ruinous ſtate in which he had found the navy at his coming into office. In the concluſion, he entered into a defence or juſtification of his conduct relative to the loſſes ſuſtained by commerce. He acknowledged that trade had ſuffered; but ſaid it was an inconvenience which could not have been prevented. It was a conſequence of the mode of carrying on the war in America. Frigates were abſolutely neceſſary for that ſervice; and if we had poſſeſſed a ſufficient number of them, to have alſo ſupplied the ſtations which the noble Duke had alluded to, there could not be a doubt that our commerce would have been better protected. To weaken, however, the idea of the damage ſuſtained by commerce, he denied that the rapid decline of the African trade had proceeded from the war. That branch of commerce, he ſaid, had been overdone; the trade had been on the decreaſe for ſeveral years before the troubles with America commenced, and muſt have been by this time nearly on its preſent ſtate if they had never taken place. Other matters of charge or cenſure he excuſed, by ſaying the beſt had been done, that the particular circumſtances would admit. But if it had been otherwiſe, and the facts were juſt as the noble Duke had ſtated them, ſtill he could not be liable to any cenſure; he acted only miniſterially; the meaſures were deliberated and reſolved upon elſewhere; and if he did his duty in executing the orders he received, he was by no means reſponſible for the conſequences.

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The matter was agitated for ſome time with great bitterneſs by the Lords on the other ſide. They could not, they ſaid, repreſs their grief and indignation at the deplorable ſtate of our navy, which was not only clearly proved by the noble Duke who conducted the enquiry, but, to their aſtoniſhment, ſubſtantially acknowledged by the great officer who preſided in that department, notwithſtanding his endeavours to palliate and qualify facts, and to evade the concluſions which they evidently led to. They reminded him and his colleagues in office, of the high ſounding language and boaſtings which they had held through the ſeſſion. When themſelves had complained of the weakneſs of our internal military defence, and of its inſufficiency for the protection of this iſland, they were anſwered that it was a matter of little conſequence; that our navy was our great national bulwark; it was that we were to depend upon in the day of trial; it was invincible, and ſuperior to any thing our natural enemies could bring againſt us. "We are able "to cope with the whole united "force of the Houſe of Bourbon." —"The more France and Spain "know of our navy, the better; "a thorough knowledge of its "ſtate is the beſt means of ſe-"curing us againſt the deſigns of "our enemies." Such was the current language of miniſters. But what, ſaid they, do we hear on this day? That all our apprehenſions were well founded; and that all thoſe boaſtings were the offſpring of fallacy and deceit. This was not a bare affirmation without proof; the noble Earl, they ſaid, who preſides in the counſels of this country, had juſt told the Houſe ſo in as many words. He did not put a negative on the reſolutions for their not being founded on truth, but merely becauſe they would be an avowal of our naval weakneſs.

The court party, without admitting, or much controverting theſe poſitions, ſtood firm on their old ground of the danger and impoſicy of exhibiting ſuch details, whether true or falſe, to public inſpection. The reſolutions were at length rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 64 to 26.

The American conciliatory bills were carried through the Lords without a diviſion; being introduced and read on the 3d of March; read the ſecond time on the 5th, and paſſed on the 9th. They were, however, reprobated in the whole or in part, by a few individuals, who conſidered them as exhibiting ſuch marks of humiliation and diſgrace, as the moſt unhappy periods in the hiſtory of this country had never before equalled. Some of the oppoſition conſidered them as highly diſgraceful to this country, as well as incapable of producing the wiſhed-for effect. The laſt propoſition ſeemed to have been the general opinion of that party.

The Earl of Abingdon, although he would not obſtruct the bills by an oppoſition in the Houſe, entered his ſingle diſſent in a proteſt againſt them. The Duke of Graſton, on the ſecond reading of the bills, informed the Houſe that he had received information which he could not queſtion, that a treaty had been actually ſigned between the court of France and the American deputies. He ſaid that his noble

noble kinſman had put the queſtion in the other Houſe to the Miniſter, from whom he was able only to procure an evaſive anſwer. That ſome clear explanation of a matter in itſelf of ſo important a nature, and which was at that time ſo immediately critical, was abſolutely neceſſary, previous to their entering into any diſcuſſion of bills, whoſe effect muſt entirely depend upon the fact which was to be explained. That, if the information was true, it was abſurd to inſult parliament with the appearance of reconciliation, when it was no longer practicable. If miniſters knew the fact, they were culpable in the higheſt degree, in concealing intelligence of ſo important a nature from parliament, and leading it, under the cover of that concealment, into meaſures of futility and public diſhonour. Or, if they pleaded ignorance, their conduct was ſtill, if poſſible, more reprehenſible, and their incapacity more glaring, in being entirely deficient in that ſpecies of information which it was the firſt duty of their ſtations to procure. He called loudly for an anſwer as to the point of fact, and deſired it might be remembered, that it was on the 5th of March he put that queſtion to the King's miniſters.

A noble Lord, the nature of whoſe high office afforded him every opportunity of information in all public matters, ſaid, he had indeed heard of ſuch a treaty from out-door report, and alſo that the queſtion had been put and fully anſwered in the other Houſe; but he aſſured their lordſhips, in the moſt preciſe terms, that he knew not of any ſuch treaty as had been mentioned, having been ſigned, or entered into, between the court of France and the deputies of the congreſs. He hoped it would likewiſe be remembered, that it was on the 5th of March when he declared in his place, that he knew nothing of any ſuch treaty, nor had received any authentic information of its being either in exiſtence or contemplation.

The committee of enquiry being reſumed on the 12th of March, the buſineſs was opened and conducted by the Earl of Effingham, who having previouſly obtained an order for papers and the attendance of witneſſes, obſerved, that the profuſion which prevailed in the different departments of the ſtate, and the waſte and miſapplication of the public treaſure, which more particularly attended every thing relative to the preſent unhappy and unfortunate war, were become ſo notorious and enormous, as to demand their moſt ſerious attention and immediate interference. That this muſt have been of courſe a principal object of their enquiry into the ſtate of the nation; but that in the preſent unhappy ſeaſon, when the nation was already groaning under the weight of new and accumulating burthens, when the ſources of taxation were already exhauſted in ſuch a degree, that the whole time and invention of the Miniſter ſeemed unequal to the diſcovery of new ſubjects for it; when he was already obliged to borrow money for the ſervice of the current year, at a higher premium than had been given in the courſe of the laſt war, and far beyond the legal rate of intereſt; and when we were at the eve of a foreign war of ſuch extent and danger, as would render the ſtricteſt œconomy

neceſſary

necessary to our immediate preservation, under all these circumstances, it became doubly incumbent on their lordships, both as an obligation of public and private duty, to look carefully into the expenditure of the public money, and by correcting the profligacy of ministers and public officers, to apply a speedy and effectual remedy to this crying and ruinous grievance.

The business of the present day, his Lordship observed, went no farther than to the novel conduct, and its consequences, of the Treasury Board, in departing from its proper line of business, and taking into its hands the unprecedented management of the transport service. But this was introductory to that thorough investigation, which he intended, of the public accounts in general. He acknowledged, ironically, that the whole of the expenditure which was to be the object of their immediate enquiry, amounted only to about 600,000l. which, to those who were in the practice of voting or passing millions, without care or examination, might appear too trifling a matter to become a subject of their serious consideration. But when he had made it appear, as he would, that the loss to the public in this comparatively small expenditure, amounted to no less than one fourth of the whole sum; when it was recollected, that the detection in this instance afforded full room for a presumption, that the same waste prevailed in the disposal and management of those immense sums which were annually raised upon the people; he trusted, however trifling or unworthy of their attention the loss of 150,000l. in one article of expenditure might appear, their lordships would see the propriety of supporting him in the commencement of an enquiry, which tended to a general reformation, in a matter of such vast importance, and such universal concern, as the expenditure of the public treasure.

It appeared (contrary as they stated to the general course of official business) that the treasury going out of its proper department, and entering upon a task to which it seemed totally incompetent, took the whole business of the transport service into its own possession. That instead of adhering to the practice of the navy-board, which was in continual exercise under their eyes, of publicly advertising for proposals, and without any regard to the price at which it then and still procured freight, they entered into a private bargain with a Mr. Atkinson, in consequence of which they had for a long time paid twelve shillings and sixpence a ton on an infinite quantity of freight, besides allowing him two and a half per cent. for his commission or agency. And that instead of employing a proper officer from the king's yards, as a check upon this agent, to measure the ships, and ascertain their condition, these matters were left entirely to himself, who informed the Lords that he employed a surveyor for that purpose.

Both the noble Earl, and the other Lords who supported the enquiry, stigmatized the whole transaction with Atkinson in the most direct terms, as a jobb of the most disgraceful and shameful nature. They said, it carried about it all its proper and characteristical

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marks. It was a moſt beneficial contract, made in the dark, with a noted and highly-favoured contractor. The Treaſury-board entered into a buſineſs with which they had no concern, and were totally unacquainted, merely, to all appearance, upon that, and no other account. They had departed, in making the bargain, from all the fair and open rules of conduct, which had been laid down and eſtabliſhed by the navy-board in the execution of the ſame ſervice. And all their boaſted merit in at length lowering the price of freight ſixpence in the ton, and cutting off one per cent. from their agent's commiſſion, proceeded from a motive which had no relation to public good or œconomy. Their favourite contractor had, from the multitude of his beneficial bargains, brought himſelf and them within the notice of parliament. They were obliged, upon that account, after it had undergone a parliamentary diſcuſſion, to ſubmit the ſtate and nature of his well-known rum-contract to the inſpection and deciſion of ſeveral capital and intelligent merchants; and theſe gentlemen, who were pitched upon by themſelves, reprobated the whole tranſaction in the moſt deciſive terms. Under theſe circumſtances they thought it neceſſary to curtail a part of the glaring exorbitances of the preſent contract, (which we find to be then done without any difficulty) and to make ſome apparent tender of reſtoring the tranſport buſineſs to the navy board; an offer which was, however, managed in ſuch a manner, that its producing a refuſal was well underſtood.

The noble Lord at the head of the navy undertook the defence of the treaſury, which he performed with his uſual ability. It was ſtated on that ſide, that the ſervice was new, and the neceſſity irreſiſtable. It was the firſt time that ſuch an army had ever been maintained at ſuch a diſtance. The troops muſt be fed at all events. Every thing depended on the promptneſs of the ſupply. And notwithſtanding the great exertions uſed for that purpoſe, the letters from the commander in chief were frequent, urgent, and complaining. An infinite quantity of ſhipping was to be procured, and muſt be obtained on any terms. The greatneſs of the demand neceſſarily raiſed the price. The cauſe of the Treaſury's being obliged to pay higher for freight than the navy-board, was explained by Atkinſon's evidence. It appeared by that, that from eſſential differences in the two ſervices, the owners of ſhipping preferred that of the naval department, at a lower price, and that paid in navy-bills, which were liable to a conſiderable diſcount, to the Treaſury ſervice, at an advanced price, and ready money payment.

No doubt, it was ſaid, could be entertained, that every poſſible œconomy was practiſed by the Treaſury. They undertook this troubleſome buſineſs merely to ſave expence by the appointment of new officers. They ſtruck ſixpence off the freight as ſoon as it could be done; and they even reduced the agent's commiſſion one per cent. But they did not chuſe that an army of Engliſhmen and friendly foreigners ſhould be ſtarved in a hoſtile land, whilſt they were haggling about freight. So that inſtead of a vote of cenſure, they deſerved the public thanks of their country for their zeal and alacrity in

in this buſineſs. They concluded, that although they did not queſtion the veracity of the facts, or the exactneſs of the eſtimates contained in the noble Earl's reſolutions, they muſt oppoſe them and all other reſolutions upon matters of fact.

It was accordingly moved, that the chairman ſhould quit the chair, which was carried upon a diviſion by a majority of 39 to 18. Lord Effingham then propoſed the ſtring of reſolutions which he intended for the eſtabliſhment of his facts; which being all ſet aſide by the previous queſtion, without a diviſion, he then moved his concluding reſolution, intended as a cenſure upon the conduct of the Treaſury, and ſtating therefrom a loſs to the public, to a very great amount. The Houſe divided upon this queſtion, which was rejected, by a majority of 35 to 17.

CHAP. VIII.

Motion by Mr. Grenville rejected. Great Debates on the Addreſs. Amendment rejected; and the original Addreſs at length carried on a diviſion. Great debates on the Meſſage and Addreſs in the Houſe of Lords. Amendment moved by the Duke of Mancheſter. Rejected, and the original Addreſs carried, as before, on a diviſion. Great debates on Mr. Fox's motions relative to the failure of the Canada expedition. Rejected on a diviſion. Counter motion, carried in the Committee, but not reported. Col. Barre's motion for a Committee to inſpect the public accounts, agreed to, under certain modifications. Petition from Newcaſtle. Motion by Mr. Wilkes, relative to private aids, or loans to the crown, rejected on a diviſion. Oppoſition to the Houſe-tax bill. Several amendments, moved and rejected, on ſeparate diviſions. Committee appointed to conſider of the trade of Ireland. Reſolutions paſſed, and bills brought in, on that ſubject. Sir William Meredith's motion for a repeal of the declaratory act, laid by. Bill brought in and paſſed, to enable his Majeſty to make a ſuitable proviſion for the younger part of the Royal family, as well as for the Duke of Gloucеſter's children. Motion by Sir P. J. Clerke for bringing in the contractor's bill, carried on a diviſion. Great oppoſition formed to the Iriſh bills. Contractor's bill read the firſt time; and the motion for its being read the ſecond, carried upon a diviſion. Second reading of the contractor's bill. Loſt upon the queſtion of commitment, by a majority of two only. Great debate on the meſſage for a vote of credit. Debate on the ſecond reading of the Iriſh bills. Sir Cecil Wray's motion rejected. Bills committed. Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons on the death of the Earl of Chatham.

THE time at length arrived when France was to throw off the maſk entirely with reſpect to America, and to realize French Declaration. Royal Meſſage. Amendment moved by Mr. Baker. all thoſe predictions, which had been ſo long held out, and ſo frequently repeated by the minority, and which had, till lately, afforded a conſtant

a conſtant topic of ridicule to miniſters and majorities. It had been repeatedly ſaid, that the Houſe of Bourbon would not ſupport the Americans on the double account, that it would be teaching an evil leſſon againſt themſelves, and which might be too ſoon practiſed, to their own colonies, and that the eſtabliſhment of an independent ſtate and riſing empire in the new world, would be dangerous to their future intereſts both in Europe and America. A doctrine which, conſidered meerly as a ſubject for ſpeculative controverſy, might undoubtedly afford room for ſome diſcuſſion, if, directly contrary to the diſpoſition and practice of the reſt of mankind, they looked more to future and remote contingencies, than to the greateſt preſent advantages, and to the gratification of the moſt urgent and powerful paſſions.

Mar. 16th. On the day previous to the laying of the declaration from France before both Houſes, the miniſter gave notice to the Commons, that he ſhould have occaſion on the following to preſent a meſſage from the Throne to that Houſe. Mr. Grenville replied, that he believed the ſubject of the meſſage was already anticipated by the Houſe; and, in order that gentlemen might be truly, as well as fully informed, in a matter of ſo great importance, before they tied themſelves down to any particular meaſures by an anſwer, he would move for an addreſs, "to lay before the Houſe, "copies of all communications "from his Majeſty's ambaſſador "at the court of France, or the "French ambaſſador at this court, "touching any treaty of alliance, "confederacy, or commerce, entered into between that court "and the revolted colonies in "North America."

The miniſter directly moved the previous queſtion, giving as a reaſon, that the expoſure of the papers demanded, would be a moſt unpardonable and pernicious act of treachery, to thoſe, who at the greateſt riſque, had communicated ſecret intelligence to government. Mr. Grenville offered to prevent an effect which he abhorred, by inſerting the words "or extracts," after, copies, in the motion; but the miniſter inſiſted that no amendment could be received after the previous queſtion had been moved. This conduct was, however, reprobated with ſo much indignation on the other ſide, and repreſented as an act of quibbling and chicane, ſo unworthy of, and unfitting for that place, that the miniſter withdrew his motion, and the amendment was received. The previous queſtion being then again moved, the miniſter carried it upon a diviſion by a majority of 231 to 146.

On the following day, 17th. the Royal meſſage, accompanied by the French declaration, ſigned, on the 13th, by M. de Noailles, the ambaſſador from that court, were preſented to the Commons by the miniſter. The former, after mentioning the matter of fact, with reſpect to the notification, acquainted them, that in conſequence of that offenſive communication, his Majeſty had ſent orders to his ambaſſador to withdraw from the court of France. Then ſtating the juſtice and good faith of his Majeſty's conduct towards foreign powers, and the ſincerity of his wiſhes to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe, he truſts, that he ſhall not ſtand reſponſible

ſponſible for the diſturbance of that tranquillity, if he ſhould find himſelf called upon to reſent ſo unprovoked and ſo unjuſt an aggreſſion on the honour of his crown, and the eſſential intereſts of his kingdoms, contrary to the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, ſubverſive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every ſovereign power in Europe. It concluded with a declaration, that "his Majeſty, relying with the firmeſt confidence on the zealous and affectionate ſupport of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it ſhall become neceſſary, all the force and reſources of his kingdoms; which he truſts will be found adequate to repel every inſult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country."

The French declaration ſeems to ſtate the actual independence of the Americans, as it was declared by them on the 4th of July, 1776, as a juſtification for conſolidating, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be eſtabliſhed between the two nations, and the ſigning a treaty of friendſhip and commerce, intended to ſerve as a foundation for their mutual good correſpondence. Under an inſulting parade of cultivating the good underſtanding between France and Great-Britain, the knowledge of this tranſaction is ſaid to be communicated, accompanied with a declaration, that the contracting parties have paid great attention, not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of France; and that the United States have reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the ſame footing of equality and reciprocity.

It is taken for granted, that the new proofs now given of a conſtant and ſincere diſpoſition for peace, will produce ſimilar effects on our ſide; and that his Britannic Majeſty, animated by ſimilar ſentiments, will equally avoid every thing that might alter the good harmony ſubſiſting between the two crowns; and that he will particularly take effectual meaſures to prevent the commerce between France and America from being interrupted, and to cauſe all general commercial uſages, as well as the particular rules ſubſiſting between France and England, to be obſerved. It concludes with an intimation, that the French King, being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his ſubjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, had, in conſequence, taken eventual meaſures for theſe purpoſes, in concert with the United States of North America.

The miniſter moved an addreſs to the Throne, which, beſides echoing back and confirming the principal poſitions in the meſſage, declares the higheſt indignation and greateſt reſentment at the unjuſt and unprovoked conduct of France, which, in another part, it calls "that reſtleſs and dangerous ſpirit of ambition and aggrandizement, which has ſo often invaded the rights and threatened the liberties of Europe." It concludes with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the moſt zealous aſſiſtance and ſupport; and a declaration of the firmeſt confidence, that, in every demonſtration of loyalty to his Majeſty, and of love to their country, his faithful ſubjects would vie with each other; and that no conſider-

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tions would divert or deter them from ſtanding forth in the public defence, and from ſuſtaining, with a ſteady perſeverance, any extraordinary burthens and expences, which ſhould be found neceſſary for enabling his Majeſty to vindicate the honour of his crown, and to protect the juſt rights and eſſential intereſts of theſe kingdoms.

Mr. Baker moved, that an amendment, to the following purport, ſhould be inſerted after the words, "aſſurances of ſupport," in the addreſs, viz. "hoping and truſting that his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to remove from his counſels thoſe miniſters, in whoſe conduct, from experience of the pernicious effects of their paſt meaſures, his people can place no confidence in the preſent momentous ſituation of public affairs. Sir George Yonge warmly ſeconded the amendment, and was himſelf as warmly ſupported. The principal ground of argument was, the folly and danger of committing the conduct of the moſt arduous war, in which this country was ever involved, to thoſe men, who had already ſhewn themſelves totally unequal to its government in the moſt profound quiet and peace; whoſe pernicious counſels and meaſures had converted that ſeaſon of happineſs and proſperity into all the horrors and miſchiefs of a moſt unnatural, cruel, and deſtructive civil war; whoſe ignorance and incapacity in the management of that war of their own creation, joined to that incorrigible obſtinacy, which, diſdaining all counſel, and rejecting all warning, were at length the unhappy means of for ever ſevering the Britiſh empire, and of finally plunging this nation in all its preſent danger and calamity.

But they dwelt principally upon the preſent glaring and criminal inſtance (as they termed it) of incapacity or negligence, in not being able, in a time of profound peace, and when intelligence was ſo procurable as to be obtained by a private gentleman, to diſcover the deſigns or tranſactions of the court of France, until they were put in actual force and open avowal againſt us. Or if they were acquainted with theſe circumſtances, they were ſtill more criminally culpable, they ſaid, in having taken no ſingle meaſure to guard againſt ſo momentous an event, nor made the ſmalleſt proviſion for the protection either of theſe kingdoms or of our foreign poſſeſſions, which were every where, whether in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, the Mediterranean, or at home, left defenceleſs, and open to inſult and danger. Is then the fate of Great-Britain, they cried, in this critical ſeaſon of danger, to be committed to the hands of ſuch men? Is the diſgrace, ruin, and diſcomfiture, which attended their three years war, ſingly with America, the motive for entruſting them now with the conduct of a war againſt the whole houſe of Bourbon, cloſely united with thoſe very Americans? It was in vain, they ſaid, to talk of calling forth the ſpirit of the nation, by men who had loſt all confidence with the people. They were univerſally and juſtly conſidered as an adminiſtration compoſed of imbecility and deceit; no honeſt and diſintereſted man would venture to entruſt them with his property; and it was no detraction to their character to ſay, that they

were not more deteſted at home, than they were the contempt and deriſion of all foreigners.

They concluded, that the knowledge which the French, as well as the reſt of Europe had, of the wretched weakneſs and inſtability of our counſels, and of the precipitate abſurdity, and continued miſconduct of our Miniſters, was the cauſe, which, after long rendering us a bye-word, and mockery among the nations, had encouraged the Houſe of Bourbon to offer us the preſent inſult. That, in fact, if the Miniſters had been penſioners to France, they could not have promoted the intereſts of that country more effectually than they had actually done. That in theſe circumſtances, it would be in vain to offer any ſupport to his Majeſty, without informing him at the ſame time of the incapacity of thoſe to whom he had entruſted the management of the public affairs. That as it would be impoſſible, after ſuch repeated inſtances of folly, neglect, and incapacity, for the nation to repoſe any confidence in his preſent Miniſters, ſo their removal could alone realize any offers of ſupport, and revive the drooping ſpirit of the people. That ſingle meaſure, they ſaid, would ſtrike more terror into the enemies of this country, than all the warlike preparations which we were capable of making, under the preſent notorious imbecility of our counſels and meaſures.

In anſwer to this, the Miniſter declared his fixed and unalterable reſolution, that in the preſent ſituation of public affairs, he would keep his place at all events. He ſaid, that the intereſt of the empire, no leſs than his own pride and ſenſe of honour, now rendered his continuance in office abſolutely neceſſary. It would be a diſgrace, which he was determined not to incur, to abandon the helm, while the ſhip of ſtate was toſſed about in a ſtorm, until he had brought her ſafely into port. He could ſee but little foundation for the preſent public alarm; the fall of the ſtocks, he ſaid, was merely the effect of that ſudden panic, which was the uſual concomitant of a beginning war. The apparent backwardneſs to fill the preſent loan, he, however, attributed rather to the greatneſs of the national debt, than to the mere approach of a war. Great Britain had always been ſo punctual in the payment of the intereſt due to her creditors, that ſhe could never want money for the public ſervice. The dread of an invaſion, he ſaid, was a mere bugbear; and if it ſhould take place, the nation would have but little reaſon to be apprehenſive for the conſequences. Our navy never was, at the commencement of a war, in ſo flouriſhing a condition as at preſent; the new levies were nearly compleated; and that the public might be rendered entirely eaſy on the ſubject of invaſion, his Majeſty intended to recur to that conſtitutional ſource of defence, which was ſo great a favourite with the other ſide of the Houſe, by drawing out and embodying the militia. He concluded, that the inſult offered by France was of the moſt diſgraceful nature; that as he knew the honour of the nation was dear to every gentleman in that Houſe, ſo he truſted there was not a man in it who would not riſque his life and fortune to

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wipe off the ſtain it had received; and that conſequently, no one would refuſe to agree to an addreſs, which only went to aſſure the King, that he ſhould find in his faithful Commons, every ſupport neceſſary to maintain the honour of his people, and the dignity of his crown.

Several of the moſt reſpectable members of the oppoſition, as well as ſome gentlemen who were not of that party, conſidered an immediate acknowledgement of the independency of the Americans, as not only the wiſeſt, but the only meaſure now to be adopted, which could extricate us, without ſtill greater loſſes, and with any tolerable proſpect of future advantage from our antient colonies, out of our preſent danger and difficulties. Their independence, was not only already eſtabliſhed, but had obtained ſuch time to fix and ſettle upon its foundations, that it appeared now too firm to be ſhaken by our utmoſt efforts, even ſuppoſing it were left, without any foreign ſupport, merely to that of its own inherent ſtrength. But, in that ſituation, to form any hope of our being equal to its overthrow, under the acknowledgement and ſupport of the Houſe of Bourbon, was, they ſaid, an idea only fit to be entertained by bedlamites; and any attempt of the ſort, could be only conſidered as the laſt act of political deſpair, infatuation, and phrenzy.

On the other hand, by ſubmitting prudently to that neceſſity in which we have been involved by our own perverſeneſs and folly, and acknowledging in time that independency of the colonies, which we muſt otherwiſe be at length compelled, under the moſt ruinous circumſtances, to acknowledge; we ſhall immediately, and in the firſt inſtance, prevent the double war with the Houſe of Bourbon and America. We ſhall thereby prevent thoſe mutual connections, friendſhips, habitudes of life, communication of ſentiments, manners, and language, which muſt otherwiſe be the inevitable conſequence of ſuch a participation in a common courſe of danger and warfare, and under ſuch a ſtate of apparent obligation on one ſide. By this means, ſaid they, America will be emancipated from all connection with France, excepting merely what is included in the dead letter of a treaty of commerce, and what may depend upon the payment of a public debt, which, in this caſe, ſhe would not be long in diſcharging; but which, a continuation of the war would every day increaſe, and of courſe, not only bind her more cloſely to the Houſe of Bourbon, but if it became enormous would even abridge her freedom of acting. In this caſe alſo, the open commerce which America would carry on with all the world, would neceſſarily leſſen her connection with, and weaken her dependence on France. But what would ſtill, they ſaid, be of greater importance than any thing yet mentioned, the reſentments of America would grow cool; the ſenſe of thoſe injuries and ſufferings which ſhe experienced at our hands, would daily weaken; commerce would neceſſarily renew our former intercourſe; friendſhips and affections would again be revived; their children would again come here for their education; and religion, language, ſimilarity of laws, cuſtoms, and manners,

would all have their influence, in rendering us as nearly one people, as it was ſtill poſſible. And thus, ſaid they, we ſhould derive greater advantages from the predilection and affection of America, in giving us a preference in point of commerce, and ſupporting us with a filial regard, as a friendly and faithful ally, in any emergency of diſtreſs or danger, than we could draw from that continent, under any circumſtance of conqueſt, or condition of ſlavery; ſuppoſing the poſſibility of our accompliſhing the one, and inflicting the other.

It was, however, contended by thoſe who held the oppoſite opinion, that nothing could be a more complete diſgrace to the nation, than to ſurrender its juſt and natural ſuperiority to the deceitful and inſolent interpoſition of France. That the hopes ariſing from the ſuppoſed new alliance with the independent ſtates of America, were wild and viſionary. That thoſe who would refuſe the very liberal offers that were now to be made, were determined enemies to their own people in America, as well as to this country. That it would be baſe and cruel to expoſe thoſe, who had riſqued all things in the ſupport of Government, to the inſolence and fury of the rebellious party; and the more ſo, as the well affected was by far the more numerous diviſion of that people.

The queſtion being at length put, at half paſt two in the morning, the amendment was rejected, and the original addreſs accordingly carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 263 to 113.

The French notification, accompanied with the royal meſſage, were on the ſame day preſented to the Lords by Lord Weymouth, who alſo moved for an addreſs ſimilar to that propoſed to the Commons. The cenſures paſſed upon that conduct of public affairs which had brought on the preſent criſis, were, on this occaſion, and ſome others that followed, delivered in a much higher tone, and in more expreſs and unqualified terms, than thoſe which were produced by the ſame, or ſimilar ſubjects in the other Houſe.

The Duke of Mancheſter was the firſt to declare, that however great the provocation given by France might be, he muſt notwithſtanding totally oppoſe the addreſs, if the approaching war was to be conducted by the ſame men who were the authors of all our preſent calamities. Men, he ſaid, in whoſe hands nothing could ſucceed; and in whom it would be madneſs to confide. He reminded the Houſe of the frequent admonitions and warnings Miniſters had received from the Lords on that ſide; and in which almoſt every progreſſive ſtep towards national ruin, even to the very important buſineſs of the preſent day, had been truly and exactly foretold. They received, he ſaid, continual communications of ſuch facts and circumſtances, as ſeemed ſufficient to open the eyes of the moſt obſtinate and incredulous; but in ſpite of facts and circumſtances, they unhappily got majorities to ſupport them againſt the ſtrongeſt convictions of probability and common ſenſe. And now have brought us to the melancholy dilemma of not being in a ſtate to preſerve peace, or to proſecute a war.

The noble Duke then moved the following amendment, to be

inſerted

inſerted immediately after the word "ſupport" in the addreſs, viz. "whenever his Majeſty ſhall, from a regard to the honour of his crown, and the ſafety of his people, remove from his councils thoſe perſons, under whoſe adminiſtration, no plan, civil or military, has been ſucceſsful; and the colonies, ſo valuable a part of the empire, have been loſt to the nation, and driven into connections with the court of France; and whoſe longer continuance in power, we are bound to repreſent to his Majeſty, may highly endanger the ſafety of his crown, and of the remaining part of his dominions."

Some ſecret and inviſible power, which they repreſented as having for ſeveral years guided all the ſtate movements, and as being the real and efficient cauſe of all the national misfortunes and calamities, became an object of loud animadverſion with ſome of the Lords. They ſaid that this inviſible power was the crying evil, and the great grievance to be provided againſt. That this unconſtitutional ſubſerviency, which indeed could only be eſtabliſhed, through the ſhameful and baſe ſervility of Miniſters, had been the fatal ſource of all the evils which had poured in upon this country during the preſent reign. That, whoever reſiſted this ſecret, concealed impulſe, however able or fitting to ſerve the ſtate, was proſcribed; whilſt thoſe who paid the deſired obedience to it, however weak, ignorant, or incapable, were immediately patronized, promoted, and required no other qualification, to riſe to the poſſeſſion of the firſt and moſt reſponſible offices.

The noble Miniſter who moved the addreſs, ſaid, he would not for the preſent enter into any exculpation of himſelf, or of his brethren in office; he would reſerve a formal defence for a formal accuſation. He could not however avoid obſerving, that an unproved accuſation of Miniſters, and a condemnation of their conduct untried and unheard, was as unfair and unjuſt, as it was contrary to all propriety with reſpect to time, place, and occaſion. This was not, however, the principal ground upon which he muſt oppoſe the amendment; but for its being clogged with a condition which implied, that what was right and neceſſary in itſelf ſhould not be purſued, unleſs ſomething elſe were granted. At a time when the very being of the kingdom ſeemed to ſtand on a precarious baſis, and that his Majeſty requeſted their united aſſiſtance to ſupport that along with his own dignity, it carried a moſt ungenerous appearance to tack compulſatory conditions, as the price of a neceſſary ſervice. If the addreſs met their ſentiments, let it receive their ſanction as the neceſſary conſequence of its propriety and expedience; but let not unreaſonable conceſſions be made the meaſure of duty. And if Miniſters were found incapable or guilty upon a proper examination, an application then to the throne, unmixed with any foreign matter, would, undoubtedly, meet with proper attention. As to the ſecret influence talked of, the King's Miniſters knew of none. They had done their duty upon their own opinions. If theſe opinions

were erroneous and honeſt, they would be pardoned; if juſt and well founded, they would meet ſupport and applauſe. If their conduct was faulty, they would deſerve puniſhment; and they were ready couragiouſly to ſupport their own conduct in their own perſons, and to abide the juſt ſenſe of the Houſe, without ſkulking behind the throne or parliament, or exculpating themſelves upon the idea of any ſecret influence whatever.

The very few Lords on the ſame ſide who entered into any part of the debate, ſaid, they oppoſed the amendment as unprecedented and indecent. That it would be little leſs than offering a direct inſult to the Sovereign; and that it would be equally injurious and unjuſt to his ſervants, to condemn them by a haſty and raſh cenſure, before they were heard in their own defence. That the failure of their plans was by no means a proof of inability or miſconduct; it might have proceeded from numberleſs circumſtances with which they were yet unacquainted; and as no wiſdom or ability could command ſucceſs, its failure conſequently could not, without farther evidence, imply any room for cenſure.

On the other ſide it was contended, that there was not a more proper, or truly parliamentary method of ſoliciting a redreſs of grievances, than by propoſing that redreſs as the term of compliance to a requeſt. It was the ſtrong ground and foundation of all thoſe checks which parliament held upon the crown. Without that there could be no ſuch checks, and parliaments would be uſeleſs. The condition to be annexed to the addreſs, was therefore perfectly in order, and in full conformity with parliamentary uſage. But if it had been otherwiſe, when the ſtate was acknowledged to be ſhaken to its foundations, and its very exiſtence at ſtake, forms were too ridiculous to be thought of. Such a ſituation of public affairs, preſented the ſeaſon for creating of new precedents ſuitable to the occaſion, inſtead of being ſuperſtitiouſly bound by thoſe which were obſolete and uſeleſs. The propoſed condition was entwined with the national welfare; it was founded on matter of fact, and of public notoriety; it was not only a proper anſwer to, but it was demanded by the meſſage from the crown; that meſſage requires aſſiſtance and ſupport, and this points out the only certain ground by which they can be obtained. The objection made to a condemnation without trial, a noble Earl humorouſly obſerved to be unfounded; the Miniſters, he ſaid, had been long,—too long tried; and were now under the condemnation of all the diſintereſted part of the nation.

Several of the Lords on that ſide, objected greatly to the paſſionate and inflammatory expreſſions uſed in the meſſage, and which were echoed back in the addreſs. They were no leſs than tantamount, they ſaid, to a declaration of war. Was the nation in condition, or its military force in a ſtate of preparation to abide the conſequences? There was no call for any violence or intemperance of language. There was not an angry expreſſion in the French reſcript. The matter of fact, they ſaid, ſhould have been ſtated plainly to parliament for their deliberations, and they might well have declared in return, their

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determination to ſupport upon all occaſions, both the dignity of the crown and the intereſts of the nation, without entangling themſelves with any ſpecific reſolution or promiſe, and without the ſmalleſt occaſion for any inflammatory language on either ſide. They ſaid, that however grievous the meaſure taken by France might be, and in fact was, yet that war was by no means an inevitable, or even neceſſary conſequence of the preſent declaration. We had ourſelves uſed a ſimilar conduct on former occaſions, with reſpect both to France and Spain, without its being productive of any immediate war with either. And, however we might lament the occaſion and its conſequences, reprobate the conduct which expoſed us to them, or vainly and paſſionately exclaim againſt the perfidiouſneſs of the act, it was in reality one of thoſe meaſures of political advantage, which no rival nation, under a wiſe and active government, could have overlooked or neglected. In theſe circumſtances then, there ſeemed no neceſſity for entering into a war; if, without injury to the honour of Great Britain, war could be avoided it ought.

It behoved us firſt to conſider what the object of the war was, and our ability of attaining that object; and in the next place moſt ſeriouſly to reflect, upon the poſſible conſequences of our failing in the attempt. The only object of a preſent war with France muſt be the recovery of America; an object which every man in his ſenſes muſt now ſee to be totally unattainable. What then, ſaid they, is to be done? The anſwer is ſhort, and the ſtrait line of conduct before you. Cancel your inflammatory votes, and your menacing declarations. Annihilate that ridiculous conciliatory ſyſtem, which ſeems to have been calculated only to render parliament a ſubject of mockery and deriſion. And, inſtead of ſending out Commiſſioners to be laughed at, to return as they went, and to render our public counſels ſtill more contemptible, arm them with powers to acknowledge the independency of the Americans, if they inſiſt upon it, and to conclude the moſt advantageous treaty of peace and commerce with them, that can now be obtained. But at any rate, let your conduct with regard to France be what it may, eſtabliſh peace with America. The point of honour, muſt in this caſe give way to neceſſity. The attempting impoſſibilities can only render our ruin inevitable. It is impoſſible to recal what we have wantonly thrown away. By theſe means we ſhall obtain ſecurity. We ſhall be extricated from our immediate dangers and difficulties. We ſhall gain breathing time, which in our preſent ſituation is a matter of the firſt importance. And we muſt truſt to time, fortune, and future wiſdom, to remedy ſome of thoſe evils, and to reſtore ſome of thoſe advantages, which our violence have produced, or our folly ſquandered.

The oppoſition were not, however, unanimous in their opinion, with regard to admitting the independence of America. It was held and firmly ſupported, as the only means of ſaving the nation, by the Marquis of Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond, and

seemed to be entertained by most, or all, of those Lords who compose that party. But the Earls of Chatham, Temple, and Shelburne, with some other Lords whose sentiments were generally in unison with theirs, could not bear the idea of a separation from America, not consequently of its independence. This they considered as the greatest of all possible political and national evils, and as including the utter degradation and final ruin of this country. The evil, though not to the utmost extent it was described, was acknowledged on the other side; but the possibility of preventing it was the matter in question.

The question being at length put upon the Duke of Manchester's amendment, it was rejected upon a division by a majority of 100, including 16 proxies, to 36, including two proxies, who supported the question. The main question being afterwards put on the original address, it was carried by a proportional majority, though the numbers were smaller on both sides.

Among the singularities of that day's debate, a noble Earl, in the warmth excited by the subject declared, that the nation was betrayed, and that nothing less than treachery could account for those measures which led to its present situation. The fatal effects of a supposed system of corruption, which was said to be at this time generally prevalent, became a subject also of much animadversion, in the course of which the conduct of a majority in the other House underwent such strictures, as were probably never before heard within those walls.

March 19th. The committee on the state of the nation being resumed in the House of Commons, the subject of the late expedition from Canada was taken up by Mr. Fox, who having first caused the papers relative to that measure to be read, proceeded to state the grounds of his intended motions. His principal object was to shew that the measure was originally absurd and impracticable in the design; and that the failure of effect being accordingly inevitable, all the subsequent losses and misfortunes were to be directly charged to the noble Lord at the head of the American department, and not to the officers who were entrusted with the execution. He accordingly proposed three resolutions tending to establish the following points, that the plan of the expedition was impolitic, unwise, and incapable of producing any good effect; that the provision made for it was inadequate to the object; and that General Burgoyne had acted agreeably to the tenor of his instructions. From these, he said, he deduced a fourth resolution, which he reserved, and which was intended to pass the censure of the House, upon the noble Lord who was the ostensible author of the expedition.

This business brought on the longest debate that had taken place during the course of the session; and called forth little less than the whole ability on both sides of the House. The framer of the motion was thought in his introductory speech, to have even transcended his customary style of exertion; and his friends by no means lost any ground in their support,

support. On the other side, the ground of impropriety in bringing on the business during the absence of those generals, who until the contrary was established, must be considered as principal parties in the charge, was again taken. That there had been a fault, and a great one, somewhere, was universally allowed. A whole army had been lost. The nature and fortune of the war thereby totally changed. A new, and most dangerous foreign war was the immediate consequence; the loss of America, and even more, might possibly be the final. The causes that led to such a series of fatal consequences, they said, required undoubtedly the strictest investigation; and the fault, wherever it lay, might demand even more than censure. But the general acknowledgement of a fault or crime, could by no means imply the Minister to be the guilty person; nor could the enquiry be properly conducted, nor the charge fixed as justice directed, until all the parties were present, and all the evidence.

The direct charges made against the American Minister by the opposition, however, necessarily called forth some direct defence; and no pains were omitted to shew, that the northern expedition was, in the first place, a wise and necessary measure; that it was capable of success, and the design evidently practicable; and that the noble Secretary in whose department it lay, had omitted nothing which could be done by an attentive Minister to insure its success. They also endeavoured much to controvert a point insisted on by the opposition, that General Burgoyne's orders were peremptory with respect to his advancing to Albany. They said, that however peremptory the letter of instructions might appear, a discretionary latitude of conduct, to be regulated by circumstances and events, was always necessarily implied and understood. This, with much more upon the subject, will, however, properly appear, in the relation of the long discussion which this business underwent in the ensuing session of parliament.

The question being at length put, the first resolution was rejected upon a division, by the great majority of 164 to 44. The event of this division was resented by the mover, Mr. Fox, with an unusual degree of warmth, and an appearance of the highest indignation. He not only declared that he would not propose another motion; but taking the resolution of censure out of his pocket, tore it in pieces, and immediately quitted the House.

The conquering party were not, however, satisfied with this victory. They were determined in the present warmth of success to pursue the advantage, and to render it complete by a vote of negative approbation. A great law officer accordingly moved, that it does not appear to this committee, that the failure of the expedition to Canada arose from any neglect in the Secretary of State for the colonies. Although this motion was carried in the committee, yet as the chief argument of the majority turned upon the injustice of any decision in the absence of the parties, a decision in favour of the party present did not appear very equitable; it was thought, on consider-

conſideration among themſelves, that it would be more expedient not to proceed upon it; therefore, the reſolution was not reported to the Houſe, by which it was rendered in effect a non-entity.

As the charge of a boundleſs profuſion in the public expenditure, had afforded a conſtant theme for animadverſion to the oppoſition in both Houſes during the ſeſſion, Col. Barre, who had frequently taken up, and commented with ſeverity upon detached parts of the ſubject, at length determined to render the whole an object of parliamentary enquiry. In a comprehenſive view which he took of various parts of the ſubject, the conduct of miniſters and contractors, with the exorbitant profits ſuppoſed to be gained on contracts and agencies, underwent no ſmall ſhare of cenſure and animadverſion. He concluded an able ſpeech, ſome parts of which threw the miniſter into an unuſual degree of warmth, and even betrayed him into ſome irregularity in point of order, and with reſpect to interruption, by moving for a "committee to inſpect "the public accounts with reſpect "to expenditure, and to report "their opinion thereon to the "Houſe."

Mar. 30th.

Several of the gentlemen in office oppoſed the motion as unneceſſary, from a conviction, they ſaid, that the treaſury had acted with the utmoſt prudence and œconomy in the diſpoſal of the public money. They ſaid, that if any undue profits had in ſome particular inſtances been obtained by contractors, the treaſury would oblige them to refund ſuch ſums, as ſoon as the accounts could be examined, and the neceſſary enquiries made. They alſo ſaid that this was not a fit ſeaſon for a committee of accounts; the Houſe was not in a proper diſpoſition, nor the nation in a proper temper, for ſuch a diſcuſſion; it would only afford freſh matter for the calumnious ſpirit of the times to prey upon; and might be productive of great miſchief, by diſſeminating ill-founded charges, and exciting cauſeleſs jealouſies and ſuſpicions among the people.

Amendments and modifications were propoſed on the ſame ſide, particularly by leaving the words, "to report their opinion thereon," out of the motion, and by referring the matter to a ſelect committee. Theſe points were agreed to, and 21 gentlemen were accordingly choſen by ballot as a ſelect committee, although the gentleman who framed the original motion, ſaid he would rather withdraw it, than to join in deceiving the public by hanging out hopes of redreſs, when it was evident from the train in which the buſineſs was now propoſed to be placed, that nothing uſeful could be effected.

On the ſame day, a petition of uncommon rigour againſt the Miniſters was preſented from the town and county of Newcaſtle upon Tyne. In this piece, after a long enumeration of grievances and evils, particularly thoſe appertaining to the civil war, they call upon parliament, that its wiſdom and attention may be "ſeriouſly en-"gaged to inveſtigate, and effec-"tually root out, the cauſe of "theſe evils; and to eſtabliſh the "peace and happineſs of ſociety, "by humbly addreſſing his Ma-"jeſty to remove from his pre-"ſence and counſels for ever thoſe "men,

"men, who from motives of interest, or vindictive ambition, may "have deſtroyed this peace, interrupted this happineſs, and "forfeited the confidence of the "people; and to prevent ſucceeding delinquents from being miſled by the flattering hopes of "impunity, we pray, that legal "but rigorous and exemplary puniſhments may be impartially "inflicted upon any who are found "to have betrayed the juſt rights, "and ſacrificed the welfare, of "their country; that ſuch effectual check may be given to vice "and corruption, and ſuch countenance and encouragement to "public virtue, as may unite a "free and generous people upon "the ſolid baſis of loyalty and mutual affection."

April 2d. A motion made by Mr. Wilkes for bringing in a bill "more effectually to "prevent the dangerous and unconſtitutional practice of giving, "or granting money to the crown, "as a private aid, loan, benevolence, or ſubſcription, for public purpoſes, without the conſent "of parliament," was, after a "ſhort debate, rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 71, to 40.

On the ſame day the Miniſter gave notice, that he would on the following move for ſome allowance to be made to the ſubſcribers on the preſent loan, in order to make up the loſs ſuſtained by them, in conſequence of the change which had taken place in public affairs ſince the time of their ſubſcription, and which had materially affected the marketable value of the funds. He ſaid this propoſal was equitable and juſt, as the event in queſtion had taken place before their firſt payment was made. And, that if the ſubſcribers were to be the ſufferers, it would be out of the power of any Miniſter to raiſe a loan upon any future occaſion, however critical.

This propoſal was however reprobated in ſuch unreſerved terms by the oppoſition, that, although it was afterwards talked of, the Miniſter never thought fitting to bring it forward. They ſaid they were aſtoniſhed at the noble lord's temerity, and his conſequent contempt of parliament; it was, indeed, beyond endurance. So barefaced a propoſition had never been made in that Houſe; and if it were received it would eſtabliſh a precedent, of a more dangerous nature, than even any of thoſe hitherto furniſhed, for the practice of future Miniſters. With ſuch a precedent, all ideas of loans and of contracts would become ridiculous. Did not the noble lord tell the Houſe, with his uſual confidence and tone of authority, the great advantage he had allowed the ſubſcribers in this very loan; and had he the face now to come, and propoſe to take a ſum of money out of the national purſe, in order to ſupply any deficiency of intended and expected profit which might fall to the lot of thoſe friends, to whom, as marks of favour, of private and parliamentary kindneſs, he had already parcelled out that loan in ſuch ſhares as were due to their reſpective merits? Suppoſe, ſaid they, that theſe ſubſcribers had (as has frequently been the caſe) made ſix or eight per cent. upon their money, would they come to the treaſury, or to that bar, to acknowledge that their gains were exorbitant,

tant, and that they were come to refund the extraordinary profits?

The house-tax bill was either combated in the whole, or controverted in its parts, by some in the opposition, in every part of its progress through the House of Commons. They said it was particularly injurious, unjust, and oppressive, from its being unequally and partially allotted, as near nine-tenths of its burthens were to be borne by the metropolis, and the county of Middlesex. That it carried more the appearance of a bill of punishment on the citizens of London, for their daring to oppose the American war, than a fair, equal, and proportionate tax on property. And, they said it was a most grievous and melancholy consideration, that those who, within and without that House, had either personally opposed or execrated all the measures that tended to that fatal event, should, in themselves and their posterity, have their properties taxed, and their inheritances perpetually mortgaged, to supply the immense sums lavished in schemes of folly, cruelty, and injustice, which they equally lamented and detested.

Failing in their opposition to the general principle of the bill, they used the most strenuous efforts in the committee on the second of April, for lessening its effect with respect to the poorer orders of the people. Upon this principle they first moved, that houses of 10l. a-year, and under, should not be rated to the tax. This question, after considerable debate, being lost on a division, by a majority of 69 to 51; they then moved, that houses of 7l. a-year, and under, should be exempted. Upon this being rejected on a division, they descended through different gradations of rents, down to five pounds one shilling; having brought every question to a division, and lost every one. The bill was passed on the 6th.

The distresses of Ireland had long been an object of regret, even with many of those who had no particular interest in that country. Without entering into the causes from which these originated, it will be sufficient to observe, that they had grown to their present alarming and deplorable state, under the unhappy consequences of the American war; so that the country became unequal to the support of that great establishment, with which it had (perhaps too inconsiderately) encumbered itself, when the flourishing state of all other parts of the British empire, had diffused a considerable degree of prosperity even thither.

This state of affairs became now so notorious, and the consequences were said to be so urgent, that the Ministers were at length convinced of the necessity of paying attention to them; and of affording some immediate satisfaction to the feelings, if not an entire redress to the grievances of that people. Earl Nugent had accordingly on the 2d of April moved, that a committee of the whole House should be appointed to consider of the trade of Ireland. The noble Lord observed, that the conduct of Great-Britain towards its sister kingdom, had been no less impolitic than unjust, and that the present situation of public affairs called particularly on this country to enter into a revision of the Irish trade laws.

This proposal in favour of Ireland,

land, though originating from the court side of the House, was entered into with great cordiality by most of the principal members of the opposition; and indeed by that whole party, excepting a few gentlemen, who from their situation, as representatives of manufacturing towns or counties, considered themselves under an indispensable obligation to pay the greatest regard to the opinions, although they were even founded on the prejudices, of their constituents. The former said, that Ireland was now the chief dependency of the British crown, and that it particularly behoved this country, at this season, and in this situation, to admit the Irish nation to the privileges of British citizens; a measure which true policy and right wisdom would have long since adopted.

They said, that the restrictions on the Irish trade had defeated the purpose for which they were intended, and, instead of promoting the staple manufactory of this country, in its woollen fabricks, produced a direct contrary effect. For the Irish, in order to pay their rents, were under a necessity of disposing of the produce of their lands, and as they were not allowed to manufacture their wool, to find a market for it wherever they could. All partial laws and unnatural restraints must ever fail in their design, when opposed to the operation of such a necessity. France, feeling an irremediable want of the raw material in herself, afforded a ready market, and an exorbitant price for the Irish wool. The cheapness of living, and other circumstances, were, however, more than a counterballance, for the excessive price which she paid for the raw material. And thus, France was enabled to arrive at such a state with respect to her woollen manufactures, as to rival us in that very commerce of which we were so jealous.

The noble Lord's motions, as they were then stated, or afterwards altered in the Committee or House, were placed under four heads, and directed to the following purposes: That the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the British plantations, or to the settlements on the coast of Africa, in British ships navigated according to law, all goods, wares, and merchandizes, being the produce or manufacture of that kingdom, wool and woollen manufactures only excepted, or commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great-Britain, legally imported from that kingdom, as also foreign certificate goods, under the same condition. The second permitted a direct importation into Ireland, of all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce of any of the British plantations, or of the settlements on the coast of Africa, tobacco only excepted.—The third permitted the direct exportation from Ireland, to all places except Great-Britain, of glass manufactured in that kingdom.—The fourth, by taking off a duty amounting to a prohibition, permitted the importation of cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, into Great-Britain.—And, the fifth, which was moved by Mr. Burke, permitted the importation of Irish sail-cloth and cordage.

Although the motions were unanimously agreed to for the present, and that the greatest good wishes were

were on all hands expreſſed for the ſiſter kingdom, yet ſome gentlemen could not forbear expreſſing their apprehenſions, that if the propoſed reſolutions ſhould paſs into a law, it would prove highly detrimental to the manufactures of this country; for that the taxes in Ireland being low, and labour cheap, the Iriſh would be able to underſell us in ſuch a degree, as would probably prove the ruin of ſeveral of our trading towns.

To this it was anſwered, that the taxes in Ireland were many and high; and that upon an accurate examination, they would be found, proportionally to the means of paying them, conſiderably greater than in England. That ſtrangers, from the apparent opulence and ſplendor of the metropolis, with the magnificence and unbounded hoſpitality of people of faſhion, were liable to be much deceived in their ideas with reſpect to the real ſtate of that kingdom. But that in fact, the people of that country had languiſhed ſo long, under the moſt intolerable grievances, and the weight of the moſt oppreſſive laws, that they were now reduced to a ſtate of the moſt extreme wretchedneſs. Their loyalty, however, and affection to this country, were ſo far ſuperior with them to all other conſiderations, that in the midſt of their own diſtreſs, they looked only to our danger; and though the oppreſſiveneſs of our acts compelled multitudes of their brethren daily to abandon their country and all that was dear to them, who without crime or charge, were undergoing in foreign lands all the miſeries incident to a ſtate of baniſhment, yet their remaining friends were ſtill willing to ſtrain every nerve to ſupport us in the moment of our diſtreſs. A noble Lord in office, who had embarked warmly on that ſide, concluded his ſpeech by declaring, that, a braver, a more generous, or a more loyal people were not to be found; and, he flattered himſelf therefore, that they would be treated by parliament according to their high deſerts.

A gentleman of high diſtinction in the oppoſition, and who had once been high in office, after expreſſing his warmeſt approbation of the preſent meaſure, and declaring his happineſs at ſeeing that the miſt of prejudice was beginning to diſperſe; added, that it would increaſe his happineſs to give the meaſure a broader bottom; for, though he was as ſtedfaſt a proteſtant as any gentleman in the Houſe, he wiſhed to ſee ſome means adopted for granting ſuch indulgencies to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, as might attach that great body of men to government; their affections had been alienated; he wiſhed to recal them by indulgent behaviour, and thereby giving them an intereſt in government. He hated the perſecuting ſpirit of the Romiſh religion, and could not therefore wiſh to be a perſecutor.

This brought up the Miniſter, and afforded an opportunity for a diſcloſure of his ſentiments on the preſent buſineſs. The noble Lord declared, that he would with the greateſt cordiality concur in any meaſure which tended to ſo deſirable a purpoſe, as that mentioned by the gentleman who ſpoke before him; but the propoſed redreſs was not within their province; it properly belonged to the parliament

of Ireland; the laws which were ſo ſevere againſt the Roman Catholics had originated there, and redreſs of domeſtic grievances ſhould likewiſe of right originate from them. The penal laws of that kingdom were the conſequence of apprehenſions; a cauſe, which, however groundleſs, always produces the moſt ſevere and cruel policy. As theſe apprehenſions had long ceaſed, he made no doubt that their own parliament would perceive and redreſs the grievance; for there was not any where a people of more liberal ſentiments than the Iriſh.

Leaving therefore, he ſaid, to the candour of their own parliament, to grant ſuch indulgence to the Roman Catholics as their loyalty deſerved, he requeſted the Houſe would agree to what was in their power, and properly within their province. The Iriſh complained, and complained with juſtice, of the oppreſſive reſtrictions of our trade laws; a relaxation of them, would benefit the Iriſh, and ultimately enrich ourſelves; their profits, as in other caſes, would finally center with us; embarked in the ſame common cauſe with us, they were not to be conſidered as rivals in trade; but their rivals were in reality ours, as ours ſhould be theirs. The exception of woollen manufactures he ſhould ſay nothing to; it might not, perhaps, be juſt; that point, however, had been given up by the Iriſh themſelves, and the reſignation confirmed by an ancient compact. He concluded by giving an unreſerved and hearty concurrence to the motion.

April 6th. On the day previous to this buſineſs, Sir William Meredith had moved for a repeal of the declaratory act of the year 1766, as preparatory to that of the other obnoxious American laws; the whole meaſure being in his opinion abſolutely neceſſary before the departure of the commiſſioners, to afford any proſpect of ſucceſs to their negociation. The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Burke, who ſpoke much at length to the queſtion, and with much applauſe from the greater part on both ſides of the Houſe. The tendency of his ſpeech was to prove that the act, as an abſtract propoſition of law, was wiſe at the time it was made. That it produced great advantage at that time, to the meaſures for healing the differences with America; and that it produced no ill effect. That the Houſe had already formally renounced the obnoxious power in queſtion, which was ſuppoſed to be involved in that act; and that therefore this repeal, would be only for parliament to give itſelf the lie, for no manner of purpoſe. The motion was gently rejected without a diviſion, by a motion for its being adjourned for two months.

A meſſage was received from the throne, April 8th. to enable his majeſty to make ſuitable proviſion for his younger children out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, which could not be done without an act of parliament for the purpoſe. The propoſal went to the ſettling an annuity of 60,000 l. on the ſix younger princes, of 30,000 l. on the five princeſſes, and of 12,000 l. on the prince and princeſs, ſon and daughter to his royal highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter. The annuities only

to

to take effect, in the first instance, on the demise of his Majesty; and, in the second, on the death of the Duke of Gloucester. A bill was accordingly immediately brought in on these grounds, and a law speedily passed for the desired purpose.

19th. In a few days after Sir Philip Jennings Clerke brought in what was called the Contractor's Bill, founded upon the ground described in the following motion. "A bill for restraining any person, being a member of the House of Commons, from being concerned himself, or any person in trust for him, in any contract made by the commissioners of his majesty's treasury, the commissioners of the navy, the board of ordnance, or by any other person or persons, for the public service, unless the said contract shall be made at a public bidding."

The general odium under which this order of men had long laboured, rendered this bill exceedingly popular without doors; whilst it afforded an opportunity within (which was by no means neglected) of renewing all that censure, that had upon various occasions, with no sparing hand, been bestowed upon them in the course of the session. To this odium it can only be attributed, that a motion, which conveyed a well-understood censure upon government, and which was indeed founded upon former charges, that equally included the treasury bench and the contractors, should, notwithstanding all the weight of administration, be carried by a considerable majority. Yet such was the event. The motion being carried by a majority of 71 to 50, and a bill accordingly brought in.

In the mean time a strong opposition was forming against the Irish bills, which were founded upon those resolutions we have already stated. A general alarm was spread, through most of the trading and manufacturing parts of the kingdom. They considered the admittance of Ireland to any participation in trade, as not only destructive in the most ruinous degree of their property, but as being equally subversive of their rights. They were as little disposed to consent, that the people of Ireland should cultivate their own manufactures, and dispose of their native commodities at the proper foreign markets, as they were to admit them to any limited degree of participation. In a word, a foreign invasion could scarcely have excited a greater alarm. It ran like an infection every where, and took such absolute possession of the mind, that the recent, and immediately forefelt example of America, with respect to any general application of causes to effects, was totally forgotten. The city of London preserved the dignity of so great and majestic an emporium, and continued uninfluenced by common opinion, and unmoved by popular clamour.

The Easter recess afforded time and opportunity for public meetings, for the preparation of petitions, and of instructions to representatives, which were accordingly brought up in considerable numbers at the meeting of parliament. A curious circumstance occurred upon this occasion, which afforded a striking instance of the eagerness with which ill-founded popular apprehensions,

prehenſions, may, in certain caſes, be received and communicated. A motion had been made, and a bill accordingly brought in, for the importation of ſail-cloth from Ireland. This was however founded totally in error, and the gentleman who brought it in, afterwards diſcovered, that the liberty of importing Iriſh ſail-cloth was already eſtabliſhed, by a poſitive law of long ſtanding. Yet this bill, was as vidently oppoſed by petitions from different parts of the kingdom, and as ſtrongly charged with the moſt ruinous conſequences, as any of the other four bills its companions, which were all founded upon new ground. From hence it was inferred in debate by the mover, and not unfairly urged, that the jealouſy entertained of the other Iriſh bills was equally unfounded, and only originated in prejudice, ignorance, and the ſelfiſh views of a few interested individuals.

May 1ſt. On the firſt day of buſineſs after the Eaſter recels, the contractors bill was brought in and read the firſt time. A motion being then made, for its being read the ſecond time on the 11th, it was oppoſed; but carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 72 to 61. Theſe two victories afforded no ſmall hope to the oppoſition that they would carry it through; and there was no doubt of its ſucceſs in the Houſe of Lords. The expectation was ſtill ſtronger out of doors, nor was the hope by any means weaker.

The full appearance of the Houſe (for the ſeaſon of the year) on the ſecond reading, afforded room, however, for apprehenſion; at leaſt it evidently demonſtrated, that no means were left untried, to give a turn to the courſe of that new current, which ran ſo violently againſt a very conſiderable part of the ſtrength and ſupport of adminiſtration. A motion being made for committing the bill, it was ſtrongly oppoſed, and a conſiderable debate enſued. No ground could ſcarcely be taken by either ſide in this debate, which we have not already had occaſion to go over, or which will not be obvious from the nature of the ſubject, excepting only one objection which was made to the bill by its oppoſers; namely, that it was totally inadequate to its purpoſe; that it could not provide againſt ſecret jobbing under the cover of nominal agents, the effects of which would be much more pernicious, than any derived from the preſent open practice. Some new charges of malverſation were indeed made, and ſome particular inſtances to ſhew its neceſſity pointed out, in ſupport of the bill; and ſome intemperance of language, from a gentleman who felt himſelf included in its operation, was ſuddenly checked, and reprehended with ſeverity upon the ſpot.

The queſtion being at length put upon the motion of commitment, it was loſt by two only, the numbers being 115, to 113, who ſupported the committing of the bill upon a diviſion. A motion was then made by the victors, for its being laid by for two months, which was of courſe carried. Thus was a bill, which many conſidered as being of the utmoſt importance to the public intereſts of this country, loſt, by only two voices.

The meſſage for a vote of credit, which was received on the following day, cauſed much 5th

debate

debate on that and the next; and, as some new ground was now afforded, brought out an extraordinary degree of censure upon the conduct of the ministers; whilst the circumstances attending the immediate charge, afforded them rather unequal means of defence. For it was now known that D'Estaing's fleet, consisting of 12 ships of the line, had sailed from Toulon before the middle of the preceding month. America was generally supposed to be its object; and as no squadron had been sent from home, either to intercept it on the passage, or to combat it on the spot, it was much apprehended, that from the comparative weakness of the force under Lord Howe, both our fleet and army might have fallen sacrifices, to the great naval superiority of the French, in conjunction with the whole land force of America, which, it could not be doubted, would, on such an account, be drawn from all parts to the point of action. Several concurring circumstances served much to widen this ground of complaint and censure. The preparations necessary for the equipment of this fleet at Toulon, were so great, and had continued so long, that the designed expedition, had for some months been a subject of public attention, and of general conversation, in most parts of Europe; and even its object had been publicly talked of. About the very time that a scheme so full of danger in its design, was carrying into immediate effect at Toulon, by the departure of the French squadron in pursuit of its object, a royal naval review at Portsmouth, was said to have entirely occupied the attention of the admiralty, the navy, and of government. And, as if it had been to complete and round the subjects of complaint, it happened, that the absence of the ministers from town, at the time that the dispatches arrived at London with the account of D'Estaing's sailing, prevented for some days the holding of a council, and of course the sending any timely orders to Portsmouth, for endeavouring to provide against the danger, so that the wind had unluckily changed to a wrong point, before any effective measure could be directed or taken.

In this state of things, the minister's motion, for referring the message from the throne to the committee of supply, was directly, and peremptorily opposed. The opposition said, that it would be the height of imprudence and folly, in the present dangerous crisis of affairs, to vote an indefinite grant of money, to an administration so totally incapable of expending the public revenue either with œconomy or effect. Whilst the public affairs were (to the misfortune and ruin of the whole empire) committed to such hands, it was incumbent on parliament to attend constantly to its own business and that of the nation. They should sit and vote the money gradually, as the wants and occasions arose. The emergencies ought first to be ascertained to the House, the sums specified, and authentic documents, or vouchers for the expenditure laid upon the table, before they granted a shilling to such men. No punishment, they said, could be too great for those, who under the affectation of bearing the name, or filling the rank of ministers, or from the still baser motive of lucre, ventured,

ventured to undertake the conduct of public affairs in a great nation, and in the moſt arduous circumſtances, when their ignorance, ſaxineſs, and incapacity, rendered them totally incapable of fulfilling their duty.

They ſaid that incapacity was as injurious to the nation as the blackeſt treachery. Of what avail was it to the public to inform them, that it was not through treachery, but through mere ſtupidity and ignorance, that from the want of a proper ſquadron being ſtationed at Gibraltar, D'Eſtaing was ſuffered to burſt through the confined limits of the Mediterranean, and to carry deſtruction to our fleet and army in North America, and fire and ſword afterwards to our Weſt-India iſlands? Was it of any uſe to the nation to be informed, whether it proceeded from treachery, or from that fatality which had ever attended the preſent inauſpicious adminiſtration, and which had baniſhed every able and honeſt man from the royal counſels, that the navy of England was engaged in a holiday pageant at Spithead, to divert the attention of the people from their immediate danger, whilſt our colonies and foreign dependencies were abandoned, our glory tarniſhed, and the Britiſh flag for ever diſgraced?

Would it leſſen the calamities of the nation to learn, that the pillage of their coaſts during the ſummer, the alarm and terror into which different parts of the kingdom had been thrown, under the apprehenſion of immediate invaſion, together with the deſtruction of their commerce, and the loſs of public credit, proceeded merely from the incapacity of the miniſters? Or that the calling out of a militia without arms, and ſending them to be encamped without tents or field equipage, ſprung from the ſame cauſe? But to which ever cauſe the foregoing inſtances may be attributed, no doubt, ſaid they, can be entertained, that it was the moſt thorough conviction of their incapacity, which produced the French reſcript, the dangerous meaſure on which it was founded, and the inſult and contumely which the Britiſh flag has undergone in the ports of Spain. Nothing leſs than ſuch conviction, could have emboldened thoſe nations to venture upon ſuch a conduct; nor could any other poſſible direction of the affairs of Great-Britain, have drawn upon it ſuch inſult and injury.

They aſked, if any man in his ſenſes could give a vote of credit to a miniſtry, who were always the laſt to learn what they ſhould be the firſt to know? Who could be ſo inſenſible of the ſudden emergencies to which ſuch a ſeaſon as the preſent was liable, that when the account arrived of a tranſaction, which every body expected, and which they ſhould long ſince have guarded againſt, only one of them was to be found, and the reſt were ſo diſperſed in the courſe of their pleaſures, that a ſufficient number of them could not be procured for holding a council, until the hour of debate and determination was loſt. Thus, have we loſt that advantage of the wind, which its known and natural courſe in the month of April afforded; and now ſee our fleet embayed at Portſmouth, and likely to continue

there, from its having as naturally and regularly taken the oppoſite direction.

Who then, they ſaid, could truſt ſuch miniſters: or was it even poſſible to eſtimate their guilt? Was there any thing more wanting to ſeal that fatal character of their adminiſtration, which carried no other diſtinction, than the regular and ſucceſſive circumſtances of ruin in which they had involved their country? But it ſeemed, that the diſgrace of a Burgoyne was to be atoned by the deſtruction of a Howe; and the want of information relative to the union of France and America, to be compenſated by the ignorance of D'Eſtaing's ſailing and deſtination. A gentleman of diſtinction on that ſide ended his ſpeech with an eager exclamation, "Whither is the ſpirit of England fled? Where is "the wiſdom that uſed to pervade "her councils? Where are the "terrors gone, with which ſhe "was wont to fill the boſoms of "thoſe who dared to inſult her? "Britain, he feared, was betray-"ed; treachery and corruption "vied with each other to ſee "which ſhould firſt effect her "downfall and diſgrace."

The miniſters ſaid they were confident, that if the gentlemen on the other ſide were acquainted with the preparations that had been made, and the effectual care taken to protect this country from invaſion, they would not ſo raſhly condemn them for treachery; nor charge them ſo haſtily with incapacity. The utmoſt exertions had been uſed, as well with reſpect to the navy, as to every other mode of preparation and defence. And though no fleet had yet ſailed to oppoſe the Toulon ſquadron, that was properly to be attributed to the advantage of ſupply which the French derived from their regiſter, and which at all times enabled them to man out a fleet ſooner than we could; but it by no means afforded any juſt ground for the repeated charges of incapacity made againſt the miniſters. They beſides inſiſted, that in the preſent circumſtances of danger to which the nation was expoſed, under the immediate threat and apprehenſion of invaſion, it would have been highly imprudent and unwiſe to have weakened the home defence by any detachment from the grand fleet, until ſuch a force was provided, as would have been adequate to the different ſervices. And if it had been even otherwiſe, and that detachments could have been ſpared, ſtill, they contended, that it would not have been fitting to ſend out a ſquadron to oppoſe D'Eſtaing, without ſome clue for its guidance in meeting him, which could not be obtained, until ſome light was thrown on his deſtination or object. It was hoped, that if D'Eſtaing was bound to North-America, Lord Howe would be able to uſe ſuch means of defence, as would prevent any immediate conſequence of moment; but in the worſt that could poſſibly happen, Admiral Byron, with the fleet now under his orders at Portſmouth, would arrive in time on that coaſt, to take full vengeance for any inſult that was offered.

The American miniſter acknowledged, that appearances were againſt the miniſtry; but appearances were not to juſtify a condemnation; a full enquiry into the circumſtances might place their caſe

case in a very different light. For his part, he was ready to meet every ſcrutiny, and wiſhed puniſhment to fall where it was deſerved. When the diſpatches arrived, he took the ſpeedieſt means to convene the miniſters from the country, where ſome of them then were. That, from the time of their arrival, the greateſt expedition had been uſed by him, in ſending the orders of Council to the proper officers at Spithead; but misfortunes were not always to be avoided. He hoped, he heartily wiſhed, that our affairs might take a happier turn. The painful pre-eminence of office was, he ſaid, at ſuch a time little to be envied; and, for his part, if any gentleman of talents and inclination to ſerve his country wiſhed to come into his place, he was ready to reſign it.

It will not eſcape obſervation, that the acknowledgment now made, of not venturing to detach a ſquadron from the home defence, in a caſe of ſuch infinite importance, as that of the Toulon ſquadron's being admitted to come freely out of the Mediterranean, ill accorded with that flouriſhing ſtate of the navy, which had been ſo long and ſo frequently boaſted. Nor will it be ſuppoſed that ſuch a circumſtance eſcaped the watchful attention, or the pointed animadverſion, of the minority.

Upon the whole, notwithſtanding the warm part taken by the oppoſition againſt the miniſters, the danger of the time was ſo ſenſibly felt, and the neceſſity of the meaſure ſo well underſtood, that they did not ſeem to mean any real obſtruction to the vote of credit; ſo that it was not only paſſed in the Committee, but the report received and agreed to in the Houſe on the following day, without a diviſion being demanded on either.

The ſecond reading of the Iriſh bills brought out the whole force of debate on that ſubject. May 6th.

Sir Cecil Wray moved, that the words "on this day three months," be added to the order for reading the bills, in the place of the word "now." He was ſeconded by Sir Thomas Egerton, and the buſineſs was warmly taken up, and extremely well ſupported on both ſides. As the ſubject was then, and ſtill continues, to be an object of the firſt political conſideration with reſpect to both kingdoms, we ſhall be the more particularly attentive in ſtating the debate.

The Gentleman who moved the amendment, profeſſed, in the firſt place, the beſt diſpoſition towards the whole Iriſh nation; ſaid, he was ready to concur, at any time, in whatever might promote the true intereſts of that country; and expreſſed his hearty wiſhes, that the Britiſh Parliament might render her every aſſiſtance in its power, without infringing on the trade of Great-Britain. He well knew the grievances of that country, and lamented them. Of theſe he numbered, the Iriſh penſion-liſt; the ſinecure offices; the penal laws againſt Roman Catholics; with abſentees, and ſome others. He aſſured the Houſe, that he would not only gladly join in redreſſing theſe grievances; but that if the amendment he propoſed ſhould meet with their ſentiments, he would move for a committee before they roſe, to take into conſideration, early in the next ſeſſion, the

the reſtrictive laws on the trade of Ireland; and would do every thing in his power to forward the intereſts of that country, where they did not immediately interfere with thoſe of England.

He further declared, that he had no objection to admit of Ireland's participating equally with us in the benefits of a free trade, provided ſhe bore an equal ſhare of our national burthens; but that was not the caſe, nor was any thing tending towards it propoſed by the bills. Ireland was ſuppoſed to contain above two millions of ſouls, and they were taxed at one million in money; which was about ten ſhillings, on an average to each head. But Great-Britain, with ſix millions of ſouls, was taxed at twelve millions of money; by which each inhabitant paid forty ſhillings towards the ſupport of government. So aſtoniſhing a difference between the circumſtances of both countries, carried with it ſuch intuitive conviction, as to ſuperſede all argument upon the ſubject, and to ſhew, at the firſt view, the impolicy, the unreaſonableneſs, and even the injuſtice to our own people, (who had undertaken this heavy burthen on the faith of our navigation laws, and the ſuppoſed ſecurity and ſtability of our commerce) of paſſing the bills now depending.

He was likewiſe of opinion, that the preſent meaſure was brought in at a very improper time, when the minds of men were taken up with matters of the moſt ſingular importance; the buſineſs was, beſides, of too ſerious and complicated a nature to be hurried through at the latter end of a ſeſſion. A matter of ſuch magnitude, as that of overthrowing the whole ſyſtem of our trade-laws, was not to be lightly undertaken, nor haſtily determined. Such a meaſure demanded the moſt mature deliberation, the ſtricteſt inveſtigation of facts and circumſtances, along with the fulleſt conſideration of future effects and contingencies.

As to any danger of a rebellion in Ireland, from a failure of expected relief founded on theſe propoſitions, he could not think that there was the ſmalleſt foundation for any ſuch apprehenſion. Beſides that rebellion was not in the character of that nation, the people at large were not at all intereſted in the event of theſe bills; their operation would be confined to the metropolis and a few of the principal ſea-ports, where it could only affect the capital merchants and traders. Opulence does not produce the men for rebellion, and happily, the indigent in that country have no concern in the queſtion; had America been rich, ſhe would never have rebelled; they are the rich, who in all countries are calculated for ſlavery.

He obſerved, that the petitions on their table deſerved the particular attention of parliament; the petitioners were men of a deſcription entitled to reſpect, and to a patient hearing; their evidence were ſtill to be examined, and their counſel heard; and he appealed to the candour of gentlemen on all ſides of the Houſe, whether the month of May was the proper ſeaſon to enter into ſo laborious and important an inveſtigation. And ſaid, that although he was not apprehenſive of a rebellion in Ireland, that was more than he would venture to anſwer for with reſpect

in England, if the preſent bills paſſed, conſidering the conſequently increaſed want of employment which would then be ſuperadded to the preſent diſtreſſes of our manufacturers. He concluded, by ſtrongly urging the Houſe to lay the bills aſide; to refer the general buſineſs of Ireland to a committee; whoſe report would lay the foundation for their future mature deliberation; and enable them to afford ſuch redreſs to Ireland, as the ſituation of both countries would admit of without prejudice to this.

Mr. Burke, was the great and powerful ſupporter of the bills in point of debate. His ſituation was rather ſingular, and undoubtedly embaraſſing. For he received his ſeat in parliament, without expence, from the free votes and predilection of the citizens of Briſtol in his favour. And his conſtituents now thought their intereſts materially affected by the bills in queſtion. As this ſubject was, perhaps, never before ſo ably diſcuſſed, we ſhall ſtate ſome of the arguments that appeared in ſuch abſtracts as we have ſeen of that gentleman's ſpeech.

He ſaid, that the bills before them were no more than reſtorations of what the wiſdom of a Britiſh Parliament had, on a former occaſion, thought proper to inveſt Ireland with. The navigation bills paſſed in the 12th of Charles the Second, extended to Ireland as well as to England. A kind of left-handed policy had, however, deprived her of the freedom ſhe had enjoyed under that law, and ſhe had ever ſince remained under the moſt cruel, oppreſſive, and unnatural reſtriction. Deprived of every incentive to induſtry, and ſhut out from every paſſage to wealth, ſhe had inwardly lamented, but ſhe had never complained of her condition. She had gone the moſt forward lengths in ſerving the intereſts, and in defending the rights of Great-Britain. She had aſſiſted in conqueſts, from which ſhe was to gain no advantage, and emptied her treaſury, and deſolated her land, to prove her attachment and loyalty to the government of this country. Such had been her conduct, and her reward had been reſtriction and commercial bondage of the moſt cruel nature. He did not mean, he ſaid, by deſcribing her ſituation, to engage the humanity of the Houſe in her favour; he knew very well that alms are but poor reſources; juſtice, and not pity, was to be the meaſure of our conduct. The Iriſh requeſted Britain to be wiſe, not to be generous; to provide for her own good, and to ſecure her own intereſt; ſenſible that wiſdom and prudence would dictate; that, to accompliſh theſe, a different conduct towards them was neceſſary.

The annual revenue of the two kingdoms, he ſaid, had been exultingly, but moſt inequitably, drawn into compariſon, to prove that Ireland paid no proportion of tax. It was not the number of inhabitants that conſtituted the ſpecific difference in the article of taxation between two countries; but the diſtinction of internal opulence and external advantage. Compare the two countries by that line, and it will be found that Ireland is taxed in a quadruple proportion more than England. The internal wealth, and the external advantage of trade and commerce,

are forty times greater in England than in Ireland. There is, therefore, no ratio of proportion in the mode of taxing the latter. She is taxed without enjoying the means of payment. There are ſeveral exciſes which England is ſubject to, and which ſhe is not. Suppoſe them laid: they muſt be laid for the ſake of oppreſſion, not production; and for the benefit of the officers, not of the revenue. Leather is taxed in England — but what would be the product of ſuch a tax, where ſuch innumerable multitudes of the people never wear ſhoes? You tax candles in England. But there are two hundred thouſand houſes in Ireland, in which probably a candle, ſuch as you tax, was never lighted. The taxes muſt follow wealth, and not precede it. If any attempt againſt this rule is made, there will neither be wealth nor taxes. This, he ſaid, was the order of nature, which muſt be followed. And as to the judgment of the proportion, it muſt be left to themſelves, or they are not *free*; and ſurely the fault of the parliament of Ireland, has never been illiberality in its grants. Reſtricted from trading, ſhe enjoys no opportunity of acquiring wealth to defray and diſcharge the taxes impoſed upon her. Enlarge her means of payment, and, in proportion to her ability, ſhe will enlarge her taxes. An equality of commercial advantage could not be eſtabliſhed between the two countries. The opulence of the one is a great obſtacle to the other. The great diſproportion of capital effectually deſtroys the poſſibility of an equality. And as the ability of proceeding will increaſe in the ſame proportion, in the progreſs of the one and of the other, the ſame proportion of advantage will ſtill remain. The Iriſh will be able to follow the Engliſh at an equal diſtance in every ſtage, both in the outſet and in the continuance; but they will never be able to accelerate their motion ſo as to overtake them.

He ſaid, the ſuppoſed operation of the cheapneſs of labour with reſpect to manufactures was totally unfounded, and the arguments founded thereon nugatory; and that until the inſtant that the price of labour was equal in both countries, the ſuperiority of manufacture would remain with the Engliſh. That the price of labour riſes with the growth of manufacture, and is higheſt when the manufacture is beſt. And that the experience of every day tells us, that where the price of labour is higheſt, the manufacturer is able to ſell his commodity at the loweſt price. He obſerved, that the difference of duty on ſome of the enumerated imported articles, was ſo abundantly overbalanced by the other advantages enjoyed by this country, that without it, there could not be the ſmalleſt degree of competition in manufacture on the ſide of Ireland; nor could that in any degree hurt England. They had, he ſaid, a ſtrange opinion of the extent of the world, who believed that there was not room enough in it for the trade of two ſuch iſlands as theſe.

He obſerved, that moſt, if not all of the petitions on the table, tended to expreſs the utmoſt fears of the conſequences that would ariſe, from granting a free exportation of ſail-cloth and iron to the Iriſh. At the ſame time the real matter of fact is, that the Iriſh have long poſſeſſed,

poſſeſſed, without being able to turn it to any advantage worth mention, the free exportation of manufactured iron and ſteel, as well as of ſail-cloth. From hence it is evident, that the petitioners have not felt from the reality, what they dreaded in the idea; and it is fairly to be inferred, that the other matters of apprehenſion contained in the petitions, are as groundleſs as theſe; and are only founded, like them, upon mere conjecture. It alſo appears evidently, that the advantages poſſeſſed by the Engliſh are ſo far ſuperior in theſe reſpects, that the Iriſh were not able to proſecute theſe manufactures to any purpoſe, nor conſequently to turn their liberty of exportation to account. And this, he ſaid, was ſo truly the fact, that every ſpecies of iron manufacture, in particular, was actually exported in incredible quantities to Ireland.

He ſhewed from other inſtances, as well as the preſent, how haſtily and erroneouſly manufacturers are liable to form their opinions upon ſubjects of this nature; and upon what ſlight grounds, alarms are raiſed, and apprehenſions propagated amongſt them. Particularly, when, ſome years ago, a bill was brought in for the free importation of woollen yarn from Ireland, an univerſal alarm was excited, and petitions were ſent in from every quarter, ſtating and complaining of the ruinous conſequences which it would produce; the bill, however, paſſed into a law, and now, upon a full experience of its effects, they both feel and acknowledge its beneficial tendency. But, it was abſurd, he ſaid, to think, that a participation of manufacture would be detrimental to this country. Had we not ſeen the woollen manufactory planted in different parts of this country; and had we not alſo ſeen that it throve by the competition?

He concluded with lamenting that it could happen in any one inſtance, that his conſcience ſhould direct him to take a part contrary to the opinion of his conſtituents. It had been his invariable aim to protect their rights and intereſts, and to act at all times as became the ſenator and repreſentative of the people. In this inſtance he had dared to act contrary to the wiſhes, though he was ſenſible, not to the intereſts, of his conſtituents. And if, from his conduct in this buſineſs, he ſhould be deprived of his ſeat in that Houſe, as he apprehended he might, his conduct being diſapproved by many of his chief friends and ſupporters, as well as by all who had oppoſed him at his election; he had the ſatisfaction of being perfectly aſſured, that he ſhould ſuffer in the very cauſe of thoſe who had inflicted the puniſhment. He ſhould not blame them if they did reject him; the event would afford a very uſeful example; on the one hand, of a ſenator inflexibly adhering to his opinion againſt intereſt and againſt popularity; and, on the other, of conſtituents exerciſing their undoubted right of rejection; not on corrupt motives, but from their perſuaſion, that he whom they had choſen, had acted againſt the judgment and intereſt of thoſe he repreſented.

Other gentlemen, on the ſame ſide, conſidered the propoſition of going into a committee, as little better than a direct negative. It held out no ſecurity, but a vague

promiſe

promiſe to move a committee, which committee ſhould appoint another committee. They ſaid it would carry too unbecoming an appearance of trifling with the ſiſter kingdom; and they knew the temper of the people of Ireland too well, to hold any doubt of their not being ſatisfied with ſuch treatment.

The miniſter coincided in this opinion. He ſaid, that as the expectations of the Iriſh were raiſed from what had been already done, it would be unwiſe to protract the buſineſs for another ſeſſion. The gentlemen who oppoſed the bills ſeemed all to agree, that ſomething ought to be done for the relief of Ireland; though they differed about the nature and extent of what ought to be done. He could ſee no reaſon, however, why the preſent bills ſhould not paſs, whatever other meaſures they might take hereafter. The Houſe might, notwithſtanding, appoint a committee to enquire into the general ſtate of the trade, and upon their report in another ſeſſion, a more extenſive plan might be framed and adopted. He concluded by ſaying, that he held it as a duty of obligation upon Britain, to give Ireland a degree, at leaſt, of recompence for the exertions ſhe had made, ſuppoſing even we were not inclined, in policy, to give her relief from the reſtrictions ſhe laboured under; and he hoped the houſe would agree to the preſent bills, as a teſt of their intention and inclination to befriend her more ſubſtantially in future.

The motion was rejected upon a diviſion, and the bills accordingly committed.

The death of the Earl of Chatham, called forth the ſtrongeſt marks and expreſſions of grief, with the greateſt eulogiums on his public virtues, from one ſide of the Houſe, and was attended with the moſt exalted and laſting teſtimonials of public eſteem and gratitude, with which departed merit can be honoured, from the whole. This celebrated nobleman, (but once more celebrated commoner) who had for ſeveral years been a victim to a moſt excruciating diſorder, which reduced him to a ſtate of extreme feebleneſs with reſpect to his bodily powers, ſtill retained all that vigour of mind by which in better days he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed; and was ſeized with a fainting fit, the forerunner of his death, ſome days before, in the Houſe of Lords, in the midſt of an eager ſpeech which he was making upon American affairs. Thus, he may be ſaid to have died as he lived, in the ſervice of his country. The Earl of Chatham expired, at his ſeat at Hayes, in Kent, on the morning of May the 11th, 1778. The high pitch of power and glory to which this country had riſen under his adminiſtration, have placed his public character in ſo conſpicuous a point of view, that any attempt towards a further diſplay of it, would appear, at leaſt, ſuperfluous. It may well be feared, that the fatal conſequences of his removal from power, will not be leſs remembered. Some errors and inconſiſtencies in his public conduct, may well be overlooked among ſuch a cloud of public virtues and ſervices. He acknowledged himſelf, in the firſt aſſembly of the nation,

that

that he had been deceived at a moſt critical time, and upon a moſt critical occaſion. This is the more to be lamented, if (as many think) all the ſubſequent misfortunes and calamities of the Britiſh nation and empire, have derived their ſource from that deception. He will, however, at all times, hold an exalted rank, among the firſt names of antient or modern ſtateſmen.

11th. The evening was pretty far advanced before the account of this nobleman's death was received in the Houſe of Commons, and ſome buſineſs, then in hand, rendered it late before the event could be publicly announced. That melancholy office was undertaken by Colonel Barre, who, with the ſtrongeſt marks of the moſt profound concern and grief, and with as much eloquence as agreed with ſuch feelings, pronounced a ſhort eulogium on the merits of the deceaſed Earl, and then taking ſuch a ſketch of the obligations which the nation owed to his public virtues and ſervices, as the time and ſituation would allow, moved an addreſs to his Majeſty for directions that the remains of WILLIAM PITT, EARL of CHATHAM, be interred at the public expence. The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Townſhend, and ſeemed to receive the moſt general approbation.

It is ſo well known as ſcarcely to require obſervation, that for many years, the ſervices of the late nobleman had been ſo far from being acceptable at court, that his name was not even frequently mentioned, by thoſe who were well verſed in the etiquette of converſation proper to be obſerved in ſuch ſituations. A gentleman, high in office, accordingly endeavoured, with his uſual addreſs, to get rid of the motion, by a propoſal, which, without conveying the ungracious and unpopular appearance of directly oppoſing the honour intended to the memory of the deceaſed, would, however, if adopted, ſerve greatly to leſſen its effect. After expreſſing the greateſt reſpect for the unrivalled talents of the late ſtateſman, and regret, that his country ſhould be deprived of them at a time when they were ſo much wanted by her, he ſaid, that he would undoubtedly vote for the motion, if the honourable gentleman thought fitting to perſiſt in it; but he could not help thinking, that a monument to his memory would be a more eligible, as well as a more laſting teſtimony of the public gratitude, than the defraying of his funeral honours.

This propoſal produced a directly contrary effect, to that which was ſuppoſed to be intended. The oppoſition received it with joy, as a happy recollection of what they had overlooked, in the paroxyſms of grief excited by ſo great a public and private loſs. But inſtead of a ſubſtitution, they tacked it as an amendment to the original motion in the following words: "And "that a monument be erected in "the Collegiate Church of St. "Peter, Weſtminſter, to the me- "mory of that great and excel- "lent ſtateſman, with an inſcrip- "tion expreſſive of the ſentiments "of the people on ſo great and "irreparable a loſs, and to aſſure "his Majeſty, that this Houſe "will make good the expence."

At this inſtant the Miniſter entered, who having quitted the

Houſe

House for the night, before this subject was introduced, and receiving afterwards intelligence of what was going forward, returned in the greatest haste, in order to prevent the opposition from carrying away the whole credit and popularity of the measure. He declared his happiness in arriving time enough to give his vote for the motion, which he hoped would pass unanimously, and lamented that he had not breath enough, from the hurry in which he came, to express himself with that degree of respect, which he wished to shew on so great an occasion. Thus both parties vied in the honours which they paid to the deceased Earl, and the amended motion was carried without a dissenting voice.

The ready compliance of the Crown with the terms of the address, being, on the following day but one, announced by the 13th. the Minister, Lord John Cavendish arose, and said, that he hoped the public gratitude would not stop at what had been done. That great man, and invaluable minister, he said, had distinguished himself as much by his disinterestedness, as by his zeal, ability, or any other of his great qualities. The consequence of this exemplary virtue was, that while he conducted the affairs of the public with unparalleled advantage and glory to them, he had scorned or neglected all means of advantage to himself; so, that with the greatest opportunities in his hands of acquiring an ample fortune, he had, notwithstanding, left his family destitute of all suitable provision. His Lordship therefore hoped, that virtue should not in this instance be merely its own reward; but that the gratitude of the public to Lord Chatham's descendants, should be the means of exciting an emulation in those yet unborn, to copy such an example.

The Minister fell in with the sentiments of the noble Lord in a manner that did him honour; and the whole House seemed to participate of a general pleasure in their approbation of them. A motion was accordingly made by Mr. Townshend, which, (contrary to the general course of that gentleman's fortune) was unanimously passed, for an address to his Majesty, "That he would be graciously pleased to make such a lasting provision for the family of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as his Majesty, in his wisdom and liberality should think fit, as a mark of the sense the nation entertains of the services done to the kingdom by that able statesman; and to assure his Majesty that the House would make good the same." Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke spoke upon this occasion, in a manner which did equal honour to their abilities and their hearts.

This message occasioned the bringing in and passing of a bill, by which an annuity of four thousand pounds a year, payable out of the civil list revenue, is for ever settled, on those heirs of the late Earl, to whom the Earldom of Chatham may descend. This exalted instance of national gratitude, and honourable reward of departed merit, was followed by a grant of twenty thousand pounds from

from the Commons, towards discharging the debts of the late Earl. All this buſineſs was conducted with a liberality which did the higheſt honour to the Houſe; there not having been the ſmalleſt altercation, nor a ſingle diſſentient voice, upon any one propoſition that was made on the ſubject.

CHAP. IX.

Sir George Saville's motion for a bill to repeal certain penalties and diſqualifications to which the Engliſh Roman Catholics were liable, univerſally agreed to. Event of the Iriſh buſineſs. Debates relative to the Toulon papers; Sir William Meredith's firſt motion, at length rejected. Motion of adjournment, by the Miniſter, carried. Circumſtances relative to the arrival of General Burgoyne. Motion by Mr. Fyner, relative to the Canada expedition. Amendment moved by Mr. Fox. Explanations of his ſituation and conduct by General Burgoyne. Debate. Mr. Fox's amendment rejected on a diviſion. Original motion ſet aſide by the previous queſtion. Motion by Mr. Hartley againſt the prorogation of Parliament, after conſiderable debates, rejected on a diviſion. Similar motion by Sir James Lowther, meets the ſame fate. Motion by the Duke of Richmond for withdrawing the forces from North America. Previous queſtion moved and carried on a diviſion. Great debates on the Earl of Effingham's motions tending to an enquiry into the ſtate of the navy. Effective motions rejected; two others agreed to. Duke of Richmond cloſes the enquiry in the general Committee on the ſtate of the nation. Moves an addreſs of great length, founded on various matters of fact, which had been eſtabliſhed in the courſe of the enquiry. Debate broke off on the ſudden illneſs of the Earl of Chatham, and adjourned to the following day. Addreſs rejected. Proteſt. Reſolutions, founded on the Toulon papers, moved by the Duke of Richmond. Juſtification of naval affairs and conduct, by the noble Lord immediately concerned. Intereſting particulars ſtated by the Earl of Briſtol. Motions ſet aſide, on a diviſion, by the previous queſtion. Proteſt on the Chatham annuity bill. Earl of Derby's motion relative to the Saratoga buſineſs, ſet aſide by the previous queſtion. Duke of Bolton's motion for deferring the prorogation of Parliament, after long debates, rejected on a diviſion. Speech from the Throne.

THE lateneſs of the ſeaſon did not prevent Sir George Saville from endeavouring to profit of the lenient temper and liberal ſpirit of the times, in favour of a long-oppreſſed body of men, almoſt forgotten in the patience and ſilence, with which for many years, they endured their grievances. However neceſſary the penal laws againſt Roman Catholics originally were, whilſt the conſtitution was yet ſtruggling into reformation, and afterwards confirming itſelf in that happy ſettlement, as the cauſe of perſecution had long ceaſed to operate, men of humanity could not avoid lamenting, as all true

policy

policy forbade, the keeping up of such standing memorials of civil rancour and discord, and perpetuating a line of division, by which one part of the people being cut off from the rights of citizens, could scarcely be said to possess any share in the common interest, and were rendered incapable of forming any part of the common union of defence. Indeed these laws seemed calculated to compel a considerable body of the people to hold an hereditary enmity to government, and even to wean them from all affection to their country.

May 14th. Sir George Saville moved accordingly for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties and disabilities provided in an act of the 10th and 11th of William the Third, entituled, An act to prevent the further growth of popery. He stated, that one of his principal views in proposing this repeal was, to vindicate the honour, and to assert the principles of the Protestant religion, to which all persecution was, or ought to be, wholly adverse. That this pure religion ought not to have had an existence, if persecution had been lawful; and it ill became us to practise that with which we reproached others. That he did not meddle with the vast body of that penal code: but selected that act, on which he found most of the prosecutions had been formed, and which gave the greatest scope to the base views of interested relations, and of informers for reward. The act had not indeed been regularly put in execution, but sometimes it had; and he understood that several lived under great terror, and some under actual contribution, in consequence of the powers given by it. As an inducement to the repeal of those penalties, which were directed with such a violence of severity against Papists, he stated the peaceable and loyal behaviour of that part of the people under a government, which, though not rigorous in enforcing, yet suffered such intolerable penalties and disqualifications to stand against them on the statutes. A late loyal and excellent address which they had presented to the throne, stood high among the instances which Sir George pointed out, of the safety, and the good consequences, which were likely to attend this liberal procedure of Parliament. He observed, that in that address, they not only expressed their obedience to the government under which they lived, but their attachment to the constitution upon which the civil rights of this country have been established by the Revolution, and which placed the present family upon the throne of these kingdoms. As a further guard and security, however, against any possible consequence of the measure, he proposed that a sufficient test might be formed, by which they should bind themselves to the support of the civil government by law established.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Dunning, who, with his well-known ability and knowledge in such subjects, went into a legal discussion of the principle, objects, and past operation, of the bill which was intended to be repealed. The following he stated as the great and grievous penalties.—The punishment of Popish priests or

Jeſuits, who ſhould be found to teach or officiate in the ſervices of that church; which acts were felony in foreigners, and high treaſon in the natives of this kingdom. The forfeitures of Popiſh heirs, who had received their education abroad, and whoſe eſtates went to the next Proteſtant heir.—The power given to the ſon or other neareſt relation, being a Proteſtant, to take poſſeſſion of the father, or other relation's eſtate, during the life of the real proprietor.—And, the depriving of Papiſts from the power of acquiring any legal property by purchaſe; a word, which in its legal meaning carried a much greater latitude, than was underſtood (and that perhaps happily) in its ordinary acceptation; for it applied to all legal property acquired by any other means than that of deſcent.

Theſe, he ſaid, were the objects of the propoſed repeal. Some of them had now ceaſed to be neceſſary, and others were at all times a diſgrace to humanity. The impriſonment of a Popiſh prieſt for life, only for officiating in the ſervices of his religion, was horrible in its nature; and muſt, to an Engliſhman, be ever held as infinitely worſe than death. Such a law, in times of ſo great liberality as the preſent, and when ſo little was to be apprehended from theſe people, called loudly for repeal; and he begged to remind the Houſe, that even then they would not be left at liberty to exerciſe their functions; but would ſtill, under the reſtriction of former laws, be liable to a year's impriſonment, and to the puniſhment of a heavy fine.

And although, he obſerved, the mildneſs of government had hitherto ſoftened the rigour of the law in the practice, it was to be remembered, that the Roman catholic prieſts conſtantly lay at the mercy of the baſeſt and moſt abandoned of mankind; of common informers; for on the evidence of any of theſe wretches, the magiſterial and judicial powers were of neceſſity bound to enforce all the ſhameful penalties of the act. Others of theſe penalties, held out the moſt powerful temptations for the commiſſion of acts of depravity, at the very thought of which our nature recoils with horror. They ſeem calculated to looſen all the bands of ſociety; to diſſolve all civil, moral, and religious obligations and duties; to poiſon the ſources of domeſtic felicity; and to annihilate every principle of honour. The encouragement given to children to lay their hands upon the eſtates of their parents, and the reſtriction which debars any man from the honeſt acquiſition of property, need, ſaid he, only to be mentioned, to excite the utmoſt indignation of this Houſe.

The motion was received with univerſal approbation, and a bill was accordingly brought in and paſſed without a ſingle negative, by which a conſiderable body of our fellow-citizens were relieved from the preſſure, of ſome of the moſt intolerable of thoſe grievances under which they had long laboured.

In the mean time, counſel and evidence were more than once heard on different parts of the Iriſh buſineſs, and in conſequence of ſome compromiſe between the ſupporters and oppoſers of thoſe bills,

bills, although the former shewed a great superiority of strength, it was notwithstanding thought necessary to give up for the present, most of the advantages that were originally intended for that country. Some enlargement however was given to the linnen trade, particularly in the article of checks; and some openings given in the African and West India trades which did not before exist. Thus the measure, at its final transit through parliament, might be rather considered as an opening to future service, and an earnest of good intention, than as affording any immediate benefit, or even as holding out any future advantage, of any great importance to Ireland.

In consequence of a motion made by Sir William Meredith, several papers having been laid before the House, containing the intelligence received by government, of the equipment and sailing of the Toulon squadron, that gentleman opened the way for the 25th. motions which he intended to found upon the substance of those papers, by some very severe reprehensions of the conduct of administration in respect to that business. He observed, that, amidst all the dangers that threatened the very being of this country, amidst the violent shocks of commerce and of public credit, our Ministers alone, seemed careless, thoughtless, and totally regardless of what was past, present, or to come. They had not however, as usual, been deficient in information upon this occasion. They had early and complete intelligence of the preparations at Toulon. On the 3d of January they had notice of the equipment; on the 8th of February, they had advice of the number of ships that was to compose the squadron; and on the 28th of the same month, that the crews were all completed. They had early information of Mons. D'Estaing's arrival, and of the day on which he intended to sail; and that he actually did sail upon the 13th of April. With all this timely intelligence, we are now arrived at the latter end of May, and our fleet is still lying at Spithead. Not a single ship is sent out, nor a single measure taken, to guard us against this formidable armament.

He said, it was so long ago as the 20th of Nov. that the first Lord of the Admiralty informed the public, that there were 42 ships of the line fit for service, of which he said 35 might put to sea at an hours warning, and the remaining seven would be ready in a fortnight. He said, that it needed not to be a statesman to know, that the first thing to be done under any apprehension of a foreign war, was to dispatch a fleet to the Mediterranean. This was no matter of theory or opinion, our constant practice in all wars confirmed the necessity of the measure. Indeed, to what other purpose were Gibraltar or Minorca conquered, or retained at the expence of so many millions to the nation, but to afford a station to our fleets, and enable them to maintain the sovereignty of that sea, and to command its communication with the ocean.

He then moved three resolutions, the first of which went to establish, that the Ministers had received various intelligence, during the months

months of January, February, March, and April, of the equipment, and, at length, of the final sailing on the 13th of April, of the Toulon fleet.—The second, that it did not appear to the House, that any orders were sent until the 29th of April, for any fleet of observation, to attend the motions of that from Toulon; and that no fleet did actually sail, until the 20th of the present May, when eleven sail of the line left St. Helen's.—The last, taking for granted, that the representation of the state of the navy made in the preceding month of November, was founded in fact, went upon that ground to a censure of the Ministers. It declared, that his Majesty's Ministers were inattentive to the public welfare and safety, in not having stationed a fleet in the Mediterranean, as had been the practice in former times, and on similar occasions; by which neglect, the advantages to be derived from the expensive fortresses at Gibraltar and Port Mahon have been lost; and the Toulon fleet has been left at liberty, for six weeks past, to proceed towards the attack of any of his Majesty's defenceless dominions abroad, and to form a junction with the fleets in any ports out of the Mediterranean, and thereby collect a force from which Great Britain and Ireland might be exposed to the most imminent danger.

The motion was seconded by Sir George Yonge, and supported by some other gentlemen on the same side, who threw out the heaviest censures on that state of supineness, and irresolution, into which, they said, the Ministers had been thrown by the appearance of that danger, into which they had wilfully, if not maliciously, plunged the nation. Ministers, who bluftered and looked big whilst danger seemed at a distance, and who then equally despised counsel and warning, now shrink into nothing, and seem to lose all the powers and faculties of men at its approach.

One gentleman asserted, that from his own knowledge of the French Ministers and counsels, and of the state and disposition of parties at that court, he was to a certainty convinced, that with any moderate share of decisiveness or vigour in their conduct, and any rational system to go upon, it was in three several instances, in the power of our Ministers within a very few months, either to have deterred the French from entering into the American alliance, or to have obliged them to relinquish it, and to sue for a continuation of peace since its conclusion. He stated three measures, any of which, he said, would have produced one or other of these effects. But, unfortunately for this country, he said, our Ministers seemed to be as ignorant of the characters of the men they had to deal with, as they were blind to events.

A gentleman old in office, and who is supposed by many, to be frequently deeper in the secret of affairs than the acting Ministers, moved the previous question upon the first resolution. He said, however true the facts were, that the enquiry was highly improper. That, he did not think the House of Commons an assembly calculated for the discussion of state affairs; it was the business of parliament to raise supplies, not to debate

debate on the measures of government. The one was the proper object of legislative, the other of executive power. If Ministers were criminal, they might be attacked at a proper time; not in the very midst of the operations which were the object of enquiry. The Roman senate, indeed, discussed all political questions; that body was composed of men of honour and discretion, who could keep their own secrets. But the debates of a parliament in England were published in every news paper.

This question upon the competency of parliament, and limitation of the objects of its discussion and enquiry, roused all the activity of a gentleman, who, since the rejection of his late motions on the state of the nation, had seemed rather disposed to taciturnity. He combated the doctrine now advanced, (which he considered as an insult to every individual, as well as to parliament at large,) with his usual spirit. Insisted, that it was the undoubted privilege of that House, to enquire into, and to censure, the conduct of those who were entrusted with the executive power of the state. Laughed at the idea held out on the other side, that the matter before them was a fit subject for the deliberation of his Majesty's council, but not for the House of Commons. Did he mean that the cabinet council was the proper body to censure the want of wisdom in his Majesty's counsels? Or was it supposed, that the same council which had given so many unhappy proofs of its total want of wisdom, should now correct its own errors, and be the avenger of its own offences.

He said, that nothing could be so injurious to the honour of parliament, nothing so abhorrent from the ends and principles of their institution, as to suppose them incapable of deliberating, on those affairs of state, which they were immediately summoned to vote and determine upon. To speak with freedom, was the essence of parliamentary functions; and its exercise became at present more particularly necessary than at any other time, when, through the egregious folly, or the most heinous treachery, in the King's Ministers, and notwithstanding the enormous supplies granted by that House, yet, not a single measure had been taken, to guard against the greatest danger that ever threatened this country. In such a situation, when France was with great activity sending out fleets to reduce our remaining foreign possessions, and preparing for an immediate invasion of England or Ireland, whilst we were languishing under the torpor of a supine, senseless, incapable government, it was the care, the vigilance, and the vigour of parliament only, that could afford even a hope of redeeming this country from destruction.

The Minister first entered into a justification of the gentleman who had moved the previous question, and a defence of his motion. This he founded on its expediency. It would be impossible, he said, for the servants of the crown to defend their conduct, without their entering into such explanations, as the prudence of the House must instantly put a stop to. With respect to the danger apprehended from the Toulon squadron, he said,

said, it was utterly impossible to guard all the different parts, of so extensive, and so widely disjoined, an empire as this, from the surprize or attack of an enemy, on some one or other of its remote dependencies. But he could say, that measures were taken as early as possible; and that he made no doubt, a fleet sufficient to disappoint D'Estaing would be found, let his object be what it would. He then entered into a general vindication of his own conduct, which he said, he would, at a proper time, willingly submit to a public enquiry; but this was by no means the season for such a business. He said the loss or neglect of foreign alliances or connections, so repeatedly urged on the other side, were unjustly attributed to him; and after a pretty long discussion on the advantages, and disadvantages, of such connections, asserted, that though he had been frequently accused of declaring the contrary, he never had been of opinion against them. But that they could not always be had merely because they were wanted. Sovereign states seek their own advantages; and when nothing reciprocal can be offered to them, no treaties of alliance can bind them, against what they think their interest. That such is, and has been for some time past, the position of Europe, that we had nothing to offer in return for any assistance we might receive. He did not seem to think it any cause of surprize, if France and Spain united, should form a greater naval force than that of this country. For if any great maritime country, he said, applied its mind and its revenue to the building of ships, there was no doubt but it might build them. He concluded by declaring, that he knew of no such being as that called Prime Minister; it was a name, and signified an office, unknown to the constitution. As first Lord of the Treasury, he would be answerable for those things that came within his department, but further he would not go; and he trusted he never would be so presumptuous, as to think himself capable of directing the departments of others.

The previous question was at length carried upon a division by a majority of 117 to 91. Sir William Meredith then moved his second resolution, in answer to which, the noble Lord at the head of affairs moved an adjournment; which, after many reflections on that mode of proceeding, was carried as the former question had been.

The arrival of General Burgoyne from America, with some peculiar circumstances accompanying or consequent of that event; served, all together, to cause a revival of the business relative to the northern expedition, and seemed to indicate such an accession of new matter of investigation, as might possibly keep parliament together longer than had been expected. That once favourite General, soon discovered, upon his return, that he was no longer an object of court favour, or of ministerial countenance. He was, in the first instance, refused admission to the royal presence, and from thence experienced all those marks of being in disgrace, which are so well understood, and so quickly perceived, by the retainers and followers of courts.

Under these circumstances of disgrace and interdiction, a court of enquiry was appointed; but the general officers reported, that, in his then situation, as a prisoner on parole to the Congress, under the convention—they could not take cognizance of his conduct. This spirited officer then demanded a court martial—which on the same grounds was refused. He then declared himself under a necessity of throwing himself upon parliament, for a public enquiry into his conduct. The business was not, however, taken up, as he expected, by any side of the House at his first appearance. Politicly the lateness of the season, and the fear of the determination of a ministerial majority, might deter the opposition from any steps to that purpose. Mr. Vyner, however, removed any difficulty that occurred on either side, by moving for a committee of the whole House, to consider of the state and condition of the army which surrendered themselves prisoners, on convention, at Saratoga, in America; and also by what means Lieutenant General Burgoyne, who commanded that army, and was included in that convention, was released, and is now in England.

May 26th.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Wilkes, and an amendment moved by Mr. Fox, for the insertion of the following words, immediately after the word "consider" of the transactions of the northern army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and". The motion and amendment afforded that opportunity to the General which he was seeking for, of explaining the nature and state of his situation, and the particular circumstances of that persecution, as he termed it, under which, he described himself, as most injuriously suffering.

He accordingly vindicated his own conduct, and the honour of the brave army which he commanded, with great ability, in a long and eloquent speech. As the general discussion of the subject was passed over to the ensuing session, and will of course become an object of our future recital, we shall for the present only take notice of such peculiar matter relative to the immediate business, as will serve to explain the ground of debate, or as could not be related with propriety hereafter.

The General seconded the motion and the amendment, as tending to that general enquiry into his conduct, which could alone vindicate his character and honour, from the aspersions of ministerial writers, and all the other means which had been used, as well during his absence, as since his arrival, to injure both. He entered into a justification of his conduct with respect to the cruelties charged to the savages, and a vindication of his regular forces, from the inhumanities attributed to them. He insisted that he had not exceeded his orders, and that they were positive and peremptory. That the House had been designedly misled to his prejudice in the former enquiry upon this subject, by laying before them his original plan for the Canada expedition, and leaving them in the opinion that all its parts had been punctually complied with; although the Minister who laid it before them, knew the contrary to be the fact,

fact, and that ſome of its moſt material clauſes had been eraſed. He obſerved that the papers which had been laid before them, were in ſome reſpects deficient, and in others ſuperfluous. Among the latter he particularly complained of the expoſure of a private and confidential letter, which could anſwer no public purpoſe, and at the ſame time evidently tended to his perſonal prejudice. And among the former, the withholding of ſeveral others, which were not in the ſame predicament, ſome of which would have removed the ill impreſſion and effect cauſed by that letter, and others would have afforded explanations of ſeveral material parts of his conduct, and rendered a long train of correſpondence which was laid before them unneceſſary. But he complained ſtill more of the diſcloſure of a paper of the moſt ſecret nature, containing his thoughts upon the manner of conducting the war from the ſide of Canada. Upon this part of the ſubject he exclaimed with great energy, "what officer will venture hereafter to give his opinion upon meaſures or men when called upon by a Miniſter, if his confidence, his reaſonings, and his preferences, are to be thus invidiouſly expoſed, to create jealouſies and differences among his fellow officers, and at laſt to put an impoſition upon the world, and make him reſponſible for the plan as well as the execution of a hazardous campaign."

After ſtating and refuting a number of calumnies, which, from intereſted or malevolent purpoſes, had been induſtriouſly propagated againſt him, he ſaid, that under ſuch circumſtances of the greateſt injury to the reputation of one of their members, together with that of his character having already been brought into queſtion before them, and his direct aſſertion, that the information which the Houſe had then gone upon was incomplete and fallacious, he knew not what deſcription of men could juſtly refuſe, to him perſonally, a new and full enquiry.

He put it ſtrongly to the feelings of his auditors, and to make it individually their own caſe, the ſituation of an injured and perſecuted man, debarred, by an interdiction, from the poſſibility of vindicating himſelf to his Sovereign, and put by, if not inevitably precluded from the judgment of a military tribunal, if thus, diſgraced at court, and cut off from reſource in the line of his profeſſion, he ſhould alſo at laſt, in his final appeal to the juſtice and equity of his country, find himſelf diſappointed in the only poſſible means of juſtification that remained, by the refuſal of a parliamentary inveſtigation of a meaſure of ſtate, with which the rectitude or criminality of his conduct was inſeparably blended. After applying this matter particularly and forcibly to his brother officers in parliament, as a common cauſe of the profeſſion, from the diſcouragement and injury which the ſervice muſt ſuffer under the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a precedent, and various other conſiderations applied to different parts of the Houſe, he wound up the whole of that part of the ſubject, by declaring, that he waved an appeal to private ſentiments, and deſired the motion to be conſidered as a call upon the public duty of the

House; and he required and demanded, in his place, as a representative of the nation, a full and impartial enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the northern army in an expedition from Canada.

The American Minister declared his concern for the exposure of the private letter, which he attributed to accident, or official mistake. As to the General's not having access to his Sovereign, he said there were various precedents for the refusal, until his conduct had undergone a military enquiry, which could not yet be done. And concluded, that as military men were the natural and proper judges of the subject, he could not see the propriety of any interference by parliament in the business. Other gentlemen in office, besides confirming that opinion, held parliament as totally incompetent to any decision on the question. And one of the law officers said, they had one enquiry already, which afforded sufficient information to form an opinion, and nothing more could be done for the present.

The question being at length put, on Mr. Fox's amendment, it was rejected on a division, by a majority of 144 to 95. And, the main question, after some unusual warmth of altercation, was set by at a late hour by the previous question, which was carried without a division.

Although the Ministers did not seem much disposed on this day to enter into any particular discussion with the General, yet, if any such measures were intended to be kept, they were fully done away by the part which he took in an ensuing debate; when it also seemed that they were not unprepared for the event.

This was in consequence of a motion made by Mr. Hartley, for an address to prevent the prorogation of parliament, and that they should continue sitting for the purpose of assisting and forwarding the measures already taken for the restoration of peace in America; and that they might be in readiness, in the present critical situation and prospect of public affairs, to provide for every important event at the earliest notice. In a warm speech which General Burgoyne made in support of the motion, he advanced matters and opinions which could not fail of being exceedingly grating to the Ministers, and which were resented accordingly. Particularly, his describing them, as totally insufficient and unable to support the weight of public affairs in the present critical and dangerous emergency. 28th.

To the general knowledge of this incapability, he attributed the diffidence, despondency, and consternation, which were evident among a great part of the people; and a still more fatal symptom, he said, that torpid indifference to our impending fate, which prevailed among a yet greater number. After stating the general panic that might result from this general state of temper and opinion, he said, "the salvation of the country depends upon the confidence of the people in some part of government." He then proceeded to censure without reserve, the whole public conduct pursued since the delivery of the French rescript; particularly in whatever related

related to offence, defence, and the total neglect of all means to inſpirit the nation. In a courſe of ſtriking military obſervations, illuſtrated by late and popular hiſtorical examples, he uſed the following words: "It will be difficult for thoſe who are moſt converſant in hiſtory, and accurate in obſervation, to point out examples, where, after an alarm, the ſpirits of men have revived by inaction. He knew of no great exertions, where the governing counſels have ſhewn apprehenſion and terror, and conſequent confuſion at the outſet."

The drift of the ſpeech was to ſhew the neceſſity of complying with the motion, in order, beſides other great objects, that the preſence of parliament, might reſtore the confidence, and renew the ſpirit of the nation; and he ſaid, that if the King's Miniſters ſhould take the lead in oppoſition to the motion, and uſe their influence for its rejection, he ſhould hold them to be the oppoſers of national ſpirit, oppoſers of public virtue, and oppoſers of the moſt efficacious means to ſave their country.

Although, in the courſe of his ſpeech, he had diſclaimed all hoſtility, it was notwithſtanding underſtood and reſented as a declaration of war; and accordingly brought out a bitter reply, mixed with much perſonality, from a gentleman high in office; and not leſs noted for freedom of ſpeech, than for his other eminent qualities. After ſtating his reaſons againſt the motion, upon the ſame grounds which we have ſeen taken at the Chriſtmas receſs, he particularly applied himſelf to the laſt ſpeaker, who, he ſaid, being a priſoner, was in fact dead to all civil, as well as military purpoſes, and, as ſuch, had no right to ſpeak, much leſs to vote in that Houſe. He then threw ſome degree of ridicule, in his ſtate of it, upon the General's application or wiſh for a trial. "The honourable gentleman, he ſaid, knew, when he deſired a trial, that he could not be tried; he was upon parole; he was, as a priſoner under that parole, not at liberty to do any act in his perſonal capacity. —Suppoſe, for inſtance, he ſhould be tried and found guilty, who could puniſh him? No one certainly. A priſoner is always bound to his firſt engagement, and amenable to the ſtipulations of thoſe who have preſcribed the terms. To talk therefore of trial, without the power to puniſh, was a farce; the power to try, implied the power to puniſh; or ſuch a power meant nothing.

One of the law officers of the crown took up the ſame ground of argument, and made it an object of ſerious and real diſcuſſion. In a ſpeech, fraught with general knowledge and ancient learning, and in which the doubts and arguments were too methodically arranged, to admit any doubt of their preparation for the purpoſe, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh from the example of Regulus, in the Roman hiſtory, and other precedents, that the General (the convention of Saratoga being now broken) was merely in the ſtate of a common priſoner of war; and that, conſequently, he was not ſui juris, but the immediate property of another power. From whence he inſiſted, with the fulleſt appearance of conviction to himſelf, that the General, under his preſent

ſent obligations, was totally incapable of exerciſing any civil office, incompetent to any civil function, and incapable of bearing arms in this country.

The General expreſſed the utmoſt indignation at this attempt to overthrow all his rights, as a man, a citizen, and a ſoldier. He urged, that the convention was not broken. That the Congreſs, from ſome ill-founded jealouſy in reſpect to ſome circumſtances of his own conduct, and ſtill more, from their doubt of the faith of adminiſtration, had only ſuſpended the execution of it on their ſide, until it had received a formal ratification from government. That he was bound to no condition by the convention, excepting the ſingle one, of not ſerving in America; nor by his parole, but that of returning, on due notice being given, on the demand of the Congreſs. He ſtated an inſtance from the laſt war, of a noble Lord then preſent, who was taken priſoner at St. Cas, and whoſe parole ſituation came directly home to the point in queſtion. But it ſeemed as if fortune had foreſeen and provided, for this new impediment which was to be created, in order to a further limitation of the right of ſitting in parliament. For it appeared, that the idea of reſtraining him by his parole, from giving any vote againſt America in parliament, had been adopted by ſome of the leaders there; but that it had not only been rejected with diſdain, but that it had been further ſaid, they wiſhed him to attend his duty in parliament, from a certainty, that his intimate knowledge of the ſtate of affairs on both ſides, would induce him, by every means in his power, to accelerate, what, they declared, they ſo much wiſhed for, a peace, upon proper terms. In the debate, it was preſſed upon the whole, as ariſing from the maxim and practice of warfare eſtabliſhed among civilized nations, that the General, was not only at full liberty to ſerve againſt any other enemy, but that, if he had defeated or deſtroyed an American fleet or army, in any other of the three quarters of the world, it could not by any conſtruction be interpreted as a breach of his parole.

The Speaker put an end to all cavil upon the ſubject, by deciding the queſtion in favour of General Burgoyne, and the learned law-officer appeared to acquieſce in his opinion. But the principal leaders of the oppoſition did not let the matter paſs off ſo eaſily. They warmly reſented the illiberal treatment, as they termed it, offered to the General, in his preſent circumſtances of accumulated misfortune. And, upon this occaſion, the reſearches of the learned law officer, in the fabulous legends of barbarous antiquity, and his fixing upon the very queſtionable ſtory of Regulus in the firſt punic war (an æra when it lay in the option of the victors, whether to maſſacre, ſell, or to keep as ſlaves, their priſoners) as a precedent for the preſent times; and thereby, not only to overthrow the modern laws of warfare, but to render it the teſt of a Britiſh ſenator's holding his ſeat in parliament, underwent no ſmall ſhare of animadverſion and ridicule.

Mr. Hartley's motion was at length rejected on a diviſion, by a majority of 105 to 53. This did not prevent Sir James Lowther, on the

the day before the recess, from moving for an address, that parliament might be continued sitting by adjournments, until a happy termination of the present public exigencies. His motion, however, met with a similar fate to the former.

During this constant state of warfare in one House, public affairs were not less warmly agitated in the other. On the 23d of March a motion was made by the Duke of Richmond for an address, "That all the ships of war and land forces be immediately withdrawn from the ports and territories of the thirteen revolted provinces, and disposed of in such manner as should seem best calculated for the defence of the remaining parts of the empire, in the difficult situation in which we are unfortunately placed; humbly beseeching his Majesty, to take into his particular consideration the condition of England and Ireland to repel a foreign invasion; and imploring him to take the most speedy and effectual measures for providing for the security of these kingdoms."

This motion brought on a very warm and interesting debate; in which, the chief leaders of opposition entered into a large field of discussion, and censure. The ministers and their friends were not equally active in the debate. It was principally opposed by the First Lord of the Admiralty, who, without much controverting the propriety or necessity of the proposed measure, founded his opposition to the motion on the ground of secrecy, expedience, and policy, with respect to the mode of carrying it into execution; which should not be subject to the exposure incident to a parliamentary discussion. He accordingly moved the previous question; which was at length carried upon a division, by a majority of 56 to 28.

An acknowledgment made by the noble Lord, to whose department the information particularly belonged, of an unhappy consequence of the American contest, which had been long foreseen, and frequently urged by the opposition in both Houses, and which had hitherto been treated by the ministers, rather as a subject of ridicule, than of serious consideration, was a circumstance in this debate which could not pass unnoticed. The noble Lord at the head of the admiralty, attributed the scarcity of seamen (to which the present insufficiency of the navy could only be charged, as he said there were ships enough ready for sea), merely to the want of those American sailors, who had contributed to man our fleets in former wars. These the noble Lord estimated at 18,000; and observed, that if we considered that those men were now employed against us, it made a real difference of 36,000 seamen.—A fatal consequence, indeed, of our unhappy civil war; and yet so obvious, that the lateness of the discovery scarcely excites less surprize than regret.

Several motions made by the Earl of Effingham, on the last of March, relative to naval affairs, were the means of introducing a very long and interesting debate, in which the noble mover, with the Dukes of Bolton and Richmond, took the principal share on one side, and the noble Lord at the head of the department in question,

question, found sufficient occasion for the full exertion of all his faculties on the other. The motions went,—To, An account of the state of the ships in his Majesty's navy, in the latter end of the year 1770.—Of the ordinary estimates of the navy from 1770, to 1778, inclusive.—Of the number of ships broke up and sold, with the old stores sold, and an account of what both sold for, all within that term.—An account of the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of ships and vessels, over and above those charged in the wear and tear, of the year 1777.—And concluded with some accounts relative to stoppages.

The objects of the enquiry were, in the first place, to ascertain the real state of the navy; a knowledge of which, at this critical season, the Lords on that side represented, as being not only of the highest importance, but as being absolutely necessary with respect to the public safety; more especially, as they insisted, and endeavoured to demonstrate from public facts and consequences, that parliament had hitherto been intentionally misled, in all the official information which had been laid before them on that subject. The second was to detect and remedy those malversations of office, neglect of its great and principal duty, and profusion of the public money, which had been so long and so frequently charged to the account of that department. It seemed also to be a part of the drift of the enquiry, to overthrow that position, which they had heard so often repeated, of the ruinous condition of the navy when it was placed in the hands of its present conductors, and of its wonderful growth and prosperity under their nurture.

The noble Earl supported his resolutions with no moderate share of abilities, in a speech replete with information, and including such a series of naval facts, as sufficiently shewed, the industry with which he had obtained a thorough knowledge of his subject. He concluded, by strenuously recommending to the First Lord of the Admiralty, on his own account, and as the best means of shewing, that he was not liable to any part of that heavy censure which he had thrown out against the board in general, to consent to the motions; or if they implied any thing, which, in the noble Lord's own opinion, could tend to afford any improper information to our foreign enemies, that he would propose such modifications or alteration of them, as should prevent that effect; but not to let an opinion go abroad into the world, that all the charges which had been laid now or at other times upon that ground had been so well founded, that he could not venture to stand the test of an enquiry.

The noble Lord at the head of that department wished with great fervour, that the committee of enquiry had never been instituted; and asserted his full conviction, that the matters which had already come out in the course of its sitting, particularly with respect to the navy, had been extremely prejudicial to the interests of this country. He accordingly recurred to that beaten but strong ground, (which had already repelled so many assaults) of political secrecy, and the danger of disclosure. It may well be believed, that no pains

were

were omitted, nor provocation ſpared by his noble aſſailants, to induce him to quit this ground of advantage; but the noble Lord, with all the caution and temper of a veteran and experienced general, could neither be tempted nor provoked to abandon it.

After much ſeverity of animadverſion the queſtion being at length put on the firſt reſolution, it was rejected on a diviſion, by a majority of 50 to 20. The ſecond and fifth were agreed to; but the third and fourth were negatived ſeparately without a diviſion.

This was the laſt act of the grand committee of the nation in the Houſe of Lords. The Duke of Richmond, who had moved that committee, thought it neceſſary on the 7th of April, to cloſe the enquiry. Though, he ſaid, he had failed by the prevalence of that power he wiſhed to correct, in ſeveral of thoſe objects for which he propoſed the committee, he attributed ſeveral public and important benefits to it. He ſaid, that an aſcertainment of the ſtate of the army, of the ſtate of the navy, of the general expenditure in conſequence of the American war, and a particular inveſtigation of a part of that expenditure, were the reſult of their enquiries: and he firmly believed, that it was owing merely to the committee, that the miniſters had been ſo far brought to their ſenſes, as to ſet about ſomething like an attempt, towards an accommodation with the Americans. He ſaid, the enquiry was highly neceſſary, from the circumſtantial recital of the moſt intereſting information which it had produced; and that as it had been of ſingular advantage to the nation, he was exceedingly happy to find that it had met with the univerſal approbation of all ranks of people.

It alſo afforded him great pleaſure, that the conduct of it had been approved of by their Lordſhips, who had in no one inſtance expreſſed their diſlike of the manner of agitating the various queſtions which had been introduced, either by other Lords, or by himſelf; the only objection made to either, amounting not to a denial of the reſolutions of fact offered to their conſideration, (which had been on all ſides acknowledged to be truiſms) but merely to an argument of the inexpediency of paſſing ſuch reſolutions at that particular period of time. He then ſtated his reaſons for cloſing the enquiry; and after having taken, with his uſual ability, a general review of the whole buſineſs, he ſhewed the motives for winding it up by the addreſs to the throne which he was going to propoſe.

He accordingly moved for an addreſs of great length, containing an abſtract of the various ſpecies of information which had been obtained by the enquiry, the ſum of the different reſolutions which had been founded on that information, and propoſed to the committee, and ſome general reſults ariſing from the whole. Among theſe were the following:—The defective ſtate of the navy; being neither in any degree anſwerable to the aſſurances repeatedly given by the Firſt Lord of that department, to the vaſt ſums granted for its uſe, nor competent to the ſervices which it may very ſhortly be called to fulfil.—The increaſe of debt incurred by the war; the intereſt

terest of which, being equal to a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and added to our former burthens, will, they fear, under the circumstances of a diminished trade, render it difficult for this country to support the national faith. — That, by an enquiry into some parts of this enormous expenditure it appears, that the mode of contracting and engaging for the transports and supplies of the army has been unusual and prodigal, and such as affords ground for suspicion of corrupt management. — The truly alarming state of public credit, proceeding, along with the enormity of the national debt, from the want of confidence in ministers, who have justly forfeited the good opinion of the nation. And this want of confidence evident, from the low state of the public funds; and still more, from the discredit of the new loan, which now sells considerably under par, although the terms given this year for six millions, when we have yet had no foreign war whatever, are higher than those which were given for twelve millions in 1761, which was the 7th year of a war with the house of Bourbon. — And, that from the melancholy state of facts which they have recited, they see it impossible to carry on the present system of reducing America by force of arms.

After much implied and expressed censure and condemnation of public measures, an avowed opinion, that nothing less than a misrepresentation of American affairs, could have induced the Crown and Parliament to the prosecution of so fatal a war, and an advice for the recal of the fleets and armies from the revolted colonies, and the effectuating of a reconciliation with them, the intended address concludes as follows, "That "we think it our duty, on offering "to his Majesty this unhappy, but "true representation of the state "of his dominions, to express our "indignation at the conduct of "his Ministers, who have caused "it; who, by abusing his confi-"dence, have tarnished the lustre "of his crown; who, by their "unfortunate counsels have dis-"membered his empire, wasted "the public treasures, sunk the "public credit, impaired the com-"merce of his kingdoms, dis-"graced his arms, and weakened "his naval power, the pride and "bulwark of this nation; whilst "by delaying to reconcile the dif-"ference which they had excited "amongst his people, they have "suffered such an alliance to take "place, between the former sub-"jects, and the antient rivals of "Great-Britain, and have neither "taken measures to prevent, nor "formed alliances to counteract "so fatal an union."

"That in this calamitous, "although they trust not de-"sperate situation of public af-"fairs, they repose their ultimate "hope in his Majesty's paternal "goodness. That they have no "doubt, that he will look back to "the principles, both political and "constitutional, which gave rise "to the Revolution, from whence "we have derived the happiness "of being governed by princes of "his illustrious house. That he "will reflect on the examples of "his predecessors from that au-"spicious period, during which "the prosperity, the opulence, the "power, the territory, and the

"renown

renown of his throne and nation have flourished and increased beyond all example. That he will particularly call to mind the circumstances of his accession to the crown, when he took poſſeſſion of an inheritance ſo full of glory, and of the truſt of preſerving it in all its luſtre. That deeply affected with theſe conſiderations, he will be graciouſly pleaſed to put an end to a ſyſtem, too well underſtood in its nature, and too ſorely felt in its effects, which by the arts of wicked men has prevailed in his court and adminiſtration, and which, if ſuffered to continue, will complete the miſeries which have begun; and leave nothing in this country which can do honour to his government, or make the name of an Engliſhman a matter of that pride and diſtinction, in which his Majeſty and his ſubjects had ſo much reaſon to glory in former happy times."

It was in the great debate upon this addreſs, that the Earl of Chatham was ſeized with that fainting fit in the midſt of the Lords, which, notwithſtanding ſome appearances of recovery, was the unhappy prelude to his death. The noble Duke who had moved the addreſs, upon that melancholy incident, propoſed to adjourn the buſineſs to the following day, which was immediately complied with. The debate was accordingly renewed on the next day, but was, by a diviſion in the oppoſition, confined to themſelves; for, as the Earl of Chatham had on the preceding, ſtrongly proteſted againſt any meaſure that tended to the diſmemberment of the empire, and to the acknowledgement of the independence of America, ſo the ſame ground was taken up and ſupported on this by the Earl of Shelburne. They were ſorry to differ from thoſe whom they otherwiſe ſo greatly reſpected. But the independency of America they conſidered as an end to the dignity of this crown, and to all the future poſſible importance of this kingdom. Who will dare, ſaid Lord Chatham, to diſmember the Prince of Wales and the Biſhop of Oſnaburg? They were willing to encounter all dangers, and to riſque all conſequences, ſooner than ſubmit to that fatal propoſition; and hoping, that this country was ſtill poſſeſſed of reſources in men and money, not only equal to a perſeverance in the ſtruggle, but to the attainment of a final triumph over all our enemies, and to that of the grand object, the recovery of America, to whoſe liberties they never were enemies, but ever wiſhed to place them upon a ſure and permanent baſis.

On the other hand, the Duke of Richmond, and moſt of the other Lords of the oppoſition, who compoſe the body of the Whiggs, or what is called the Rockingham party, declared their grief and horror, at the diſmemberment of the empire, and the conſequent ruin brought upon this country, to be as great, as that of any perſons within or without that Houſe. They were as ready as any others, to trace the cauſes, and to join in puniſhing the authors of the meaſures, which led to this fatal calamity. As they were as deeply concerned in the event, ſo they would go as great lengths, at the hazard of life and fortune, on any fair ground of hope, and rational proſpect

peal of success, for the restoration of the empire to its former state of power, glory, and felicity. But these declarations on any side, were now, they said, words without meaning or effect. The mischief was done. America was already lost. Her independence was established as firmly as that of other states. We had sufficient cause for regret; but our lamentation on that subject was of no more avail, than it would for the loss of Normandy or France. If we had been inspired with a spirit of conquest, before our means and our strength were exhausted in, what they called, this frantic and wicked war, it might have been directed to much more feasible objects, from their being much nearer home, as well as from the general union of the empire, than the conquest of America. They concluded, that the attempting of impossibilities, and the braving of danger without the means of opposing it, were equally repugnant to wisdom, and to the real character of courage. And that the only part now left for wisdom and prudence to act, was to look to the preservation and improvement of the remaining parts of the empire; which could only be done, by an immediate peace with America, and a return of friendship with our late fellow-subjects. That the grand object of the policy of this kingdom, in its present circumstances, was to prevent America from growing into habits of connection with France; and if a refusal of the acknowledgement of an independence, which we know to exist, and are unable to destroy, stood in the way of a reconciliation, they could not come into that refusal.—In the previous debate, the Duke of Richmond frequently and strongly pressed the Earl of Chatham, (though with the greatest deference), to specify the means that he had, for making the Americans renounce the independence of which they were in possession. That great man candidly confessed, that he, for his part, was unable to point out the means; but he believed that they existed. The Duke of Richmond said, that if he could not, no man could; and that it was not in his power to change his opinion on the noble Lord's authority, unsupported by any reasons, but a recital of the calamities which must attend a state of things, which they both knew to be already decided.

The question being at length put, the motion for the address was rejected on a division, by a majority of 50 to 33. A noble Earl, could not refrain from expressing some considerable share of resentment upon this division. He said, that "These dead majorities would "be the ruin of the nation. Let "the question be what it will, "though the salvation of this "country depend upon it, if it "be moved by certain persons, it "is sure of a negative." He then said to the other Lords on the same side, that they had been told by Ministers, it was the only way in which his Majesty would receive their counsel; but there were other modes, he said, by which they had a right to give their counsel, however it might be received. And, he proposed, that the Minority should wait upon his Majesty, in a body, with the address; it contained information, he said, worthy of the royal ear; it was not for him to forejudge the effect. Although

though the proposal seemed in part to be agreed to, and only deferred for further consideration; yet the measure was not carried into execution.

The following short protest was, however, entered, and signed by twenty Lords. "Because we think "the rejection of the proposed address at this time, may appear "to indicate in this House, a desire of continuing that plan of "ignorance, concealment, deceit, "and delusion, by which the Sovereign and his people have already been brought into so "many and so great calamities. "We hold it absolutely necessary "that both Sovereign and people "should be undeceived, and that "they should distinctly and authentically be made acquainted "with the state of their affairs, "which is faithfully represented "in this proposed address, at a "time when our existence as a "nation may depend upon our "conceiving a just idea of our "real situation, and upon our "wisdom in making a proper use "of it."

The disposition of honouring the remains or memory of the late Earl of Chatham, did not seem so strong or so general in the House of Lords as in that of the Commons. A motion being made by the Earl of Shelburne, on the 13th of May, that the House should attend the funeral of the late Earl, it was directly opposed; and the numbers being found equal upon a division, amounting to sixteen on each side, the proxies were called for, when the motion was lost by a majority of one; the numbers being 20, to 19 who supported the question.

The Toulon papers produced no less debate in the House of Lords than in that of the Commons; and brought out, at least, an equal share of the severest censure, and most direct condemnation of the conduct and measures of Ministers, in every thing that related to that new war, in which they were charged with involving the nation, as well as with what respected the immediate subject of consideration. These papers were laid before the House, and taken into consideration on the 25th of May, in consequence of a preceding motion made by the Duke of Richmond for that purpose. The noble Duke took up, and went through the business with his usual ability, in a speech of considerable length; which he closed with a motion for resolutions, similar to those which we have already seen stated in the House of Commons upon the same subject.

The noble Earl immediately concerned, was under a necessity of resting his justification or defence, partly on the perfidy of France, partly on denial, partly on explanation, and partly on irresponsibility. He complained, that France had, for the last two or three years, acted a most insidious part; and done us more mischief thereby, than if she had actually declared against us originally; and as to her present great naval power, which afforded such a topic of censure on the other side, it proceeded from her having, during the last three years, departed totally from her usual and constant line of policy, and directed her attention chiefly to the establishment of her marine. But even still, he said, if seamen could be had, there was

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war; although hoſtilities had been commenced at ſea long before.

Among the many intereſting particulars ſtated by the Earl of Briſtol in the ſpeech made by him on that occaſion, he ſhewed from a navy-liſt in his hand, under the authority of the then board of admiralty, of which himſelf was at that time a member, that the navy of England, in the month of May, 1771, being a few months after Lord Hawke had quitted that department, amounted to no leſs than 139 ſhips of the line, beſides 243 frigates, and other veſſels, compoſing in the whole a fleet of 382 veſſels of war. "A prodi-"gious navy indeed!" (the noble Lord exclaimed) and "all dwin-"dled to nothing." Above three millions and a half, he ſaid, had been ſince granted for building and repairs. And yet, the noble Lord now confeſſes, that he has but 49 ſhips in all fit for ſervice. He exclaimed with great energy, "Is this poſſible?" "Is it to be borne?" "What is become of the ſhips then?" "What is become of the money?" But we have neither the one nor the other, nor any ſatisfaction to the public for either." He hoped his warmth would be excuſed, he could not help it on that ſubject, when he ſaw his country ſo uſed; and that in a department, in which 43 years ſervice had given him ſo great an intereſt, and had alſo entitled him to ſome conſiderable ſhare of knowledge.

The defence of the noble Earl was left ſolely to a noble Lord, (who we believe is not in office,) and whoſe ſituation and habits ſeemed rather to lead to a different line, than to the knowledge of

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naval affairs. He, however, ſaid, that his diſcourſe was founded upon the teſtimony of his own eyes; from the information which they had afforded in a marine tour to viſit the ſeveral dock-yards, he had lately made, in company with the noble Earl; and alſo, upon that which he had obtained in a converſation with a ſhip-builder, during that excurſion, relative to ſome part of the conduct obſerved in the naval department. Under the conviction ariſing from this fund of accumulated knowledge, the noble Lord moved the previous queſtion.

The Duke of Richmond cloſed the debate with a ſpeech, in which, after commiſerating the ſituation of the noble Earl, who had been thus abandoned in his diſtreſs by all his colleagues in office, he ſaid, (after ſeveral other obſervations) "That if Miniſters continued "ſilent, and ſhould be ſupported "by a majority of that Houſe, "the nation was loſt, and their "Lordſhips would be anſwerable "to the public and to poſterity for "the conſequence. The forms "of the conſtitution, and their "Lordſhips aſſembling in that "Houſe, was no better than a "ſolemn mockery of the nation. "The other Houſe were known "to be at the devotion of the "Miniſter: if, therefore, their "Lordſhips had nothing to do, "but to paſs the bills preſented "by the other Houſe, and that "no redreſs was to be had but "from thoſe who were the authors "of the public misfortunes, he "ſaw no ſervice Parliament could "be of. In ſuch a critical ſtate "of affairs, when every thing "within and without portended "public calamity, he deſired "their Lordſhips to look forward "to their own ſafety, and prevent "thoſe miſchiefs which have ſo "often followed the mal-adminiſtration of the government of "this country."

The Houſe then divided, when the previous queſtion was carried, and the motions were conſequently loſt, by a majority of 49 to 24. The bill for ſettling an annuity on the poſterity of the Earl of Chatham, inheritors of that title, after its ſmooth paſſage through the Houſe of Commons, met with an oppoſition where it was ſtill leſs to be expected. The opponents, indeed, were not numerous; but as they were determined in their object, the oppoſition was ſtrong.

Upon the ſecond reading of that bill, on the laſt day but one of the ſeſſion, it was oppoſed by the Duke of Chandos, who objected particularly to the perpetuity of the proviſion, and to the miſchievous precedent which it would ſet, thereby opening a door for ſimilar applications of the ſame nature from men in high ſtations. The noble Duke was ſupported by the Chancellor and a few other Lords. A conſiderable debate enſued, which was, however, more taken up by collateral matter which ſprung up in its courſe, than by the immediate queſtion. And, although the bill was carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 42 to 11, the following proteſt was entered, ſigned by the noble Duke we mentioned, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbiſhop of York, and Lord Paget.

Viz. "Becauſe we cannot "agree to ſuch an unwarrantable "laviſhing away of the public "money,

"money, at a time when the nation "groans under a heavy load of "debts, and is engaged in a dan-"gerous and expensive war.

"Because we fear that this act "may, in after times, be made "use of as a precedent for fac-"tious purposes, and to the en-"riching of private families at "the public expence."

On the same day, the Earl of Derby moved for an address, tending to an enquiry into the difficulties which obstructed the faithful performance of the convention signed at Saratoga; which he founded, as well on a regard to the public faith, as to the gallant men, who were now suffering as prisoners in America, through a failure in fulfilling the terms of that capitulation. The noble Minister who was present, declared his total ignorance of the subject, and objected to the motion on account of the lateness of the season, and the nearness of the prorogation, which was to take place on the following day; a circumstance which rendered the enquiry utterly impracticable. As the noble Earl would not, however, withdraw his motion, it was, after some debate, disposed of by the previous question, without a division.

This avowal of immediate prorogation called up the Duke of Bolton, who after stating the danger and difficulty of the times, and the alarming state of these kingdoms, under the immediate threat and apprehensions of an invasion, without any proper means of defence in their hands, or wisdom in our public councils, to adopt such measures, as would direct their operations to effect, if there were, closed a speech of considerable length, by moving an address, for deferring the prorogation of parliament, until the present very dangerous crisis might be happily terminated.

The debate was long and interesting, and the motion was supported by most of the principal Lords of the opposition; but as it was necessarily on the same ground with that which we have stated upon the same subject in the House of Commons, our entering into any particular detail of it is thereby rendered unnecessary. The navy was again brought into question, and the First Lord of that department again put upon some justification or defence of naval affairs or measures; in the course of which he also again found occasion to complain of misrepresentation, even with respect to words or matters that were charged to him in the last debate; and was put to an absolute denial or contradiction of matters, which the professional Lords on the other side positively insisted to be incontrovertible and authenticated facts. The motion was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 42 to 20.

Particular thanks were returned in the speech from the throne, for the zeal shewn in supporting the honour of the crown, and for their attention to the real interests of the subjects, in the wise, just, and humane laws, which had been the result of their deliberations. His Majesty's desire to preserve the tranquillity of Europe had been uniform and sincere; he reflected with great satisfaction, that he had made the faith of treaties and the law of nations the rule of his conduct; let that power by whom this tranquil-

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lity ſhould be diſturbed, anſwer to their ſubjects and to the world for all the fatal conſequences of war? The vigour and firmneſs of Parliament had enabled his Majeſty to provide for ſuch events and emergencies as might happen; and he truſted, that the experienced valour and diſcipline of the fleets and armies, with the loyal and united ardour of the nation, armed and animated in defence of every thing that is dear to them, would be able, under the protection of Divine Providence, to defeat all the enterprizes which the enemies of the crown might preſume to undertake, and convince them how dangerous it was to provoke the ſpirit and ſtrength of Great-Britain. The Commons were thanked for the chearfulneſs with which they had granted the large and ample ſupplies for the ſervice of the year, as well as for their care in raiſing them in a manner the moſt effectual and the leaſt burthenſome; and the warmeſt acknowledgments were due, for the proviſion made for the more honourable ſupport of the Royal Family.

Thus was brought to a concluſion, this long, tedious, and exceedingly laborious ſeſſion of Parliament. A ſeſſion, in which a greater number of the moſt intereſting and important public queſtions were agitated, although not generally decided upon, than any other, perhaps, within the ſpace of a century paſt. And which alſo afforded more frequent room for expectation and hope to the people, with reſpect to the conduct of public affairs, than any that we remember.

CHAP. X.

State of the hoſtile armies in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood during the winter. Hard condition of the brave army under the convention of Saratoga. Suſpenſion of the treaty by the congreſs, until a ratification is obtained from the court of Great-Britain. Predatory expeditions from Philadelphia and Rhode Iſland. Draught of the Conciliatory Bills publiſhed in America. Effect produced by it on both ſides. Conduct, and reſolutions of the Congreſs. Simeon Deane arrives with the French treaties. Sir Henry Clinton arrives to take the command of the army at Philadelphia, in the room of General Sir William Howe, who returns to England. Arrival of the Commiſſioners for reſtoring peace, &c. Letter to the Congreſs. Secretary to the Commiſſioners refuſed a paſſport. Anſwer returned by the Congreſs to the Commiſſioners. Further particulars relative to the propoſed negociation. Evacuation of Philadelphia. Difficulties encountered by the Britiſh army in their march acroſs the Jerſies. General Waſhington croſſes the Delaware. Battle near Monmouth. Gen. Lee, tried by a court martial, and ſuſpended. Britiſh army paſs over to Sandy Hook Iſland, and are conveyed by the fleet to New York. Toulon ſquadron arrive on the coaſt of America. Appear before Sandy Hook, where they caſt anchor. Alarm, and preparations at Sandy Hook and New York. Departure of the French fleet. Arrival of reinforcements

reinforcements to Lord Howe. French fleet appear before Rhode Island. Defensive preparations by General Sir Robert Pigot. Invasion of that Island meditated by the Americans, to second the operations of the French. Lord Howe sails to the relief of Rhode Island. D'Estaing, quits the harbour and puts to sea, to meet the British squadron. Fleets separated at the point of engaging, by a violent storm. Captain Raynor, in the Isis, bravely engages a French man of war of 74 guns. D'Estaing returns to Rhode Island, and proceeds from thence to Boston. Is pursued by Lord Howe. Gen. Sullivan lands in Rhode Island. Invests the British post. American army greatly disconcerted by D'Estaing's departure. Sullivan retreats, and at length totally quits the island. Lord Howe, finding D'Estaing's squadron so strongly secured in Nantasket Road, as to render an attack impracticable, returns from Boston.

FROM this war of words and opinions in the old world, we are led to a war of deeds and arms in the new. The one, notwithstanding the supposed summary decisiveness of its nature, being little more conclusive than the other. The hostile armies at Philadelphia and Valley Forge, passed the severity of the winter within a few miles of each other, in great quiet. The assailants, however, contrary to the general course and circumstance of war, had the advantage of a capital city, and that a fine one, for their quarters; whilst the native army was under a necessity of enduring all the extremity of the season, under a hutted camp in the open field. Notwithstanding this great advantage in point of ease and convenience, the lines and redoubts, with which it was found necessary to cover the city of Philadelphia, did not permit the British or auxiliary forces to rust in their military habits, or to grow languid in the exercise of their military duties. Upon the whole, the army was well supplied and healthy.

In the mean time, the gallant and unfortunate army, that had been under a necessity of submitting to the terms of the convention at Saratoga, met with great and unexpected delays and difficulties in respect to their return to Europe, and underwent many grievous vexations, in that station which had been allotted for their reception in the neighbourhood of Boston. The former of these, however, opened the great ground of grievance, as the succeeding could not otherwise have been of any considerable duration. Notwithstanding the enmity which unhappily prevails between the now disjoined parts of the British nation, it affords us no satisfaction in treating this subject, that truth and justice compel us, strongly to condemn the conduct of the Congress; who seem, upon this occasion, to have departed widely from that system of fairness, equity, and good faith, so essential to new States, and which had hitherto appeared, in a considerable degree, to have been the guide of their actions.

It seems to have been rather unlucky, at least in point of time, that a requisition for some deviation from the terms of the convention, had been made by the British commanders. This was for the

embarkation of the convention troops, either at the Sound, near New York, or at Rhode Island, inſtead of Boſton, which was the place appointed for their departure to Europe. And in conſequence of the expectation entertained, that this propoſal would have been complied with, the tranſports for the conveyance of the troops were aſſembled at Rhode Iſland. The Congreſs, however, not only refuſed to comply with the requiſition, but made it a ground of a pretended ſuſpicion, that the meaſure was propoſed, merely to afford an opportunity to the convention troops to join their fellows, with an intention then of making ſome pretence for evading or breaking the terms of the capitulation, and continuing to act in America, to the great detriment and danger of the common cauſe. To ſtrengthen this colour of ſuſpicion, they pretended, that the 26 tranſports which were provided at Rhode Iſland, were inſufficient for the conveyance of above 5,600 men, in a winter voyage, to Europe; and, that in the preſent ſtate of things, with reſpect to proviſions, both in the Britiſh fleet and army, it was ſcarcely poſſible that they could have been victualled for ſo long a voyage, and ſo great a number, in ſo ſhort a time.

In the mean time, great complaints having been made, by the Britiſh officers near Boſton, of the badneſs of the quarters with which they had been provided, and which they repreſented, as being neither conformable to their expectation, rank, or to the terms of the capitulation, the ſenſe and conſtruction of ſome ſtrong expoſtulation which was made by General Burgoyne, in a letter of complaint upon the ſubject, was wreſted by the Congreſs to a direct declaration, that the convention had been broken on their part, by a violation of its conditions. This they repreſented as a matter of the moſt ſerious and alarming nature; which indicated a full intention in the Britiſh General and army, to conſider the convention as diſſolved, by this ſuppoſed violation of it which was charged on their ſide, as ſoon as they got without the limits of their power; and a declaration of this ſort now made, under the preſent circumſtances of that army, would appear, they ſaid, no ſmall public juſtification of their future conduct, in acting as if they were in no degree bound, when at large, by a capitulation, which they had formally diſavowed under reſtraint.

Some paltry reſolutions which were paſſed, as to the ſoldiers not having faithfully delivered up all their accoutrements, were of ſo ſhameful a nature, as to be highly diſgraceful to the Congreſs; and ſeemed ſtrongly to indicate, that they were ready to graſp at any pretence, however weak or futile, by which they could evade the terms of the convention, without incurring the charge of a direct breach of public faith.

It was in vain that the General explained the intention, as well as the conſtruction of that paſſage in his letter, which went no farther than to a well-founded complaint, and a demand of redreſs purſuant to the terms of the convention. It was to as little purpoſe that his officers, in order to remove this new difficulty, reſpectively ſigned their parole, which they had hitherto refuſed doing, until they

could obtain redress in the article of quarters, and which was not at any time granted. The General even offered to pledge himself, that notwithstanding the injurious suspicion entertained of his own honour and that of his officers, they would still join with him in signing any writing or instrument that might be thought necessary, for strengthening, confirming, or renewing, the validity of the convention.

But the Congress were inexorable. It was easily seen, that the measure which they had adopted was not so lightly taken as to be easily given up, and that explanations and securities could produce no effect on their determination. They had passed a resolution from which they never receded, that the embarkation of Gen. Burgoyne and his army should be suspended, until a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention at Saratoga should be properly notified by the court of Great-Britain to Congress. Although the treaties between France and America were not at that time concluded, it does not seem impossible, that the councils of that court had some considerable operation upon the conduct of the Congress in this extraordinary transaction. Perhaps being so closely pressed as they were, by a part only of the King's forces, then in actual possession of the most considerable of their cities, for magnitude, wealth, and commanding situation, they thought, that suffering those convention troops to be sent to Europe, from whence they might be easily replaced, would entirely turn against them the scale of war; and therefore, Jan. 8, 1778.

they chose to sacrifice their reputation, by an act never excusable, rather than their Being at this critical hour.

Some successful predatory expeditions into the Jerseys, and on the Delaware, with the surprize of a party of the enemy (who suffered no inconsiderable loss in men) on the Pennsylvania side, by Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, were the only military operations which distinguished the remaining administration of General Sir William Howe in the command of the army. The loss of the Americans in these expeditions, and in some others, which were undertaken from Rhode Island towards the end of May, was exceedingly great, both with respect to public and private property. Ships, boats, houses, places of worship, stores of all sorts, and of whatever nature, whether public or private; in a word, every thing useful to man that was liable to the action of fire, was in some places consumed by it. The officers, however, attributed some of the enormities, with respect to the burning of private houses, to the licence and rage of the soldiers, and declared them to be entirely contrary to their intentions and orders.

The Americans, as usual, made the severest charges of cruelty, many of which we hope to be unfounded, against the troops employed in these expeditions. Particularly the denial of quarter, and the slaughtering men in cold blood, several of whom, they said, neither had arms in their hands, nor were in any military capacity. They also complained, (on the Rhode Island side, where the charges were stronger made) as a left

a leſs cruel, though not more defenſible act of injuſtice, the carrying off the peaceable inhabitants of the country, and detaining them as priſoners of war, until they ſhould at ſome time or other be exchanged, for an equal number of ſoldiers taken on their ſide in arms. And although it was replied to this complaint, that as by their laws every inhabitant from 16 to 60, was liable to be called upon to take up arms, and was therefore to be conſidered and treated at all times as a ſoldier, whether he was found in actual ſervice or not, we can by no means think the reaſoning included in this anſwer ſatisfactory or concluſive. Upon the whole, even if the treaty between France and America, had not unhappily rendered all hope of ſucceſs from the preſent conciliatory ſyſtem hopeleſs, theſe predatory and irritating expeditions would have appeared peculiarly ill timed and unlucky. Though ſtrongly and warmly recommended by many here as the moſt effectual mode of war, we ſcarcely remember an inſtance in which they have not been more miſchievous than uſeful to the grand objects, either of reducing, or of reconciling the colonies.

During theſe tranſactions, neither the Congreſs, nor General Waſhington, omitted any means on preparation for a vigorous campaign; whilſt both, in their public acts, boldly held out to the people the hope of its being the laſt, and of their driving the Britiſh forces entirely out of America. The General, having now proved the ſubmiſſion and patience of his army in their long winter encampment, ſtruck off all the ſuperabundant baggage both of men and officers, to the cloſeſt line of neceſſity, and ventured upon every other reform, which could render them agile in ſervice, and effective in action. He alſo tried the influence of his own name and character, by a public letter to the farmers of the Middle Colonies, to requeſt their providing and fattening cattle for the ſervice of the army in the enſuing campaign. The Congreſs, among their other attentions to the war, iſſued a reſolution, ſtrongly urging the young gentlemen of the different colonies, to raiſe a body of light cavalry, to ſerve at their own expence, during the campaign; offering them ſuch allurements and honorary diſtinctions in the ſervice, as were calculated to reconcile that order of men, to the reſtraints and duties of a military life, in the ſimple rank and character of private volunteers.

A rough draught of the conciliatory bills, as they appeared on the firſt reading in the Houſe of Commons, was received at New York by Governor Tryon, about the middle of April, who uſed all means to circulate them among the people at large of the revolted colonies.

This unexpected meaſure of Miniſtry in England, excited equal aſtoniſhment and indignation in our own army, who thought that nothing could exceed the degradation which they felt in ſuch a conceſſion. The nature and circumſtances of the war, and the long courſe of injuries and loſſes which had been offered and received, had by this time rendered every individual a partizan in the conteſt. They had been taught to

think, that nothing less than absolute conquest on their side, or the most unconditional submission on the other, could bring it to a conclusion. They blushed at the recollection, and thought their personal honour wounded in the recantation which was now to be made, of all that high language and treatment, which they had been accustomed to hold or to offer to rebels. The disappointment was the greater, as these papers were the substitute to a reinforcement of 20,000 men, which they had expected. If such were the feelings of the British army, it may not be easy to describe those of the numerous body of American refugees, whose passions being irritated to the highest degree, thought they beheld all their public and private hopes, as well as the gratification of their personal resentments, cut off at one blow. The bills were not, however, to produce the effect that was expected or apprehended; and, unhappily, an end was not yet to be put to the calamities of war.

The mode of circulating these papers, was considered, or represented, by the Americans, as an insidious attempt to divide the people; and the Congress, to shew their contempt of it, ordered them to be immediately published in their Gazettes. General Washington, in answer to Governor Tryon, who had sent him several copies of the draughts, with a request that they might be circulated among the officers and men of his army, enclosed in his letter to him a printed news-paper, in which they had been inserted by the order of the Congress; accompanied by the printed resolutions of that body upon the subject. And Governor Turnbull, upon a similar letter and application, observed, that propositions of peace were usually made from the supreme authority of one contending power to the similar authority of the others; and that the present was the first instance within his recollection, in which they had ever been addressed to the people at large of the opposite power, as an overture of reconciliation. He proceeded with the following words, "There was a day, when even this step, from our then acknowledged parent state, might have been accepted with joy and gratitude; but that day, sir, is past irrevocably. The repeated rejection of our sincere, and sufficiently humble petitions; the commencement of hostilities; the inhumanity which has marked the prosecution of the war on your part in its several stages; the insolence which displays itself on every petty advantage; the cruelties which have been exercised on those unhappy men, whom the fortune of war has thrown into your hands; all these are insuperable bars to the very idea of concluding a peace with Great Britain, on any other conditions, than the most absolute perfect independence." He concluded his letter with the following observation upon the restoration of union by a lasting and honourable peace, which he declared to be the ardent wish of every honest American, viz. "The British nation may then, perhaps, find us as affectionate and valuable friends as we now are determined and fatal enemies, and will derive from that friendship

friendship more solid and real advantage than the most sanguine can expect from conquest.

April 22d. The result of the deliberations, and of several resolutions upon the subject by the Congress, was a declaration, that any man, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with Commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, should be considered and treated as enemies to the United States. That the United States, could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any Commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states. And, inasmuch as it appeared to be the design of their enemies, to lull them into a fatal security, they called upon the several states, to use the most strenuous exertions, to have their respective quotas of troops in the field as soon as possible; and that all their militia might be held in readiness to act as occasion should require. All the resolutions upon this subject were unanimously agreed to.

May 2d. In a few days after, Simeon Deane arrived express from Paris, at York Town, where the Congress had sat since the loss of Philadelphia, with those fatal instruments, which seemed to stamp a seal upon the separation of America from England. He had been conveyed from France in a Royal frigate of 28 guns, appointed for the purpose, and brought with him, for ratification by the Congress, copies of the two treaties, of alliance, and of commerce, which had been concluded between France and the United States. The last of these was the first that had been executed, being signed on the 30th of January; the treaty of alliance was dated the 6th of February. Deane also brought an account of many other matters which were highly pleasing, as well as what related to the history of the negociation, and of its conclusion.

The joy and exultation of the Americans upon this occasion, could only be rivalled by their public demonstrations of them. The Congress immediately published a Gazette, which, besides a summary of the general information they had received, exhibited some of the most flattering articles of the treaties, with their own comments upon them, to the people; in which the extraordinary equity, generosity, and unparalleled honour, (as they described it) of the French King, were extolled in the highest degree. In this piece, they seemed to count upon Spain as being already a virtual party to the alliance, and to consider the naval force of both nations as united in their cause. They also built much upon the friendship of other great powers, and boasted of the favourable disposition of Europe in general to America.

8th. About the same time, Gen. Sir Henry Clinton arrived to take the command of the army at Philadelphia, in the room of Sir William Howe; who returned to England, to the great regret of both officers and soldiery in general. In the beginning of June, the

the three Commissioners from England, being the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnstone, (with whom were joined in the commission, the Commander in Chief, Sir Henry Clinton) arrived in the Delaware.

June 9th. The Commissioners immediately dispatched a letter, with the late acts of parliament, a copy of their commission, and other papers, to the President of the Congress; but their Secretary, Dr. Ferguson, who was intended to convey the papers, and to act as an agent for conducting the negociation upon the spot with the Congress, being refused a passport for that purpose, they were obliged to forward them by common means.

The Commissioners proposed, even at this outset, several concessions and arrangements, which, at an earlier period, would have restored peace and felicity to the whole empire. They offered to consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities by sea and land.—To restore a free intercourse, and to renew the common benefits of naturalization through the several parts of the empire.—To extend every freedom to trade, that the respective interests on both sides could require.—To agree, that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the General Congress, or of the particular assemblies.—To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation.—To perpetuate the common union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents, from the different states, who should have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or, if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they might be deputed respectively, in order to attend to the several interests of those by whom they were deputed.—And, in short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government; so that the British states throughout North America, acting with Great Britain in peace and war, under one common Sovereign, might have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that was short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends.

Although these papers produced very considerable debates, which were renewed on different days, from the 11th to the 17th of June, in the Congress, yet the answer which they then returned, through the medium of their President, Henry Laurens, was sufficiently brief, however conclusive. They observed to the Commissioners, that the acts of the British parliament, the commission from their Sovereign, and their letter, supposed the people of those states to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and were founded on the idea of dependence, which was totally inadmissible. They informed them, that they were inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which the war originated, and the savage manner

manner in which it had been conducted. They would therefore be ready to enter upon the conſideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, when the King of Great Britain ſhould demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for that purpoſe. But, the only ſolid proof of that diſpoſition would be, an explicit acknowledgement of the independence of thoſe ſtates, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

Such were the conditions, which an unhappy concurrence of events induced on the one ſide, and which the operation of the ſame cauſes rendered inadmiſſible on the other. The Congreſs, at the ſame time, iſſued an unanimous approbation of Gen. Waſhington's conduct in refuſing a paſſport to Dr. Ferguſon.

Although the Congreſs, as a body, did not enter into any litigation with the Commiſſioners upon the general ſubject of their miſſion, yet ſome of their members, particularly Mr. Drayton, one of the delegates for South-Carolina, and others, perhaps, not officially connected with them, entered the liſts of controverſy in the public papers, with no ſmall degree of acrimony. For, as the Commiſſioners ſeemed to carry along with them an idea, which at the time of their appointment, was endeavoured with great care to be eſtabliſhed in England, viz. "that the bulk of the Americans were well affected to the Britiſh government, and that the greater part of the remainder were only held in a ſtate of deluſion by the Congreſs," they accordingly, upon this failure of negociation with that body, directed their future publications, in the manner of appeals to the people at large; ſeeming, thereby, to realize in ſome degree, the charge ſo repeatedly made on the other ſide, that their only object was, under the inſidious appearance of conciliation, to excite either a ſeparation amongſt the colonies, or the people to tumults againſt their reſpective governments. And, as the Congreſs not only permitted, but affected to forward, the publication of all matters upon the ſubject, ſo, the writers we have mentioned, undertook to obviate the effect, which thoſe iſſued by the Commiſſioners might have upon the people at large.

The ſtrongeſt argument which they held out upon this occaſion to the people was, that they had already concluded a ſolemn treaty with France, on the footing of, and for the eſtabliſhment of their independency. That if they now treated with the Commiſſioners upon the ground of dependence, they ſhould at once break their faith with France, forfeit their credit with all foreign nations, be conſidered as a faithleſs and infamous people, and for evermore be cut off from even the hope of foreign ſuccour or reſource. At the ſame time they would be thrown totally on the mercy of thoſe, who had already purſued every meaſure of fraud, force, cruelty, and deceit for their deſtruction; as neither the King, the Miniſters, nor the Parliament of England, would be under a neceſſity of ratifying any one condition which they agreed upon with the Commiſſioners. Or if they even found it neceſſary to ratify them for preſent purpoſes, it would be only to call a new parliament to undo the whole.

Nothing

Nothing, they said, could be trusted to an enemy whom they had already found so faithless, and so obstinately persevering in malice and cruelty. The fraudulent intention of the proposed negociation, they said, was strongly evinced, by the Commissioners holding out conditions which went far beyond their avowed powers; being neither warranted by the commission, nor by the acts of parliament which they presented.

If any strong hope of success in the negociation had remained, the evacuation of Philadelphia, and the consequent retreat of the army to the northward, just at the arrival of the Commissioners, would have completely frustrated them. Commissioners accompanying a retreating army, which was in the act of abandoning the principal advantage of two years war, could not promise themselves a great superiority in any treaty; and the more advantageous the offers which they should make in such circumstances, the more their concessions would be considered as proofs of weakness, not of good-will. This measure was carried into execution on the 18th of June, and the whole British army passed the Delaware on the same day, without interruption or danger, under the excellent dispositions made by the Admiral, Lord Howe, for the purpose.

Washington, having penetrated into the intention of abandoning Philadelphia, had already sent General Maxwell with his brigade to reinforce the Jersey militia, in order to throw every possible obstruction in the way of the British army, so that by impeding their progress, he might himself be enabled to bring up his force in such time, as to profit of those opportunities, which, it was well to be supposed, so long a march through so dangerous a country would have afforded, of attacking them with great advantage. This detached corps and the militia, did not, however, effect any thing more of importance than the breaking down of the bridges; the great superiority of the British force, having obliged them to abandon the strong pass at Mount Holly, without venturing an opposition.

The British army, notwithstanding, encountered much toil, difficulty, and numberless impediments in their march. They were encumbered with an enormous baggage, including provisions; the number of loaded horses and wheel-carriages being so great, as to cover an extent of twelve miles, in the narrow line of march, which the nature of the country and roads afforded. This incumbrance, so far at least as related to the provision, proceeded, however, from the foresight and wisdom of the General, Sir Henry Clinton; who being well aware, that the hostility of the country would cut off every source of subsistence from the troops, which was not within their own immediate comprehension, and being also uncertain as to the delays and obstructions which might occur on his march, was too prudent to put the fate of a whole army in any degree of hazard, for the trouble or difficulty that attended the conveyance of a certain and sufficient supply. The heat of the weather, which was then excessive, with the closeness of the narrow roads through the woods, and the constant labour of renewing or repairing bridges, in a country every where intersected with creeks

creeks and marshy brooks, were all together, severely felt by the army.

From all these causes, its progress was exceedingly slow, and nothing less than these could have accounted, for its spending so many days in traversing so narrow a country. When the army had advanced to Allen's Town, it became a matter of consideration with the General, whether to keep the direct course towards Staten Island, across the Rariton, or whether, by taking the road to his right, and drawing towards the sea-coast, he should push on to Sandy Hook. He knew that the Generals Washington and Lee, with the whole continental force on that side, had already passed the Delaware; and he had heard, that General Gates, with the northern army, was advancing to join them on the Rariton. The difficulty of passing the Rariton, and the circumstances with which it might have been attended, under his incumbrances, in the face of an enemy, with other concurring causes, determined him to the right-hand course, as much the more eligible.

On the other hand, General Washington, who had crossed the Delaware far above Philadelphia, at Coryal's Ferry, attributed, with his usual foresight and caution, the slow movements of the British army, to a design of decoying him into the low country, when, by a rapid movement on the right, they might gain possession of the strong grounds above him, and so enclosing his army to the river, force him to a general engagement under every disadvantage. Under this persuasion, in which it is possible his sagacity deceived him, as the peculiar circumstances of the British army rendered it really incapable of any such rapid movements as he apprehended, the slowness on the one side, retarded the motions on the other. It is, however, likewise probable, that Washington reserved himself entire for the passage of the Rariton; which he concluded would have been their course, and which he knew would have afforded him great advantage in an attack.

But when he discovered that the British army had departed from its expected line of direction, and was bending its way on the other side towards the sea-coast, he immediately changed his system, and sent several detachments of chosen troops, under the general conduct of the Marquis de Fayette, to harrass the army in its march, himself following, at a suitable distance, with the whole force. As affairs grew more critical upon the near approach of the van of one army to the rear of the other, General Lee was dispatched with two brigades, to reinforce, and to take the command of the advanced corps; which, by Washington's account, amounted then to about 5000 men, although from the several detachments which he specifies, it would seem to have been stronger.

Sir Henry Clinton, on the march to a place called Freehold, judging from the number of the enemy's light troops which hovered on his rear, that their main body was at no great distance, judiciously determined to free that part of the army, from the incumbrance and impediment of the baggage, which he accordingly placed under the conduct of General Knyphausen, who

who led the first column of the army. The other, which covered the line of march, being now disengaged and free for action, formed a body of troops which could not easily be equalled, and was under the immediate command of the General. It was composed of the 3d, 4th, and 5th brigades of British, two battalions of British, and the Hessian grenadiers, a battalion of light infantry, the guards, and the 16th regiment of light dragoons.

June 28th. On the morning after this arrangement, General Knyphausen, with the first division and the carriages, began at the break of day to move, directing their march towards Middletown, which lay ten or twelve miles on their way, in a high and strong country. The second division, under the Commander in Chief, continued for some hours on their ground in the neighbourhood of Freehold, both to cover the line of march, and to afford time for the chain of carriages to get clear on their way.

Having begun to march about eight o'clock, some parties of the enemy which appeared in the woods on their left flank, were engaged and dispersed by the light troops; but as the rear-guard descended from the heights above Freehold, into a valley about three miles in length, and one in breadth, several columns of the enemy appeared, likewise descending into the plain, who about ten o'clock began to cannonade the rear. The General at the same instant received intelligence, that the enemy were discovered marching in force on both his flanks. He was immediately struck, that an attack on the baggage was their principal object, and as the carriages were then entangled in defiles which continued for some miles, it seemed a matter of no small difficulty to obviate the danger.

In this critical situation, the General, with great quickness and presence of mind judged, that a vigorous attack, and severe pressure, upon that body of the enemy which harrassed his rear, would recall the detachments on his flanks to its assistance, and seemed to be the only probable means of saving the convoy. For although he had good information, that General Washington was at hand with his whole army, which he heard was estimated at 20,000 men; yet, as he knew that his main body was separated from that corps which attacked Lord Cornwallis, in the rear, by two considerable defiles, he was not apprehensive that he could pass a greater body of troops through them, during the execution of the measure which he intended, than what the force along with him was well able to oppose; whilst on the other hand, even with that division of the army, Washington's situation would not be a little critical, if he should chance to come upon him, when he was struggling in his passage through the defiles.

Guarding, however, against every possible result of the measure, and to be in preparation for the event of a general engagement, he recalled a brigade of the British Infantry, and the 17th regiment of light dragoons, from Knyphausen's division, and left direction for them to take a position which would effectually cover his right flank, being the side on which

which he was moſt jealous of the deſign of the enemy. In the mean time, the Queen's light dragoons, had with their uſual ſpirit attacked and routed the enemy's cavalry, under the Marquis de Fayette, and drove them back in confuſion on their own infantry. The General then made diſpoſitions to attack the enemy in the plain; but before he could advance, they fell unexpectedly back, and took a ſtrong poſition on the heights above Monmouth Court-Houſe.

The heat of the weather was in that ſeaſon always intenſe; but upon that particular day was ſo exceſſive, as to be ſeldom equalled, even in the ſultry ſummers of that continent; ſo that the troops were already greatly fatigued. The ſituation of the army, however, rendered the moſt vigorous exertion neceſſary. The Britiſh grenadiers, with their left to the village of Freehold, and the guards on their right, began the attack with ſuch ſpirit, that the enemy ſoon gave way. But their ſecond line preſerved a better countenance; and reſiſted a fierce and eager attack with great obſtinacy. They were, however, at length, completely routed; but in this exigency, with a very unuſual degree of recollection, as well as reſolution, took a third poſition with ſo much judgment, that their front was covered by a marſhy hollow, which ſcarcely admitted the practicability of an attack by that way.

Sir Henry Clinton brought up part of the ſecond line, and made ſome other diſpoſitions to attack the enemy in this poſt, and the light Infantry and Rangers, had already turned their left for that purpoſe; but the army in general, was now ſo overpowered by heat and fatigue, that upon conſideration, he thought it better not to purſue the affair any farther. He was alſo by this time confident, that the purpoſe which had induced him to the attack was gained, in the preſervation of the country. A bold attempt of the enemy, to cut off the retreat of the light Infantry, rendered ſome new movements, notwithſtanding the exceſſive toil of the day, ſtill neceſſary. The army at length returned to that poſition, from whence they had firſt driven the enemy, after their quitting the plain.

The General's opinion with reſpect to the deſign on the bagage, was juſtified in the event; and the propriety of his ſubſequent conduct in attacking the enemy on that principle confirmed. Two brigades of the enemy's light troops had paſſed the army, one on each flank, in that view, and had actually made the attempt; but by the good diſpoſitions made by the commanders, the firmneſs of the 40th regiment, and the ready ſervice of the light Horſe, they were repulſed at the firſt onſet, and the engagement in the plain then commencing, were immediately recalled.

Sir Henry Clinton having now fully attained his object, for the Generals Knyphauſen and Grant, with the firſt diviſion and baggage, were arrived at Nut Swamp, near Middletown, could have no inducement for continuing in his preſent ſituation. The troops had already gained ſufficient honour, in forcing ſucceſſively, from two ſtrong poſitions, a corps of the enemy, which, he was informed, amounted to near 12,000 men; and the merit of the ſervice was much enhanced, by the

unparalleled circumstances of heat and fatigue under which it was performed. The enemy were much superior in force to the division immediately under his command; and if the country had been even nearly as open as could still seem imprudent to have hazarded an engagement, he was at a distance from the rest of the army, in a country, not only entirely hostile, but which from its nature, must have been ruinous to dislodge under any circumstance of defeat. And as the heat of the weather rendered marching by day intolerable, so the moon-light added much to the eligibility of the night for that purpose. Upon some or all of these accounts, the troops having reposed till ten o'clock, the army was again put in motion, and they marched forward to join their fellows.

Such was the detail of the action at Freehold, or Monmouth, as it is otherwise called, as given on our side. The loss, in slain, was not considerable in point of number, but rendered grievous by that of the brave Colonel Monckton. That gallant officer, who had frequently encountered death in all its forms, had the fortune of being more than once grievously wounded, both in the last war, and the present; and after the hair-breadth escape of a recovery, when left among the dead on the field, was only reserved to be killed on this day, at the head of the second battalion of Grenadiers. This day and action were also rendered remarkable by the singular circumstance, unparalleled in the history of the New World, of 59 soldiers perishing! without receiving a wound, merely through the excessive heat and fatigue. Several of the Americans also, inured as they were to the climate, died through the same cause.

The Americans claim great honour to that part of their troops which had an opportunity of being engaged in this action. They likewise claim, though without any apparent ground, the advantage as the affair now stands; but pretend that they should have gained a complete and decisive victory, if it had not been for the misconduct and disobedience of orders of General Lee. That officer, had some time before, by an exchange, obtained a release from his long confinement at New York; and we have already seen, was appointed to take the command of those different bodies of troops, which had been detached to harrass the British army, and to impede its march.

It appears from General Washington's account of the matter, that he being well informed, that if the British army once gained the high and strong country near Middletown, no attempt could afterwards be made upon them, with the smallest prospect of success, he accordingly determined to fall upon their rear immediately upon their departure from the strong grounds in the neighbourhood of Freehold, on which they had encamped during the night of the 27th. He communicated this intention to General Lee, with orders to make his dispositions for the attack, and to keep the troops lying upon their arms in constant preparation; which he also practised himself in the main body.

Washington having received an express at five in the morning, that the British army had begun their march, immediately dispatched an order to Lee to attack them; acquainting

quitting them at the same time, that he was marching directly to their support, and that for the greater expedition, he should take his men to dislodge the enemy of that part of their baggage, which it appears from thence they carried upon their backs. To his great surprize and mortification, however, when he had marched above five miles, he met the whole advanced corps retreating, which they informed him was by General Lee's orders, without their making the smallest opposition, excepting the single fire of one detachment, to repulse the British light horse.

The General found the rear of the retreating corps hard pressed by the enemy; but, by forming them anew, under the brave and spirited exertions of their officers, (as he says) he soon checked the advance of the British forces, and, having by this means gained time to plant some batteries of cannon, and to bring up fresh forces, the engagement hung in an equal poize. In this situation, (he continues) the enemy finding themselves warmly opposed in front, made an attempt to turn his left flank, but were bravely repulsed and driven back by some detached parties of infantry. A similar attempt on the right, was repelled by General Green; who afterwards, in conjunction with General Wayne, took such positions, and kept up so severe and well directed a fire, as compelled the British forces to retire behind that defile, where the first stand had been made in the beginning of the action.

In that situation, in which their flanks were secured by thick woods and morasses, and their front only assailable through a narrow defile, he notwithstanding, made [illegible] tions (he says) for attacking them; but the darkness came on so fast as not to afford time for their surmounting the impediments in their way. The main body, however, lay all night upon their arms on the place of action, as the detached parties did in the several positions which they had been ordered to take, under a full determination of attacking the British army with the day appeared; but they retreated in such profound silence in the night, that the most advanced posts, and those very near them, knew nothing of their departure until morning.

Washington represents the number of British buried by the Americans, to be about four times greater, than the loss acknowledged by our Gazette, and his own, as much under that state. He says, they carried off their wounded, excepting four officers and about forty soldiers. He gives high and unusual praise, and expresses himself under the greatest obligation to the zeal, bravery, and conduct of his officers; and says, the behaviour of the troops in general, after they had recovered from the surprize, occasioned by the retreat of the advanced corps, was such as could not be surpassed. The public acknowledgements of the Congress, were very flattering to the army, but particularly to the General and to his officers; in which they affected to consider this action as a battle, and the result as a great and important victory, obtained over the grand British army, under the immediate command of their General.

Washington took care to inform the Congress, that the nature of

the country rendered any further pursuit of the British army fruitless, and all attempts to disturb their embarkation at Sandy Hook, equally impracticable and dangerous. He accordingly detached only some light troops to observe and attend their motions, and drew off the main body of the army to the borders of the North River.

The Americans lost some officers of name in this action; particularly a Colonel Bonner of Pensylvania, and a Major Dickenson of Virginia, both of whom were much regretted.

It appears that General Washington used some very harsh and severe expressions, in the face of the army, to General Lee, upon meeting him, on the retreat of his corps, from the place of action; amounting to a direct charge of a disobedience of orders, want of conduct, or want of courage. This produced two passionate letters from Lee, (who was likewise put under arrest) with an answer from Washington, all written on the day or night of the action. A court martial was instantly demanded, and as instantly ordered; and so speedily carried into execution, as to be opened at Brunswick on the 4th of July. The charges laid against Lee were, first, disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions. For misbehaviour before the enemy on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat. And lastly, for disrespect to the Commander in chief, by the two letters we have mentioned. The result of the Court, after a trial which lasted to the 12th of August, was the finding General Lee guilty of the first charge. The finding him in part guilty of the second, "Of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary, and, in some few instances, a disorderly retreat." They also found him guilty of disrespect to the Commander in chief; and sentenced him, to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States, for the term of twelve months. It is impossible for us to enter into the merits of this sentence; in which party might have had a great share. When a dispute had been carried to so great an height, between an officer on whom the Americans reposed their chief consequence, and one subordinate and less popular, it is not difficult to divine where the blame will be laid.

In the mean time, the British army arrived at the high lands of Navesink, in the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook, on the last of June; at which latter place, the fleet from the Delaware, under Lord Howe, after being detained in that river by calms, had most fortunately arrived on the preceding day. It had happened in the preceding winter, that the peninsula of Sandy Hook, had been cut off from the continent, and converted to an absolute island, by a violent breach of the sea; a circumstance then of little moment, but which might now have been attended with the most fatal consequences. By the happy arrival of the fleet, at the instant when its assistance was so critically necessary, the ability of the noble commander, and the extraordinary efforts of the seamen, this impediment was speedily removed; a

bridge

bridge of boats being completed with such expedition, that the whole army was passed over this new channel on the 5th of July; and were afterwards conveyed with ease to New York; neither army nor navy yet knowing the circumstances of danger and ruin in which they had been so nearly involved.

For an unexpected enemy had now arrived on the coast of North America, who was to give a new, and a strange turn to the circumstances of the war. On the second day after the conveyance of the army from Sandy Hook, Lord Howe received intelligence by his cruizers, that D'Estaing's fleet had been seen on the coast of Virginia, on the very day that the army had passed the bridge at Sandy Hook. If D'Estaing had met the transports, either in the Delaware, or on the passage from thence, loaded and encumbered as they were, and convoyed only by two ships of the line, with a number of frigates, the consequence with respect to the fleet is obvious. But it may not so immediately appear, that the fate of the army was so intimately combined with that of the fleet, that the destruction of the one, would have been the inevitable loss of the other. For as the army could not then, by any possible means, have prosecuted its way to New York, and would have been enclosed on one side by the American army, and on the other by the French fleet, cut off from all supply of provision, and destitute of every resource, a repetition of the Saratoga catastrophe, must have been the certain consequence.

Although this fatal event was prevented by the bad weather, and unexpected impediments which D'Estaing met with on his voyage; yet, if he had directed his course directly to New York, instead of the Chesapeak or Delaware, things could scarcely have been better: as he would then have come upon the fleet and army, when they were entangled, either with the laying or passing of the bridge at Sandy Hook. In either circumstance destruction would have been inevitable; and would have been of an amount and magnitude, with respect both to the marine and land service, and the consequences hanging upon it, which, perhaps, has not been equalled of late ages. But D'Estaing's great object was the surprise of the fleet in the Delaware, and the consequent enclosure of the army at Philadelphia; fortunately the winds and weather frustrated his design. Upon the whole, it may not be easy to point out a more signal or providential deliverance.

The danger, though lessened, was not, however, immediately removed; and it still required the most consummate ability and fortitude, to render the kindness of fortune effective. On the 4th day after the account was received of his arrival on the coast, and subsequent advice of his having anchored at the Delaware being also received, D'Estaing appeared suddenly, and rather unexpectedly, in sight of the British fleet at Sandy Hook. His force was great, and in good condition, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and three frigates of superior size. Among the former, were several ships of great force and weight of metal; one carrying 90, another 80, and six carrying July 11.

94 guns each; and the ſquadron was ſaid to have no leſs than eleven thouſand men on board. On the other ſide, the Britiſh fleet under Lord Howe, conſiſted of ſix ſixty-four gun ſhips, three of fifty, and two of forty guns, with ſome frigates and ſloops. Moſt of the former had been long on ſervice, were accordingly in bad condition, and were alſo wretchedly manned. If any thing, however, could remedy ſuch eſſential defects, it might have been hoped for, from the ſuperior abilities of their Commander, and the excellency of his Officers.

They had, however, the advantage of being in poſſeſſion of that port or harbour which is formed by Sandy Hook; the entrance of which is covered by a bar, and from whence the inlet paſſes to New York. The expected, and avowed object of D'Eſtaing, was to force that paſſage, and to attack the Engliſh ſquadron in the harbour. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of preparation made by Lord Howe, that the time could poſſibly admit; yet, from contrary winds, and other unavoidable incidents, the ſhips were not completely arrived in their reſpective ſituations of defence, nor had there been time to chooſe thoſe ſituations with the judgment which was afterwards exerciſed, when D'Eſtaing appeared without the Hook. Under theſe circumſtances, which, with reſpect to the effect, might be conſidered, in ſome degree, as affording the advantages of a ſurpriſe, if he had puſhed on directly to paſs the bar and force the paſſage, it would ſeem, that neither the advantage of ſituation, nor any eminence of ability or virtue on the other ſide, could be capable of counteracting the vaſt ſuperiority of his force. The conflict would have been undoubtedly dreadful; and perhaps, in that reſpect, might have exceeded any thing known in naval hiſtory; but the greateſt portion of human ſpirit, muſt require ſome adequate degree of ſtrength, to render its exertions effective.

A diverſity of opinion ſeems to prevail, on the practicability of the great ſhips of the French fleet paſſing in force through the ſtrait, and over the bar. Some are of opinion that it might have been attempted with prudence. If ſo, it may be conſidered as a happineſs on all ſides, that D'Eſtaing was not poſſeſſed of that ſpirit of enterprize which would have been equal to ſo arduous an attempt; that the terror of the Britiſh flag was yet in no degree weakened; and that the name of the noble Commander who oppoſed him, added ſome weight to that effect. D'Eſtaing accordingly caſt anchor on the Jerſey ſide, about four miles without the Hook, and in the vicinity of the ſmall town of Shrewſbury.

The ſpirit that was diſplayed on this occaſion, not only in the fleet and army, but through every order and denomination of ſeamen, was never exceeded, and will not often be equalled. A thouſand volunteers were immediately diſpatched from the tranſports to the fleet. The remainder of the crews, could not reſtrain their indignation at being left behind, and ſought every poſſible means, by hiding in the boats or otherwiſe, to eſcape on board the men of war; ſo that the agents could ſcarcely keep by force

force a ſufficient number of hands for the watch of their reſpective ſhips. The maſters and mates of the merchantmen and traders at New York, ſolicited employment with the greateſt earneſtneſs; and took their ſtations at the guns with the common ſailors. Others hazarded every thing, by putting to ſea in light veſſels, to watch the motions of the enemy, and perform other neceſſary ſervices. One in particular, with a noble diſintereſtedneſs and gallantry, which may be compared with any thing known in hiſtory, offered to convert his veſſel (in which his whole hope and fortune lay) into a fire-ſhip, to be conducted by himſelf; and ſpurned with diſdain every propoſal of indemnification or reward.

It will afford no ſurpriſe, that this ſpirit ſhould ſhine out in the army with equal luſtre; and that the light infantry and grenadiers, who had ſcarcely recovered the fatigue of a moſt toilſome and dangerous march, and with many of the Officers wounds ſtill green and ſore, ſhould, notwithſtanding, contend with ſuch eagerneſs, to ſerve on board the men of war as marines, that the point of honour was obliged to be decided by lots. In a word, the public ſpirit, zeal, bravery, and magnanimity, diſplayed upon this occaſion, would have ſtamped a character upon a nation that before had none; and is an honour even to this country. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the popularity of the noble Commander, and the confidence founded on his great qualities, contributed not a little to theſe exertions.

The French fleet continued at anchor in the poſition we have mentioned, and taking in water and proviſions, for eleven days. It may be well ſuppoſed, that as D'Eſtaing did not profit of the firſt opportunity that offered, that any attempt made by him, after the exertions on the other ſide had taken their full effect, and the judicious defenſive diſpoſitions made by the Britiſh Admiral were completed, would have been not only ineffectual, but probably (notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of his force) ruinous. Neither the confidence ariſing from D'Eſtaing's heſitation, or from their own courage, was, however, any allay to the mixed paſſions of grief and indignation which now agitated the Britiſh ſeamen. They endured the mortification, for the firſt time, of ſeeing a Britiſh fleet blocked up and inſulted in their own harbour, and the French flag flying triumphant without; and this was ſtill more deeply embittered and aggravated, by beholding every day, veſſels under Engliſh colours (who had ſtill been ignorant of the loſs of their uſual protection), captured under their eyes by the enemy. They looked out every hour with the utmoſt anxiety, and in the moſt eager expectation, for the arrival of Byron's ſquadron.

D'Eſtaing's fleet at length appeared under way; and as the wind was favourable, and the ſpring tides at the higheſt (the water riſing that afternoon thirty feet on the bar) it was expected that he intended to carry his long delayed menace into execution; and that that day would have afforded one of the

July 22.

hottest and most desperate engagements that had ever been fought, during the long enmity and rivalship that had subsisted between the two nations. Every thing was at stake on the British side. If the naval force was destroyed, (and nothing less than destruction or victory could have ended the conflict) the vast fleets of transports and victuallers, with the army, must all have fallen along with it. D'Estaing, however, thought the attempt too dangerous; and shaping his course another way, was in a few hours out of sight.

Nothing was ever more critical than this commander's stay at Sandy Hook; and few things could be more fortunate in the present circumstances, than his departure at the exact period that he did. For if the whole, or any part, of Admiral Byron's fleet had arrived during his stay, considering the ruined state in which it reached the coasts of America, there could scarcely have been a hope, of its not falling, almost, a defenceless prey into his hands. That unfortunate squadron is said to have been, in many respects, badly equipped and provided. In this state they had the fortune of meeting unusually bad weather for the season; and being separated in different storms, and lingering through a tedious passage, arrived, scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted, or otherwise damaged, in various degrees of distress, upon different and remote parts of the coast of America. Between the departure of D'Estaing on the 22d and the 30th of July, the Renown, of 50 guns, from the West Indies, the Raisonable and Centurion of 64 and 50, from Hallifax, and the Cornwall, (one of Admiral Byron's squadron) of 74 guns, all arrived singly at Sandy Hook. The joy arising from this reinforcement, could scarcely be superior to that excited by a sense of the imminent danger which they had so fortunately escaped. It seemed no less an instance of good fortune, that the Cornwall was in better condition than most of the other ships of that squadron.

This failure of the excellently laid scheme, which had been concerted by the French ministry with the American deputies at Paris, for the surprize and capture of the British fleet and army, whether on the Delaware or its borders, necessarily called for new counsels and measures. Rhode Island was the object now fixed upon, as that which would admit the mutual operation of the new allies by land and sea. This was the motive of D'Estaing's departure from Sandy Hook; and for this purpose, General Sullivan assembled a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Providence, for an invasion of the island, on its north end, from the continent; whilst D'Estaing, was to enter the harbour of Newport, near its southern extremity, and after destroying the shipping, by a powerful assault on the works facing the sea, to place the British forces between two fires.

The French fleet either blocked up or entered the several inlets, between which Rhode Island, and its adjoining lesser islands, are enclosed, and which form a communication more or less navigable in the different branches, between the open sea and the back continent, on the 29th of July. The

main body cast anchor without Brenton's Ledge, about five miles from Newport; two of their line of battle ships ran up the Naragansett passage, and anchored off the north end of the island of Conanicut, where they were shut up several days from rejoining the fleet by contrary winds; while some of their frigates, entering the Seconnet passage, occasioned the blowing up of the King Fisher sloop and two armed gallies, which could not otherwise avoid falling into the hands of the enemy.

Major General Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded the British forces, took every measure in the power of a brave and experienced officer, that could tend to a vigorous and most obstinate defence. The troops, artillery, and cattle, were immediately conveyed from the island of Conanicut; the troops at the out posts in Rhode Island, were in constant readiness, at the first signal, to join the main body; the works to the sea were strengthened by every possible means, and the seamen belonging to the vessels that were destroyed, as well as those that could be spared from others, were called to their favourite occupation of serving the artillery. The transports (which must otherwise have fallen into the enemies hands) were sunk in different parts of those channels and passages, which might have afforded them an opportunity of attacking the works with advantage. The royal frigates were removed as far from danger as possible: but as their loss or destruction must be inevitable, in the prosecution of the enemy's design, they were dismantled of their artillery and stores, and the necessary measures taken for securing the latter part of the alternative.

Two opposite bays, in the inlets on the eastern and western sides of the island, compress it so much, as to form a kind of Isthmus, by which the southern end, that spreads into the ocean, is connected with the main body. The town of Newport lies just within this peninsula, at the opening of the Isthmus, on the western side of the island, and facing the island of Conanicut; the space between both forming a bay, which includes, or forms the harbour. The inlet to the harbour from the sea, called the Middle Channel, is narrow, and enclosed by Brenton's Point, and the opposite point of Conanicut, which form the southern extremities of both islands. A bar of high grounds, which crosses the Isthmus from channel to channel above Newport, was strongly covered with lines, redoubts, and artillery; so that the Peninsula might be considered as a garrison, distinct from the rest of the island; and under the protection of a superior naval force, might in a great measure defy any attempts from the northern side, supposing that an enemy had made good its landing in such circumstances. But the enemy being masters by sea, rendered the task of defence, under the apprehension of an attack on both sides at the same time, exceedingly arduous. The commander had however, just before, received a reinforcement of five battalions; the troops were in excellent condition and spirit; and the body of seamen, both with respect to labour and danger, were no small addition to their means of resistance.

The force destined against them by land, was not so considerable as their information had led them

to

to apprehend. The buſineſs on that ſide ſeems to have been committed moſtly, if not entirely, to the northern colonies, who were thoſe immediately concerned in the event. General Sullivan, is however ſaid to have aſſembled about 10,000 men; of whom, at leaſt half, were compoſed of volunteers from New England and Connecticut. As the operations of the French fleet, were regulated by thoſe of the army on land, they continued inactive, until Sullivan was in condition to paſs over from the continent to the north end of the iſland. On the 8th of Auguſt, finding that meaſure in forwardneſs, and the wind being favourable, they entered the harbour under an eaſy ſail, cannonading the batteries and town as they paſſed, and receiving their fire, without any material effect on either ſide. They anchored above the town, between Goat Iſland and Conanicut, but nearer to the latter, on which both the French and Americans had parties for ſome days paſt.

As ſoon as the determination of the enemy to enter the harbour became apparent, the commanders found themſelves under the grievous neceſſity of burning the Orpheus, Lark, Juno, and Cerberus frigates; as they were ſoon after of ſinking the Flora and Falcon.

As ſoon as Lord Howe received advice of the danger of Rhode Iſland, he determined to attempt every thing, which reſolution, under the direction of reaſon and judgment, could undertake for its preſervation. His ſquadron, notwithſtanding the late reinforcements, was ſtill, with reſpect to effective force, and weight of metal, ſo far inferior to the enemy, that to hazard an engagement, without ſome collateral advantage to counteract ſo great a ſuperiority, would ſeem a degree of raſhneſs inconſiſtent with his character. In point of number, he was indeed ſuperior to the French, his ſquadron now conſiſting of one 74, ſeven 64, and five 50 gun ſhips, beſides ſeveral frigates; but the great deficiency in other reſpects, appears from the bare recital of the rates. Every thing in ſuch a ſituation was, however, to be tried, and he was determined that nothing ſhould be left undone. The account indeed he received of the ſeparated ſtate of the French fleet, ſome of them involved in the channels, and the bulk lying without, afforded ſome room for a hope, that he might bring on an engagement upon more equal terms than could have been otherwiſe expected.

But notwithſtanding the utmoſt poſſible expedition, he met with ſuch unavoidable delays, that he was not able to reach Rhode Iſland, until the day after the French fleet had entered that harbour. Aug. 9th. From the ſituation in which the enemy now lay, he was enabled to communicate directly with General Pigot; the reſult of which was, that under the preſent circumſtances, the affording him any eſſential relief was impracticable.

A ſudden change of wind to the north-eaſt, afforded an equal change of circumſtances, and on the following day, the French Admiral ſtood out to ſea with the whole fleet, thoſe in the Naraganſet Paſſage, as well as the port. Lord Howe, juſtly deeming the weather-gage too great an advantage

vantage to be added to the ſuperior force of the enemy, contended for that object with all the ſkill and judgment incident to an able and experienced ſeaman. On the other hand, D'Eſtaing, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority, was as eager to preſerve this advantage, as his adverſary to obtain it. This conteſt of ſeamanſhip prevented an engagement 11th. on that day; but the wind on the following ſtill continuing adverſe to the deſign of the Britiſh Admiral, he determined to make the beſt of the preſent circumſtances, and to engage the enemy; forming the line in ſuch a manner as to be joined by three fire ſhips, which were under the tow of as many frigates. A ſtrong gale of wind, which afterwards increaſed to a violent tempeſt, and continued for near 48 hours, not only put by the engagement by ſeparating the fleets, for the preſent, but ſcattered them in ſuch a manner, and cauſed ſo much damage on both ſides, as rendered an engagement for ſome time impracticable.

The French ſuffered greatly in this tempeſt, two of their capital ſhips being diſmaſted, and others much damaged. Some untoward ſituations, and unuſual circumſtances, were produced by this conflict of the elements. The Languedoc of 90 guns, D'Eſtaing's own ſhip, had loſt all her maſts, and was met in that condition on the evening of the 13th, by the Renown of 50 guns, Capt. Dawſon, who attacked her with ſuch fury, as well as judgment and advantage, that no doubt could have been entertained of the event, if the daylight had continued. But the darkneſs of the night, and freſhneſs of the gale, whoſe violence was not yet quite allayed, compelled Capt. Dawſon to ceaſe from his attack, after he had poured ſeveral broadſides cloſe into her, and had, beſides other apparent damage, ſhot away her rudder. He, however, lay to, as cloſely as poſſible, for the night, intending to renew the attack in the morning, and conſidering her as little leſs than a certain prize. The appearance of ſix French men of war, by whom he was chaced at day light, and who were poſſibly led that way by the firing, put an end to Dawſon's hopes, and relieved the French Admiral from this very urgent diſtreſs.

Upon the ſame evening, and about the ſame hour, the Preſton, likewiſe of 50 guns, Commodore Hotham, fell in with the Tonnant, a French 80 gun ſhip, with only her main-maſt ſtanding. The Commodore attacked her with the ſame ſpirit and effect, with which Captain Dawſon had engaged the Languedoc. The circumſtances were likewiſe ſimilar in every reſpect. The night obliged him to draw off, with the ſame intention of renewing the engagement, and under the ſame certainty of ſucceſs; whilſt the appearance of a part of the French fleet in the morning, fruſtrated both.

The circumſtances of advantage afforded by the tempeſt, were not, however, entirely confined to one ſide. It held out one on the other, which was productive of one of the moſt gallant and brilliant naval actions, of this, or of any war. The Iſis of 50 Aug. 16th. guns, Capt. Raynor, was eagerly chaced and engaged by a French 74 gun flag ſhip, ſuppoſed to be the Zèle, though other accounts ſay the Ceſar. The

French-

Frenchman was much the better sailer, and the circumstances of the ships with respect to the tempest were the same; they having both entirely escaped the effects of its fury. In this very unequal contest, in which the greatest resolution and skill would seem incapable of supplying the deficiency of force on the one side, a close and desperate engagement was maintained with the greatest obstinacy on both, for an hour and a half, and within pistol shot distance. At the end of that time, the Isis had obtained so manifest a superiority in the action, that the French ship was glad to put before the wind, and call in the aid of all her sails, to escape from so determined an enemy. The Isis had suffered so much in her masts and rigging as to be incapable of attempting a pursuit.

It is not easy to determine whether to admire more, the gallantry exhibited in this singular action, or the modesty of the brave commander in his account of it. This was indeed so extreme, that his Admiral was obliged in some degree to supply the defect, by acquainting the Admiralty, that the honour of the day was not more owing to the resolution of the Captain, or the intrepidity of his officers and crew, than to the professional skill and ability of the former. The loss of men was considerable on the French side, and M. de Bougainville, the celebrated and philosophic navigator, who was their commander, is said to have lost an arm in the action. The loss in the Isis was very moderate. The high honour which the young Duke of Ancaster acquired as a volunteer in this action, only serves to embitter the loss which his country has since sustained, by the premature death of a nobleman, who so early distinguished himself in her service, and from whom she had so much to expect.

Although the British squadron suffered much less in the storm than the French, yet their damage was so considerable, as unavoidably to cost some time at Sandy Hook or New York, in proportion to their wants, whether only to refit, or to repair. The French fleet returned to Rhode Island on the 20th, where they anchored without the harbour, and sailed from thence on the 22nd for Boston, in order to repair their shattered ships. Lord Howe, having got his ships in condition with an expedition that surprized every body, pursued them with the greatest eagerness, hoping to overtake them by the way.

In the mean time, General Sullivan had landed on the north end of Long Island, by the way of Howland's Ferry, on the 9th of August, being the day that D'Estaing went out of the harbour to meet Lord Howe. The extreme badness of the weather, impeded for some days the bringing forward of his stores and artillery, and of course retarded the progress of his army. On the 17th, however, they broke ground on Honeyman's Hill, near the British works, and began to construct batteries, and to form lines of approach; the British forces being no less active, in throwing up new works, and constructing new batteries, to counteract theirs. We have already observed, that General Pigot was under no great apprehension of an attack in front; the

the general object of apprehension was the concurrent assault of D'Estaing on the town and works to the water; but the great point of danger was his landing a body of troops in the southern peninsula, which would have laid the garrison open in the rear, whilst they were desperately engaged on the front and flank in defence of their works.

The critical and most timely appearance of Lord Howe with the British squadron, happily obviated this apprehension and danger in the first instance; and D'Estaing's consequent departure, or flight to Boston, removed them entirely. His sailing out of the harbour to engage Lord Howe, does not seem by any means to have been a judicious measure. The nature of the port, the narrowness of the passage from the sea, with the means of defence afforded by the island of Conanicut, which was occupied by himself and his allies, held out, all together, so strong a security to his fleet, that scarcely any naval superiority, which, however, did not exist, could have justified any attempt upon it. In this state, it would seem, that he should first have secured his object, which appears to have been much within his reach, before he put out to sea, either to engage, or to seek for Lord Howe. But vanity seems here to have had some share in his determination. The glory of vanquishing a British squadron, and of obtaining a triumph over a commander of great name, and of a country which so seldom afforded such laurels, was a temptation not to be resisted by D'Estaing.

Yet, after all the ill consequences of this vain and ruinous pursuit, if he had entered the harbour, and co-operated with the Americans, in conformity with their most earnest solicitations, when he anchored the second time before Rhode Island, it would seem that the state of the garrison would have been extremely perilous, and that he had a fair prospect of retrieving, by a stroke of no small importance, the failure of success in his grand object. Such a successful co-operation would likewise have had a wonderful effect in conciliating the minds of his new allies, and in giving them an idea, which they were not very apt to entertain, of the vigour and efficacy of French councils and arms. It may indeed be objected, and truly, that his two dismasted ships could not have been repaired, nor, perhaps, the rest of his squadron refitted, at Rhode Island; but as they might have continued there in perfect security for any length of time, if he had succeeded in his object, this objection does not appear to be of sufficient weight for its being abandoned.

The American army in Rhode Island, and the people of the Northern Colonies in general, complained loudly of this conduct. They said, that they had been led into an expedition, of prodigious expence, labour, trouble, and danger, under the assurance, of the most effective co-operation of the French fleet. That, under this sanction, they had committed their lives and liberties on the invasion of an island, where, without a naval protection, they were likely to be enclosed like wild beasts in a toil; and that in this situation, they were first deserted, for a vain and fruitless pursuit, and then totally

totally abandoned, at the very time that they had brought the buſineſs on their ſide to the point of completion.

Under theſe diſcontents and apprehenſions, Sullivan was deſerted by the New England and Connecticut volunteers, who compoſed the better half of his army; and by this means, if we credit the American accounts, his numbers were ſo much reduced, as to be inferior, in point of force, to the garriſon. In theſe circumſtances, and under the immediate apprehenſion of his retreat being cut off, Sullivan extricated himſelf with a degree of prudence and ability, which would have done honour to an older General; nor would the behaviour of his troops have diſgraced more veteran ſoldiers.

Having begun to ſend off his heavy artillery and baggage on the 26th of Auguſt, he retreated from his lines on the 29th; and though he was moſt vigorouſly purſued, and repeatedly attacked in every quarter wherever an opening was made, by the Britiſh forces, yet he took his meaſures ſo well, and had choſen his poſts ſo judiciouſly, that although much honour was claimed and deſerved on both ſides, he gained the north end of the iſland without ſuſtaining any conſiderable loſs. Being there, from the nature of the ground, and the ſituation of his poſts, in a ſtate of ſecurity, he paſſed his army over by the way of Briſtol and Hoyland ferries, on the night of the 30th, without interruption, to the continent. Nor was his good fortune inferior to his conduct, as Sir Henry Clinton arrived juſt after with ſuch a force from New York, as would have left no doubt of the fate of his forces, if they had ſtill continued on the iſland.

On the ſame day that Sullivan abandoned Rhode Iſland, Lord Howe entered the bay of Boſton, where, to his great mortification, he found that D'Eſtaing was arrived before him. This was, however, increaſed, when upon a cloſe inſpection he diſcovered, that he was ſo effectually covered in Nantaſket Road, by the batteries erected, and the meaſures of defence taken, by the Americans and French, on the adjacent points and iſlands, that an attack upon him, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, was utterly impracticable.

Thus, with great honour to himſelf, and advantage to his country, did that great naval commander, bring the campaign with his powerful adverſary to a concluſion. With an inferiority of force, which held out mere preſervation as the ſummit of hope, he, by a continued and rapid ſucceſſion of the greateſt poſſible exertions, maſterly manoeuvres, and wiſe meaſures, having firſt counteracted, and at length defeated, all the views and attempts of his enemy, obliged him to fly for refuge to thoſe new allies whom he came to protect, and inſulted him under that protection. Leaving him in a condition at parting, which rendered him incapable of any further ſervice in thoſe ſeas for the remainder of the year.

CHRONI-

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. IN the course of last year there was imported into London, from Newcastle and Sunderland, 692093¾ chalders of coals, which is 5514¼ chalders short of the import for the preceding year. Of cinders and Scotch coals 7015 chalders were also imported there. During last year 4792 ships cleared at the Custom-house, 4390 of which coastwise, and 402 for foreign ports.

Petersburgh, Dec. 23. The Great Dutchess was safely delivered of a Prince this morning, at half an hour past ten o'clock: Her Imperial Highness and the young Prince are as well as can be expected. This joyful event was announced to the public, at noon, by the firing of two hundred and one guns from the fortress and admiralty. The Empress gave the young Prince, immediately after his birth, the name of Alexander; but the day for the ceremony of his baptism is not yet fixed.

Munich, Dec. 30. His Serene Highness Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, who had been ill of the small-pox about three weeks, died at a quarter past one o'clock this afternoon, in the 51st year of his age.

On the same day that the above Prince died, the Elector Palatine was proclaimed his successor. It is certain, however, that the Emperor will dispute his title. Near 20,000 Austrian troops have already marched to take possession of the Bavarian estates; and letters from Munich advise, that Mr. Kressel, the Imperial Counsellor of State, arrived there with a notary and two scriveners to take possession of all, and regulate every thing, as it is in Austria.

3d. This day as his Majesty was getting out of his chair in the passage, near the Friary, leading to the back stairs at St. James's, a woman suddenly rushed before the chair, and was going to lay hold on him, but he with difficulty avoided her. The King asked her "What she wanted?" To which she gave an impudent answer, and said her name was Queen Beck. She afterwards said that her name was Rebecca O'Hara, that she was born in Ireland, and had been in England five years, and that she lodged at a public-house near Red Lion-square. On enquiry this was found to be false, and in order to determine whether she was really out of her senses, Sir John Fielding committed her to Tothillfields Bridewell for further examination. She has since proved to be a lunatic, and proper care is taken of her.

3d. The following is a list of the new intended corps, sent from

from the Secretary of State's office.

72d. The royal Mancheſter volunteers.

Col. William Gordon's (brother to Lord Aberdeen.)

Col. M'Kenzie's (Lord M'Leod.)

Lieutenant Colonel Commandant John M'Donnel's, now Major in the 71ſt.

Col. Francis M'Lean's—aſſiſted by the Duke of Hamilton.

Col. James Murray's—Athol Highlanders, (uncle to the Duke of Athol.)

Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell's—Argyleſhire Highlanders.

Another battallion of 1000 men is forthwith to be added to Lord John Murray's regiment of Highlanders.

7th. This day at a meeting of the Middleſex juſtices, held at Guildhall, Weſtminſter, it was unanimouſly agreed, that Hicks's Hall be pulled down, and rebuilt on the ſame ſpot.

10th. At a meeting held about the latter end of December, for the purpoſe of relieving the diſtreſſes of the American priſoners, a ſubſcription was entered into for immediately ſupplying them with cloathing and other neceſſaries, when the ſum of 3,815l. 17s. 6d. being ſubſcribed, and that ſum, with the collection in the country, being more than ſufficient for their preſent neceſſities, the ſubſcription was this day cloſed. The number of American priſoners now confined in the ſeveral gaols throughout the kingdom, according to the returns to government, is rated at 924 perſons. The ſum collected for them, if all paid in, will amount to upwards of 4l. per man.

14th. At a very numerous and reſpectable quarterly court of the Society for Relief of Perſons impriſoned for Small Debts, the accompts were audited; when it appeared, that

218 { Debtors had been diſcharged ſince September 30,

who had 113 wives,
and 382 children:

So that 713 diſtreſſed objects, probably, have been kept from becoming burthenſome to their reſpective pariſhes, for the trifling ſum of 399l. 19s. 3d. which is not quite 1l. 17s. 8d. for each family, nor 11s. 1d. for each individual thereof; without taking into the accompt the benefit derived to the ſeveral plaintiffs, whoſe families are generally in as great diſtreſs as the ſeveral debtors.

16th. A court of common-council was held at Guildhall, when a motion being made and queſtion put, "That a ſubſcription be forthwith opened under the conduct of a committee of this court, for the paying bounties to ſuch able-bodied men, who ſhall preſent (and inliſt) themſelves (before the ſaid committee) to ſerve in his Majeſty's ſea or land ſervice for the term of three years, or until the end of the preſent war;" the ſame was reſolved in the negative by a majority of 3 to 1.

A motion being made and queſtion put, "That it is the opinion of this court, that to give any countenance to, or to be in any manner inſtrumental in, the farther continuance of the preſent ruinous and deſtructive war, whilſt offers of juſt and honourable terms are with-held from America, will reflect diſhonour on their humanity, and in no wiſe advantage the commercial intereſts of this great city;"

city;" the ſame was reſolved in the affirmative.

The ſame day was held a general meeting of the juſtices, grand jury, gentlemen, freeholders, and others of the county of Middleſex, at the court-houſe in Wellcloſe-ſquare, when it was reſolved, that a ſubſcription be immediately opened for the raiſing of men within the Tower Hamlets, to ſerve his Majeſty in America during the continuance of the preſent diſturbances there.

The ſame evening a meeting was held at the London Tavern of ſeveral capital merchants, &c. when Mr. Cornwall being voted into the chair, a motion was made to open a ſubſcription for raiſing a ſum of money for the purpoſe of enliſting a number of men for the King's ſervice; when it was unanimouſly agreed to, and 14,000l. has been ſince ſubſcribed.

17th. This day in Newgate Market country proviſions ſold as follow:—Beef 2s. 4d. to 2s. 10d. mutton 2s. 2d. to 2s. 8d. veal 2s. 10d. to 3s. 6d. pork 2s. 8d. to 3s. 4d. per ſtone: butter 1s. 7d. to 1s. 10d. the lump: eggs 7s. 6d. to 9s. the hundred; barn-door fowls 1s. 2d. to 1s. 6d. each.

23d. This morning, a little paſt nine o'clock, the three following malefactors were brought out of Newgate, and put into one cart, from whence they proceeded to Tyburn, attended by the Under Sheriff, &c. viz. John Gagin, for breaking open the houſe of James M'Donald in Marybone, and ſtealing a 20l. bank note, three guineas, and three half guineas, a ſilver watch, &c. William Pollard, for breaking into the houſe of Richard Longworth, in the Old Bailey, and ſtealing a black cloak, and other things; and Benjamin Johnſon, for breaking open the ſtables of Thomar Hull, in Chiſwell-ſtreet, and ſtealing ſome bridles, ſaddles, &c.

A monument was opened 24th. in Weſtminſter-abbey, in the Poet's Corner, to the memory of the late Dr. Goldſmith.

We have an account of the following melancholy accident in a letter from Shrewſbury. Two young gentlemen, ſons of the Rev. Mr. Pratchet, of Hodnet, in this county, having ſpent a night at their uncle's in the neighbourhood, they went out together in the morning; coming to a pit that was froze over, the Oxonian, as is ſuppoſed, being provided with ſkaits, went upon the ice to enjoy that healthful, but dangerous exerciſe. The ice giving way, he ſunk; and his brother, in attempting to ſave him, (for he was found with his coat off, and his ſhirt rolled up to his ſhoulder) ſhared his unhappy fate.

At Edinburgh, on the 15th of this month, the Lords of Seſſion, by a majority of ten to four, gave judgment in favour of the unlimited freedom of the Blacks in this country; ſo that Scotland has the honour of giving the firſt general deciſion upon this great queſtion. All the trials in England concerning the rights of Negroes, even that of Somerſet in the King's-bench, having been only upon ſpecial points, ſuch as, whether the maſter of a Negroe in Britain was entitled to take a legacy left to the Negro? given againſt the maſter, with coſts, by Lord Northington; or whether the maſter could by his own authority put a Negroe in fetters, and ſend him beyond ſeas?

given againſt the maſter in the caſe of Somerſet. The four diſſentient judges to-day were, the Lord Preſident, and Lords Elliock, Monboddo, and Covington. Lord Alva was abſent by indiſpoſition.

25th. By the KING,

A PROCLAMATION *for a General Faſt.*

GEORGE R.

WE, taking into our moſt ſerious conſideration the juſt and neceſſary meaſures of force which we are obliged to uſe againſt our rebellious ſubjects in our colonies and provinces in North-America; and putting our truſt in Almighty God, that he will vouchſafe a ſpecial bleſſing on our arms, both by ſea and land, have reſolved, and do, by and with the advice of our privy council, hereby command, That a public faſt and humiliation be obſerved throughout that part of our kingdom of Great Britain called England, our dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, upon Friday the 27th day of February next; that ſo both we and our people may humble ourſelves before Almighty God, in order to obtain pardon of our ſins; and may, in the moſt devout and ſolemn manner, ſend up our prayers and ſupplications to the Divine Majeſty for averting thoſe heavy judgments, which our manifold ſins and provocations have moſt juſtly deſerved, and for imploring his intervention and bleſſing ſpeedily to deliver our loyal ſubjects within our colonies and provinces in North America from the violence, injuſtice, and tyranny of thoſe daring rebels who have aſſumed to themſelves the exerciſe of arbitrary power, to open the eyes of thoſe who have been deluded by ſpecious falſehoods into acts of treaſon and rebellion, to turn the hearts of the authors of theſe calamities, and finally to reſtore our people in thoſe diſtracted provinces and colonies to the happy condition of being free ſubjects of a free ſtate, under which heretofore they flouriſhed ſo long and proſpered ſo much: and we do ſtrictly charge and command, that the ſaid public faſt be reverently and devoutly obſerved by all our loving ſubjects in England, our dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his wrath and indignation; and upon pain of ſuch puniſhment as we may juſtly inflict on all ſuch as contemn and neglect the performance of ſo religious a duty. And for the better and more orderly ſolemnizing the ſame, we have given directions to the moſt Reverend the Archbiſhops, and the Right Reverend the Biſhops of England, to compoſe a form of prayer ſuitable to this occaſion, to be uſed in all churches, chapels, and places of public worſhip; and to take care the ſame be timely diſperſed throughout their reſpective dioceſes.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 23d day of January 1778, in the eighteenth year of our reign.

God ſave the King.

[A ſimilar proclamation is publiſhed in the Gazette for a general faſt in Scotland on Thurſday the 26th day of February next.]

A ſingular Fraud. On Monday laſt, at noon, a woman, moſt handſomely dreſſed, and affecting the woman of faſhion, went into the ſhop of a hoſier in the Strand, and appeared

peared (being without a hat) as if ſhe had juſt ſtepped out of a carriage; and indeed this was the caſe. She aſked to look at ſome ſilk ſtockings; ſeveral pairs were ſhewn her; and preſently in came a fellow in livery, who, with his hat off, ſaid, "Sir Thomas is in the carriage, my Lady."—She replied, it was very well, ſhe would be with him in a few minutes. She then paid for two pair of ſtockings, went away, and got into a poſt-chaiſe ſtanding in the ſtreet, and the footman followed her into the chaiſe, which then drove off. This latter circumſtance ſomewhat ſurpriſing the hoſier, he examined the different looſe parcels of ſtockings that he had opened, and diſcovered that "her Ladyſhip" had ſtolen nine pair.

DIED, at Brockmonton, near Leominſter, Herefordſhire, Edward Evans, in the 102d year of his age, retaining his underſtanding to the laſt. He had been ill near four months, and was threſhing in a barn when he was firſt taken ill.

At Peckham, aged 101 years, Mr. Fryer, formerly purſer of a man of war.

At Stroud, near Rocheſter, Mr. Adam Devaile, at the age of 102 years.

During the courſe of laſt year there have been born in the city of Paris, 11,445 boys, and 10,821 girls. The number of deaths amounts to 9101 men, and 8011 women; and during the ſame ſpace of time 3411 boys, and 3294 girls were brought into the Foundling Hoſpital; ſo that there were 286 more foundling children, and 2725 burials leſs, than in the preceding year.

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. According to the accounts delivered by Sir Grey Cooper, relative to the extraordinary expences of calling in the gold coin, it appears that the money deficient in weight, as delivered into the bank, under the different proclamations, was as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
1ſt proclamation,	3,806,435	7	2
2d proclamation,	4,876,171	18	3
3d proclamation,	6,880,986	5	3
	15,563,593	10	8

2d. Diſpatches were received at the India-houſe on Saturday laſt from Madraſs, containing authentic advices of the death of Lord Pigot, on the 11th of May. The ſame diſpatches mention the loſs of the company's ſhip Marquis of Rockingham, Capt. Hamilton, in her voyage from Madraſs to Sadras, but that the crew, and the greateſt part of the treaſure, had been ſaved; only one cheſt of ſilver is ſaid to be loſt.

Extract of a Letter from Fort Saint George, dated May 18, 1777.

"It is with the deepeſt ſorrow that I now acquaint you with the melancholy event of the death of Lord Pigot! Through the great care and ſkill of Mr. Paiſley, he ſeemed to have got the better of the the firſt illneſs which he laboured under, when I wrote to you by the French ſhips in March: but he relapſed, and Mr. Paiſley (as well as Major Horne, under whoſe charge my Lord ſtill remained a priſoner) repreſented to the people in the fort that there was a neceſſity for removing him, for the benefit of

the *ſea air*; and he was (by the particular perſuaſion of Mr. Paiſley and his own friends) accordingly brought, in a palanquin, on the 28th paſt, from the Mount to the Company's Garden Houſe, which is about a mile from the fort, and not ſo far from the ſea. The ſurgeons, on the 7th and 8th inſtant, declared, that he could not ſurvive a few days: and on the 9th, his friends perceived that he had himſelf determined to prepare for his approaching diſſolution, by telling Mr. Ruſſell, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Monckton (who were conſtantly with him) that he wiſhed to write a letter to the Company. He then ſat up in his bed, and dictated the letter with all poſſible propriety and recollection; and took occaſion to tell them, that that would probably be the laſt letter that he ſhould ever addreſs to them! The next morning he called for ſeveral papers, relative to his own affairs; and having ſpoke of the ſubjects to which they related, with great preciſion, he dictated a codicil to his will (of ſome length) in the cleareſt manner. Though the force of his conſtitution, and the faculties of his mind, were overborne by his long confinement, and the inſult and cruelty with which he had been treated, yet the powers of his underſtanding preſerved their natural tone to the laſt moment, and gave the cleareſt proof of that recollection and firmneſs which has ſo much diſtinguiſhed his character. He died on Sunday the 11th of May, having been kept a priſoner from the 23d of Auguſt, 1776, to the time of his death. As no guard had attended him (though he was accompanied by Major Horne) when he was removed from the Mount, it was imagined that the people in the fort would take the opportunity of the ſituation he then was in, to drop that reſtraint, leſt he ſhould die in dureſs; but on the evening of the day that he was removed, Lieutenant Sydenham (who acts as Town Major) put the ſea-poy guards, which were round the Garden Houſe, under the command of Major Horne, who himſelf alſo ſoon appeared, and told Mr. Monckton, in the *preſence of Sir Edward Hughes*, that *he had been called before the board* (after he had left Lord Pigot at the Garden Houſe in the morning) *and found great fault with, for letting his Lordſhip come in without a guard*; and that *he was now again ordered to continue in the charge of his perſon, which he had complied with.*

" In this ſituation, as ſoon as my Lord died, Mr. Monckton thought it proper to write to Major Horne, demanding the body, that it might be interred; and the Major wrote to him back, *that the guards had been taken off in the night*; (though this is doubted) and that there was no obſtruction to the interment of the body.

" Mr. Monckton ſaw it alſo proper to write to Mr. Ram, who was coroner at the time of the ſubverſion of the government, and had ever ſince refuſed to reſign his office; deſiring him to repair to the Garden Houſe, and hold an inqueſt on the body of Lord Pigot, his Lordſhip dying under confinement. The coroner immediately ſummoned a jury, and the inqueſt was opened over the body at four P. M. Mr. Paiſley and three other ſurgeons attending: but it being neceſſary in this hot country to inter the corpſe without delay,

the inquest was adjourned to the next day, and is not yet ended."

3d. On Saturday last, the policy business respecting the sex of Madame D'Eon, was solemnly argued before Lord Mansfield, in the court of King's-bench, when the defendant pleaded a late act of parliament for the non-payment of the policy he had underwritten, which statute provides, That no insurance shall be valid, where the person insuring cannot prove an antecedent interest in the person or thing insured.—The Chief Justice admitted the statute to be binding in the present instance; by which decision all the insurers in the above transaction will now be deprived of the golden harvest they have so long expected.

By the above decision no less a sum than seventy-five thousand pounds will remain in this country, which otherwise must have been transmitted to Paris.

5th. The three petitions presented by the Sheriffs to the Lower Assembly on Monday from the city of London, were for the following purposes, viz. one petition for 15,000l. for the Session-house, and 60001. spent in purchasing old houses to make avenues, &c. to the same. Another for raising 20,000l. for finishing the gaol of Newgate. Another for 20,000l. for making a new street from Bishopsgate to Barbican.

7th. A question reserved for the opinion of the judges was argued in the court of King's-bench. An action was brought against the Post-master-general to recover the value of a bank note of 100l. the same being taken out of a letter by Mitchel, a servant to the Post-master-general, who suffered capitally for that crime. It was denied by the defendant, that the under officers of the post-office were the servants of the Post-master-general; they were the servants of the public, and gave security to the King, and as no neglect was so much as alledged against the Post-master-general, there could be no reason in law or equity for making him responsible—The final determination of this weighty question, so important to the intercourse of trade, was adjourned.

11th. A fatal accident happened to Dr. Sclater, as he was coming up St. Mary Hill between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, by a sack of carroway-seeds falling upon him from the slings, as they were craning into a grocer's warehouse, which killed him on the spot.

12th. —— Whitaker, for many years summoning officer of the juries for the city and liberties of Westminster, was ordered into court to receive judgment upon conviction by attachment for corruption in his office. The interrogatories and answers were read by Sir James Burrows, when the court ordered him to pay a fine of 200l. and to remain a prisoner until the same was discharged. He was also disqualified from his employment. Mr. Cowper made a few observations in his behalf, but the judges expressed the utmost disgust at his conduct, and he was immediately taken into the custody of the tipstaff. By the delinquent's own answers it appeared, that for eleven years past he made, upon an average, 50l. per annum, by receiving a certain fee from each person, whom he excused from serving the office of Juror.

17th. We are informed a ſcheme is in agitation, of making a navigable canal from this city by Fakenham to Lynn, whereby an eaſy conveyance of goods will be obtained, a communication opened with the ſeveral counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Rutland, Northampton, and Lincoln, and the floods ſo deſtructive to many of its inhabitants in a great meaſure prevented.

20th. This day was heard before Sir George Hay, LL. D. in the eccleſiaſtical court, Doctor's Commons, a cauſe, the Earl of Briſtol againſt Elizabeth Chudleigh, late Ducheſs of Kingſton, but now (by the late verdict of the Houſe of Peers, convened at Weſtminſter-hall) Counteſs of Briſtol, to prove his marriage with the ſaid Elizabeth, which proof was fully eſtabliſhed in the ſame manner as before the Lords; and the court accordingly gave it as their opinion, that the marriage was ſtrictly legal. This cauſe was brought againſt the Counteſs by the Earl, as an introduction to a divorce which he means to ſue out againſt her on the ſcore of adultery, and which he could not do prior to his proving his marriage with her, as ſhe was, before the hearing above-mentioned, recogniſed in the eccleſiaſtical court as the wife of the late Duke of Kingſton, and not of the Earl of Briſtol.

Same day the report was made to his Majeſty in council of the convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, when the ſix following were ordered for execution on Friday the 5th of March next, viz. William Stevens, Robert Griffiths, Thomas Dunn, John Pugh, Henry Green, for breaking into the houſe of Mr. Wale, in Church-row, Chelſea, and ſtealing a great quantity of linen, value 50l. and Francis Green, for robbing James Boult in the Staines ſtage-coach on the highway, near the turnpike at Belfont, of a ſtop watch, with ſilver caſes, a guinea and a half, and ſome halfpence.

The following were reſpited during his Majeſty's pleaſure, viz. Thomas Cantrell, for breaking into the houſe of William Aſtell, with intent to ſteal; James Gable, for robbing Mary Overton on the highway near the French hoſpital in the City Road, of 4s. John Smith, for robbing Elizabeth Edwards on the highway in Wheeler-ſtreet, Spitalfields, of a red cardinal; and Joſeph Weſt, concerned with Francis Green, (mentioned in the preceding article) for robbing James Boult in the Staines ſtage-coach.

21ſt. The ſeſſions ended at the Old-Bailey, when, with eight others, the two following priſoners received ſentence of death: Thomas Sherwood, for uttering and publiſhing as true, knowing it to be forged and counterfeited, a letter of attorney, purporting it to be the letter of the Rev. John Myonet, D. D. and the Rev. James French, to appoint him, Thomas Sherwood, to transfer 700l. bank ſtock of 3 per cent. annuities; Peter Ceppi, alias Scipio, for forcibly entering the apartments of Harriet Knightley, and firing a loaded piſtol at the ſaid Harriet Knightley, which penetrated thro' the breaſt-bone, and went a conſiderable way into the body, and was extracted from her right ſide.

The account of Mrs. Knightley was, that on the 18th of January laſt

laſt Ceppi came into her room, ſhe being in bed, locked the door, ſat himſelf in a chair, and told her he was come to do her buſineſs, which ſhe not underſtanding, aſked him to let her get out of the bed, which he did; he then took out two piſtols; ſhe went towards the door in order to get out; he ſet his back againſt it; ſhe to appeaſe him, told him he might ſtay breakfaſt; he anſwered, he would have none, but would give her a good one. She then called out to alarm the houſe, ran towards the bed, and ſaid, "Pray don't ſhoot me," and drew up cloſe to the curtains; he followed, and diſcharged the piſtol. During this, a waſherwoman ran up ſtairs, and with a poker broke the bottom pannel of the door, through which Mrs. Knightley was drawn half-naked, and Ceppi following, ran down ſtairs, but was purſued and taken. In his defence, he ſaid, he had propoſed honourable terms of marriage to her, but that ſhe had refuſed and deſerted him; that he was overcome with grief and love, and that his deſign was not to hurt her, but ſhoot himſelf in her preſence.

The device for the great ſeal of South-Carolina:—A palmetto tree ſupported by twelve ſpears, which, with the tree, are bound together in one hand, on which is written 'quis ſeparebit?' On the tree are two ſhields, the one inſcribed March 26, the other July 4, and at the foot of the palmetto, an Engliſh oak fallen, its root above the ground, and its branches lopt.

In the Exergue.

MELIOREM LAPSA LOCAVIT.

1776.

Legend, 'South Carolina.' Immediately over the palmetto, and on the oppoſite part of the circle, 'Animis ad fata paratis.'

REVERSE.

Hope advancing over a rock, which is rugged and ſteep behind her, but ſmooth and of a gentle aſcent before. The way is ſtrewed with the arms of an enemy. She holds a laurel flower in her right hand, and has a view of the ſun riſing in full ſplendour.

In the Exergue.

SPES.

Legend, *Dum ſpiro ſpero.*

Madrid, Jan. 19. The following particulars make part of the treaty of peace concluded in October laſt, between our court and that of Liſbon.

1. The iſland of St. Catharine is to be reſtored to Portugal, in the ſame ſtate it was in when it was ſurrendered to the Spaniards; but it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that hereafter no foreign veſſel ſhall be ſuffered to enter the ports of the iſland.

2. The colony of the Bleſſed Sacrament is ceded for ever to Spain.

3. The Rio Grande is to be open to, and held in common by both nations: Portugal is to hold the northern ſhore, while the ſouthern remains in the poſſeſſion of Spain. All other nations are to be excluded from the navigation of the river.

4. Portugal is to reſtore to Spain the forts and poſſeſſions ſhe ſeized during the conteſt; and the latter is to be at liberty to erect in her territories as many fortreſſes as ſhe ſhall think proper.

MARCH.

1ſt. The houſe of farmer Clewin, of Finchley, was ſuddenly ſurrounded

rounded in the dead of night, by a gang of nine or ten ruffians, who broke open the doors, and after moſt inhumanly cutting and mangling ſeveral of the family, they robbed the houſe of plate, caſh, linen, and other moveables, to a great value, and then made off with their booty.

A few days ago was found, by ſome perſons who were getting ſtone in a piece of ground near Critch, called the Cullen, in Derbyſhire, an earthen pot full of copper coins, ſaid to be coined in the year 326; they are not ſo large as a halfpenny, and are of various ſorts; the impreſſion on each ſide very plain. The weight of the coins all together was exactly nine pounds.

3th. At a court of common-council, a member moved, that an humble addreſs and petition be preſented to his Majeſty, that ſuch meaſures of reconciliation be adopted, as may put a ſpeedy end to the ruinous war we are now engaged in; which was reſolved in the affirmative.

8th. This morning, about two o'clock, a gang of eight villains broke into the houſe of Mr. Cuthbert, at Kentiſh-Town, and after behaving very inhumanly to him and his wife (whoſe leg they cut in a terrible manner), robbed them of Eaſt-India bonds, bank notes, and money, to the amount of 700l. They ſtaid upwards of two hours in the houſe; they had their faces blacked, and were otherwiſe diſguiſed. They are ſuppoſed to be the ſame ruffians who robbed farmer Clewin, at Finchley.

9th. Laſt week a very melancholy accident happened to Miſs Vane, daughter of the Hon. Mr. Vane, of Beilby, in Yorkſhire; being ſitting by her fire, ſhe dropped her keys within the fender, and ſtooping to take them up, her head-dreſs took fire, and ſhe was burnt ſo dreadfully before it could be extinguiſhed, that ſhe expired in a few hours.

This evening, Mr. Banger, clerk to a merchant in Buſh-lane, conceiving he had received an inſult from Mr. Saunders, a haberdaſher, in Cannon-ſtreet, ſent for Mr. Saunders to the London-ſtone Tavern, where he produced a pair of piſtols, and offering one to Mr. Saunders, demanded ſatisfaction. The latter declaring he thought his life too valuable to riſque it ſo, high words enſued, which the landlord overhearing, inſiſted the parties ſhould quit his houſe. On this they adjourned to another tavern, where Mr. Banger ſtill inſiſting on his fighting him, and Mr. Saunders declining, the epithets coward and ſcoundrel were thrown out; and Mr. Banger then proceeding to cudgel him, the tuck of the ſtick flew out and wounded Mr. Saunders ſo ſeverely, that he died ſoon after. The coroner's inqueſt brought in their verdict wilful murder.

11th. This evening, a houſe, in the upper part of Iſlington, was broke open by ſix or eight men, who ſtripped it of every thing of value. They gagged the family, except one girl about ſeven years of age, who hid herſelf under a bed, and eſcaped them, and by whoſe aſſiſtance the family were releaſed. It is ſuppoſed to have been done by the gang who robbed Mr. Clewin.

7th. This day was tried before Lord Mansfield, at Guild-

hall,

hall, London, a cauſe which involved in it a queſtion that the noble judge obſerved was of the higheſt import to commerce. The action was brought by a tradeſman near the Manſion-houſe, againſt a merchant at Aberdeen, to recover the amount of ſome goods. The defendant inſiſted, that together with the money paid into court, and what had been otherwiſe received by a bill for 38l. the whole of the demand was fully ſatisfied. The plaintiff denied that the bill was ever meant to be received at his own riſk: he took it only to endeavour, as an act of friendſhip, to procure the money upon it of the acceptor; but it turned out in proof, that a receipt was given for this bill by the plaintiff, without any exception; and that the defendant ſaid at the time, that though the drawer was inſolvent, he believed the acceptor to be a very good man; however, the reverſe appeared, and the bill was diſhonoured. The banker kept it three days after it became due, which was the 10th of July;—on the 21ſt the plaintiff wrote to the defendant, and not before. The queſtion was, "Whether this ſhould be held ſufficient notice;" and the noble Lord on the bench pointed out this material doctrine as a rule in paper circulation: he ſaid the law requires that reaſonable notice ſhould be given in all ſuch caſes; that otherwiſe, the inconvenience would be terrible to traders, for this day that might be got, which to-morrow would be irrecoverable; that three days was the extent of time allowed to be recoverable; afterwards the holder of the bill muſt look to it as his own, and the plaintiff in this cauſe had neglected to write to the defendant for thirteen days after the bill was due, which was ten days too late.

Wedneſday, March 11, his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, attended by the Duke of Ancaſter and the Earl of Oxford, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills, viz.

The bill to allow the exportation of a certain quantity of corn, peas, and biſcuit, to Newfoundland, for a limited time.

The bill for the benefit of captors of prizes from the enemy.

The bill to enable his Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners, with ſufficient powers, to treat and agree upon the means of quieting the diſturbances now ſubſiſting in certain of the American colonies.

The bill to declare the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exerciſe of impoſing taxes in the American colonies.

The bill to repeal an act that impoſed a duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any of the American colonies.

The bill to repeal an act for regulating the government of Maſſachuſett's Bay.

The bill to puniſh mutiny and deſertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

The bill to apply the ſum granted for the pay and cloathing of the militia for the ſervice of the preſent year.

Alſo to ſuch other bills as were ready.

14th. This evening ſeveral villains broke open the houſe of Mr. John Keys, a farmer at Enfield, and after cutting and wounding a man-ſervant in ſo dangerous a manner that he is ſince dead

dead of the wounds, plundered the houſe of 50l. in caſh, and plate to the amount of 200l.

15th. A warrant under his Majeſty's ſign manual, was ſent to Newgate, for the diſcharge of Mr. Ebenezer Smith Platt, who about fifteen months ſince was committed for treaſon at Savannah, in the colony of Georgia.

16th. Admiral Keppel took leave of his Majeſty, previous to his ſetting out for Portſmouth to command the fleet of obſervation.

17th. Yeſterday an expreſs arrived from the Hague, with authentic advice to our court, that the King of Pruſſia, with three armies, had entered Auſtrian-Sileſia; the firſt army was commanded by the King in perſon; the ſecond by his brother, Prince Henry; and the third by the Prince of Brunſwick (who married the Princeſs Auguſta).

20th. This morning, at ſix o'clock, his Excellency the French Ambaſſador ſet out from his houſe at Whitehall, with all his retinue, on his return home, purſuant to orders from his court.

A general embargo was laid on all ſhipping in the ports of France, probably to ſecure an indemnification, ſhould any ſtroke be ſuddenly ſtruck by the Engliſh at ſea.

25th. A woman in Queen-ſtreet, Holborn, ſent her ſon, a boy about eleven years of age, for ſome potatoes, and ſuſpecting that he had not brought the quantity which ſhe ſent for, went and enquired, and finding he had not, in order to deter him from doing ſo again, locked him up in a garret: after he had been there ſome time ſhe went to releaſe him, when ſhe found him hanging, and no ſigns of life in him.

26th. James Elliot, tried laſt Summer aſize for a forgery on the Bank, and on a motion by his counſel for an arreſt of judgment, the word pounds being omitted on the counterfeit note, was called up and acquainted with the opinion of the judges, which was, that his motion was unanimouſly overruled; and that ſentence of death was to be paſſed upon him accordingly.

27th. An order was ſent to the Cuſtom-houſe to ſtop all the French ſhips in the River Thames. The like orders have been ſent to all the ſea-ports of the kingdom. But, it is ſaid, the French, having received intelligence of what had been done in their own ports, had moſt of them withdrawn.

Lord Stormont arrived at the Hotel in Suffolk-ſtreet, from Paris, and waited upon his Majeſty at the levee, where he had the honour of a private audience.

A certain Baronet (Sir G. C—e), formerly the Director, and for a conſiderable time the ſole manager of the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company, is ſaid to have petitioned that company, praying an annuity of 200l. to enable him to live and maintain his family. The petition was referred to a committee for their conſideration, and it is generally imagined the prayer of it will be complied with. The Baronet, a few years ſince, was in poſſeſſion of three hundred thouſand pounds, a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, and a conſiderable ſhare of parliamentary intereſt.—A moſt ſtriking inſtance of the mutability of human affairs!

28th. Yeſter-

28th. Yesterday the royal assent was given to the following bills, which were passed by commission:

The bill for the more effectually preventing the forging of acceptances of bills of exchange, or number of principal sums of acceptable receipts, for notes, bills, &c.

The bill for building a prison in the county of Cornwall.

The bill for payment of costs to parties on complaints determined before Justices of the Peace out of sessions, charges to constables in certain cases, &c.

The bill for enlarging the pier and harbour of Scarborough.

The lottery bill.

And to several navigable, road, and inclosure bills.

The embargo laid yesterday upon French vessels will be far from an equitable retort upon that nation for the manœuvre, as the number of vessels is very unequal. The Court of France's sole motive was to engross a number of our seamen into their own hands.

Yesterday orders were sent from the Secretary of State's office to the Lords Lieutenants of the different counties, to embody the militia of each county immediately.

Several clauses are added this year to the Lottery Bill; the principal of which are as follow:

"To oblige every Lottery-Office keeper to take out a licence at the expence of 50l. and give security not to infringe any part of the Act.

"That no person shall dispose of any part of a Ticket in any smaller share or proportion than a Sixteenth, on 50l. penalty.

"And that any person selling any goods, wares, or other merchandize, or who shall offer any sum or sums of money, upon any chance or event whatsoever, relating to the drawing of any Ticket, shall be liable to a penalty of 20l.

"To enable the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury to establish an Office—all Shares to be stamped at that Office—The original Tickets from which such Shares are to be taken, to be kept at that Office, till a certain time after drawing—Books of Entry to be regularly kept—Persons carrying Shares to be stamped to pay a small sum specified in the Act—Penalties for persons not stamped, and a clause for punishing persons who shall forge the stamp of any Ticket."

Frankfort, March 6. We have accounts from Vienna, that the camp equipages of the emperor and the lords of his train are ready; and it is said, that besides the 20,000 Croats who are marching towards Bohemia to form a line there to prevent desertion, 25,000 of the Imperial troops have orders to be in readiness to march at the first signal; which orders have also been sent to all the troops in Bohemia.

Versailles, March 21. Messrs. Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, deputies from the United States of North America, had the honour to be presented to the King the 20th of this month, by the Count de Vergennes, Minister and Secretary of State for the department of foreign affairs.

Paris, March 21. The day before yesterday the count d'Artois, the French king's youngest brother,

ther, and the duke of Bourbon, ſon of the prince of Condé, met in the preſence of ſix noblemen, among whom were the marquis of St. Hermine and count of Bourbon Buſſet; when the two princes drawing their ſwords, attacked each other with ſuch fury, that they would ſoon have put an end to the conteſt, had not the noblemen preſent interfered. The count d'Artois was ſlightly wounded in the ſword arm, the duke of Bourbon being a much better ſwordſman than his highneſs. The occaſion of the quarrel was owing to the ducheſs of Bourbon having had the imprudence at the maſquerade to lift up the maſk of the count, who was incognito with a lady that ſhe had diſmiſſed from amongſt her ladies of honour. The young ſpirited lover was ſo much incenſed at this liberty, that he wrung the ducheſs's noſe, and put all the court in confuſion on that account. The King having heard of his rencontre, has exiled him to Choiſi.

DIED. The Rev. and learned Dr. Samuel Ogden, Rector of Lawford, Eſſex, Woodwardian Profeſſor at Cambridge.

Lately, at Wednesfield, near Wolverhampton, in Staffordſhire, William Iven, aged 115 years; he retained all his mental faculties till the day of his death, was remarkably chearful, and frequently heard ſinging. He married 4 wives, the laſt in his 105th year, through principle, as he declared when interrogated by the clergyman, as he had always led a virtuous life, and always would.

APRIL.

The Oxford canal from Coventry was finiſhed on Monday laſt, to Banbury, when ſeveral veſſels came up there with coals, which were ſold at one ſhilling per cwt. 1ſt.

On Thurſday laſt, at the aſſizes on the Midland Circuit held at Warwick, a cauſe was heard, of no little importance to perſons engaged in partnerſhips. An attorney of Coventry undertook to place out at intereſt the ſum of 500l. which a gentleman entruſted him with for that purpoſe. The above attorney, it ſeems, gave his client a bond, as a ſecurity, the validity of which never was ſuſpected till after the attorney's deceaſe, when many forgeries being proved againſt his eſtate, the gentleman who was plaintiff in the above cauſe, found, on enquiry, the bond which he had in poſſeſſion was alſo a forged one; but recollecting to have paid part of the above ſum into the hands of the partner of the above attorney, who was totally ignorant of his fraudulent proceedings, and, on the diſcovery of the forgery, tendered the whole of the money he had received to the plaintiff; who refuſed it, and accordingly brought his action to recover the whole of the money advanced on the bond given by the attorney; when, after many learned and ingenious arguments, the jury gave a verdict againſt the partner in the whole ſum claimed by the plaintiff.

This day was ſold, for *one thouſand* guineas, the celebrated marble ſtatue of a dog, known to 4th.

the

the virtuoſi by the name of Alcibrades's dog, and ſuppoſed to be the moſt exquiſite piece of ſculpture of the kind in the known world. It is ſaid to have been purchaſed at Rome for 70 guineas.

7th. On Monday night, about two o'clock, the debtors in one part of the old jail of Newgate which remains on the north-ſide of Newgate-ſtreet, attempted to make their eſcape, and would probably have effected it, if ſome perſons in the neighbourhood, who were alarmed at the noiſe, had not ſent notice of it to Mr. Akerman, who ſoon arrived with proper aſſiſtance, when it was found the priſoners had broke from their upper apartments, and got to the lower outward door. They were ſecured, and a guard left to prevent any future attempt.

9th. The town and neighbourhood of Birmingham were greatly alarmed with a dreadful ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and rain; ſuch an one as is not remembered to have happened before ſo early in the year, by the oldeſt inhabitant, and by which much damage has been ſuſtained. A windmill, ſtanding at Holloway Head, ſuffered ſeverely. A body of fire, in a ſouth-weſt direction, and in ſhape like a weaver's ſhuttle, was perceived, by a gentleman riding on the Bromſgrove-road, to ſtrike obliquely the main beam of the mill, which immediately ſplit aſunder; one of its ſails, and a cog-wheel, were ſhivered in pieces, and it was otherwiſe materially injured; the miller was ſtruck down by the violence of the ſhock, and remained ſenſeleſs for ſome time. At Barr, a ball of fire came down the kitchen chimney of the Blue Boar, filled the houſe inſtantly with a ſulphureous ſtench, and then forced its way through the window, carrying the caſement along with it. From other places we hear of houſes being unroofed, trees ſplit, &c.

This day a declaration was made of the numbers, upon the ballot for ſix directors of the Eaſt-India Company, when the ſuffrages appeared to be as follows:

William James, Eſq.	846
William George Freeman, Eſq.	838
John Stables, Eſq.	837
John Woodhouſe, Eſq.	829
Laurence Sullivan, Eſq.	491
William Mills, jun. Eſq.	457
John Pardoe, Eſq.	343
Alexander Hume, Eſq.	324

George Wombwell, Eſq. was afterwards elected chairman, and William James, Eſq. deputy chairman of the above company for the year enſuing.

10th. A court of common-council was held at Guild-hall for the election by ballot of the Marſhals of this city.—On the cloſe of the ballot there appeared 107 for Mr. Gates, and 89 for Mr. Miller, they being the only candidates; whereupon Mr. Gates was declared duly elected upper, and Mr. Miller under Marſhal. The ſalary of the former is fixed at 250l. and the latter's at 200l. per annum. Both are ſubject to the orders and regulations of a committee of the court. Formerly, theſe places, with thoſe of Marſhalmen, were enjoyed by purchaſe; they are now placed on a footing ſuitable to the dignity and opulence of the metropolis of the Britiſh empire.

The court then proceeded to the election of a Marſhalman, when Mr. Will. Payne was appointed to that office.

Alſo

Alſo this day a petition was preſented to Lord George Germaine, ſigned by all the merchants of Canada, now in London. This petition, after reciting ſeveral grievances, concludes thus:

'We beg leave to aſſure your lordſhip, that theſe cauſes, originating chiefly from the Quebec act, have concurred to ſpread a general diſcontent thoughout the province, without any advantage to the parent ſtate, and ſo far to alienate the affections of his Majeſty's ſubjects, as to give great reaſon to apprehend a diſpoſition in them to change their preſent form of government, ſhould ſuch an opportunity unhappily offer.

'We therefore humbly intreat your lordſhip to take into your conſideration the dangerous and confuſed ſituation of this colony, and grant us your patronage and aſſiſtance in endeavouring to obtain a repeal of the Quebec Act, the ſource of theſe grievances, and an eſtabliſhment in its ſtead of a free government, by an aſſembly or repreſentation of the people, agreeable to his Majeſty's royal promiſe, contained in his proclamation made in the year 1763. This meaſure alone, which we are firmly perſuaded is founded equally on the principles of juſtice and good policy, is adapted to conciliate the minds of a diſſatisfied people, to confirm their wavering diſpoſition, and to reſtore that mutual confidence between the governors and the governed, which is eſſentially neceſſary to the happineſs of both.'

16th. This morning the Earl of Carliſle, Governor Johnſtone, and William Eden, Eſq. (the commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty to treat with the Americans) embarked at Portſmouth, on board his Majeſty's ſhip Trident, Capt. Elliot, which immediately dropped down to St. Helen's, and ſailed for America on the 21ſt.

Same day his Majeſty went in ſtate to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to

The bill to enable his Majeſty to make proviſion for the younger branches of the Royal Family by granting them annuities.

The bill for laying a tax on all inhabited houſes.

The bill for laying additional duties on French and other wines imported into this kingdom.

The bill for laying a tax on ſervants reſiding in Scotland.

The bill to indemnify perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices or employments within the time limited, and allowing a farther time for that purpoſe.

23d. The town of Whitehaven in Cumberland, oppoſite the Iriſh coaſt, was ſuddenly alarmed by a party from an American privateer, who landed in the night, and ſet fire to one of the ſhips in the harbour, with a deſign to burn the town, which, however, was providentially prevented by the exertion of the inhabitants, who extinguiſhed the flames before they had reached the rigging. One of the party, who was left behind, on his examination declared, that the party landed conſiſted of 30 men, that they belonged to the Ranger privateer, fitted out at Piſcataqua in New England, Capt. Jones commander; that ſhe mounted 18 guns beſides ſwivels, and had on board between 140 and 150 men; that ſhe had taken two prizes and had ſent them into France. The ſame privateer has ſince landed

ſome

ſome men on the weſtern coaſt of Scotland, and pillaged the houſe of Lord Selkirk, near Kircudbright, of plate, jewels, and all the moveables that were of value. His lordſhip was in London, but his lady and family were in the houſe.

Edinburgh, April 27.

The following are the particulars of the plundering of Lord Selkirk's houſe by the crew of the Ranger, an American privateer.

On the 23d of April, about ten o'clock in the morning, 30 armed men came in a boat from a privateer of 20 guns, and pretending at firſt to be a preſs gang, the men ſurrounded the houſe, and the officers entered and deſired to ſee the heads of the family. As Lord Selkirk was then at London, Lady Selkirk made her appearance. They ſoon made known to her who they really were; ſaid they meant to have ſeized Lord Selkirk's perſon had he been at home, and to have carried him off, but all they now aſked was to have the plate of the houſe. As there could be no thought of reſiſtance, this was at once complied with; and having taken poſſeſſion of it they marched off and reimbarked. They behaved civily, and only the officers preſumed to enter the houſe, and happily her ladyſhip did not ſuffer from the alarm. It is worth obſerving, that the maſter of the privateer was born at that place, his father having been gardener to the Selkirk family. His real name is Paul, though he aſſumes that of Jones, to veil in ſome meaſure his crimes, for he has been guilty of two or three capital and atrocious offences in different parts of the Britiſh dominions.

Berlin, April 12. On the 5th inſtant, his Majeſty reviewed all the regiments of our garriſon on the plains of Charlottenburgh, and expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at the appearance they made: after the review he addreſſed all the general officers preſent, among whom were his royal brothers, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, in the following manner:

"*Gentlemen*,

"Moſt of us have ſerved togegether from our earlieſt days, and are grown grey in the ſervice of our country; we conſequently know each other perfectly well; we have borne our ſhare in the fatigues and troubles of war, and I make no doubt but you are as unwilling to ſhed blood as I am. But my dominions are now threatened: my duty, as a King, obliges me to protect my ſubjects, and to take the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious meaſures to diſperſe, if poſſible, the ſtorm that hangs over them. To effect theſe important purpoſes, I rely upon that zeal for my ſervice, and that attachment to my perſon, which you have always expreſſed, and which I never yet failed to experience at your hands; and you may reſt aſſured, gentlemen, that I ſhall ever acknowledge, with a heart-felt ſatisfaction, the ſervices that I am ſure you will render to your King and country. But let me intreat you never to loſe ſight of humanity, even when your enemies are in your power; and to cauſe the moſt exact diſcipline to be obſerved by the troops under your command. For my part, I wiſh not to travel like a King: rich and gawdy equipages have no charms for me; but, infirm as I now am, I cannot

travel as I formerly did, when in the vigour of youth. I ſhall be obliged to uſe a poſt-chaiſe, I leave you at liberty to do the ſame; but in the day of battle you ſhall ſee me on horſeback, and I hope that my generals will not fail, in that, to imitate their King."

After his Majeſty had finiſhed this addreſs, the miniſter of the war department, declared that the King had been graciouſly pleaſed to order preſents to be made in the following proportion to all the officers of the army, to enable them to equip themſelves for the camp:

To every General 500 rixdollars.
To every Colonel 200
To every Major 150
To every Captain 100
To every Lieutenant 80
To every Enſign 60.

And that the pay of all the troops, from the day they take the field, ſhall be augmented one fourth, as well in money as in proviſions.

Francfort, April 28. The King of Pruſſia has actually made a movement in perſon againſt the Emperor, at the head of 200,000 men. This motion was made with ſo much ſecrecy, that it was not known till carried into execution, as the following laconic card left in his cabinet, addreſſed to the miniſter, ſufficiently teſtifies—'You will find money enough in the treaſury for the public ſupplies; I truſt in God I ſhan't be long abſent, as I am only gone on a ſmall excurſion, in order to teach a young gentleman in the neighbourhood his military exerciſe.—FREDERICK.'

Vienna, April 20. The great quantity of ſnow, which fell during 24 hours in Hungary a few days after Eaſter, has occaſioned very conſiderable loſſes. In one part of that kingdom, near our frontiers, 20,000 ſheep, a conſiderable number of horned cattle, and ſome thouſands of horſes have periſhed.

LENT ASSIZES.

At Reading, 2 were condemned, 1 of whom was reprieved.

At Wincheſter 10, 2 of whom being for murder, received ſentence of death.

At Northampton, 2 were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Saliſbury, 6 were condemned, but all reprieved.

At Worceſter, 3 received ſentence of death, but reprieved.

At Maidſtone, 7 priſoners received ſentence of death, amongſt whom was James Elliot, for a forgery on the bank, who was found guilty the preceding aſſizes, but his caſe left for the twelve judges.

At Ayleſbury, 5 were condemned, 3 of whom were ordered for execution.

At Lincoln, 4 received ſentence of death.

At Glouceſter, Elizabeth Grimmett was convicted of the murder of her baſtard child, and hanged; 5 other priſoners received ſentence of death, of whom three were reprieved.

Mr. Baron Eyre in his charge to the grand jury informed them, that a plan is in contemplation for the puniſhment of criminals, by confining them to hard labour in work-houſes to be erected for that purpoſe.

At Dorcheſter, 4 received ſentence of death.

At

At Cambridge, 3 were found guilty, and ſentenced to three years labour on the Thames.

At Huntingdon, 1 was capitally convicted, but afterwards reprieved.

At the ſame aſſizes, Ann Stimſon, aged 10, Mary Boſworth, aged 9, and Mary Male, aged 8 years, were tried on an indictment, for the wilful murder of Sarah Bright, an infant not four years old: The manner in which they committed this horrid act was, by fixing three pins at the end of a ſtick, which they thruſt into the child's body, which lacerated the private parts, and ſoon turned to a mortification, of which ſhe languiſhed a few days, and then died.—The court and jury, after a very long trial, thought they were *non capax doii*, and acquited them.

At Leiceſter, Elizabeth Johnſon (alias Ball) and her mother, were indicted for the murder of a female baſtard child, of which Elizabeth the daughter was delivered on the 13th of January laſt. The mother of the infant was found guilty, and immediately received ſentence to be hanged; her mother was acquitted.

At Kingſton aſſizes, (for Surry) 16 were capitally convicted, 6 of whom (all for highway robbery) were executed.

A bill of indictment was found againſt a capital tradeſman in Southwark, for feloniouſly receiving two puncheons of rum, knowing them to be ſtolen. The tradeſman is decamped to France. He is a freeholder to the amount of 300l. a year.

Alexander M'Key, was likewiſe capitally convicted for ſhooting a lieutenant in the navy, and his ſentence left for the deciſion of the twelve judges.

Joſeph Agnus, an Italian muſician, was alſo found guilty of an attempt to commit a rape on Elizabeth Weichſel, an infant of about 11 years of age, to whom he was godfather.

At Oxford, Robert Hitchcock, a farmer of conſiderable property, at Coombe, near Woodſtock, Oxfordſhire, was tried for the wilful murder of his own father, condemned and hanged.

Derby aſſizes proved a maiden one.

At York, 3 were condemned.

At Exeter, 14 received ſentence of death, but were all reprieved.

——— Philips, a midſhipman, committed on ſuſpicion of murdering ——— Collier, at Torbay, was alſo tried; his ſentence is to be determined by the twelve judges.

At Coventry, the aſſizes proved maiden.

At Shrewſbury, 7 were condemned.

At Warwick, 8 were capitally convicted.

At Stafford, 8 were condemned.

At Bury, 2 were condemned.

At Taunton, 5 received ſentence of death, but were all reprieved.

At Brecon aſſizes, one Howell, a blind butcher, was convicted of ſtealing table linen, grain, leather, &c. &c. and ſentenced to be impriſoned ſeven years.

At Chelmsford, 2 were capitally convicted.

At Thetford, 2 were condemned.

DIED, Mrs. Roſs (the late celebrated Miſs Fanny Murray) wife of Mr. Roſs the comedian.

Hugh Galfoot, Eſq. in the 93d year of his age, who ſailed round the world with Lord Anſon.

At Newton Regis, near Tamworth, in Staffordſhire, Mrs. Elizabeth Worthington, in the 117th year of her age.

MAY.

4th. Three officers of the exciſe having received intelligence that a gang of ſmugglers would paſs over Black-friars-bridge into Surry on Monday morning, between the hours of twelve and two, applied for the aſſiſtance of the military, in order to make a ſeizure of the goods; they were accordingly attended by a ſerjeant and 22 horſe grenadiers, diſmounted. One of the officers, with three grenadiers ſecured the gate, while the remainder concealed themſelves on the London ſide of the bridge, to cut off their retreat. Soon after two the ſmugglers came upon the bridge, to the number of 32, but found themſelves ſtopped by the gate being ſecured; and at the other end the grenadiers were drawn up in a line, with their firelocks and bayonets fixed. The ſmugglers, however, formed in two lines, placing their loaded horſes in the rear, and ruſhing upon the ſoldiers bayonets, broke through and got clear off, except one man, who was ſtopped, and his goods ſeized. One of the ſmuggler's horſes dropped down in the Old Bailey, being pierced in ſeveral places with the bayonets. Many of the others were wounded, and one of the men had his leg cut in three places. The grenadiers were ordered to fire, but expecting no reſiſtance, their pieces were not loaded. Several of them were hurt, by being thrown down and trampled upon by the horſes. The value of the goods was ſuppoſed to be about 1cool.

8th. In the court of King's-bench, was argued, for the laſt time, the queſtion reſpecting the poſt-office, whether the poſtmaſter was reſponſible for any loſs ſuſtained in his department? The action on which this queſtion aroſe was brought by the proprietor of the bank-note for which Mitchel was tried, condemned, and executed: counſel for the poſt-office contended the action was not maintainable. The queſtion was ordered to be argued, and had been once before ably ſpoke to in the laſt term. After counſel had yeſterday finiſhed their arguments, the Earl of Mansfield delivered the opinion of the court, who were unanimous that the action could not be maintained; that ſince 1699 there was no action brought of this nature, though it was notorious that loſſes frequently were ſuſtained; that it was the opinion of the people in general, that they could not reſort to the poſtmaſter; to prove this to be the univerſal opinion, his lordſhip mentioned the mode purſued by merchants in tranſmitting bills by dividing them into two or three pieces, and incloſing them in different covers.

9th. There was a numerous meeting at Northumberland-houſe, of all the nobility and gentry of the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Newcaſtle upon Tyne, to conſider of the defence of the coaſts of thoſe counties, from invaſion. His grace opened the buſineſs by acquainting the

the company, that there was too much reaſon ſeriouſly to believe that the French intended to ſtrike ſome ſerious blow in that particular part of the iſland; of this, he ſaid, there was alarming intelligence; the mode of warding it off, and of preparing for defence, he ſubmitted to the judgment of the meeting. After ſome ſlight converſation, it was propoſed that application ſhould be immediately made, by the Duke of Northumberland and Lord Darlington, the lord lieutenants, to government, for five regiments, three of militia, and two of regular regiments, beſides a regiment of cavalry, to be ſtationed at Sunderland, Durham, Newcaſtle, Morpeth, and Alnwick, and a general officer to reſide in as central a ſituation as poſſible, and two thouſand ſupernumerary ſtand of arms, two ſloops to cruize off the coaſt; and on a motion of Sir Charles Hardy, two large ſhips of war, one to be ſtationed at the mouth of the harbour of Shields, and the other at Sunderland. Theſe meaſures were agreed to.

Same day a trial of the pyx of all the monies coined in the Tower ſince Midſummer 1774, was made at Weſtminſter before the lords of his Majeſty's moſt hon. privy-council; when the gold monies, amounting to above ſixteen millions of pounds ſterling, were reported to be perfectly agreeable in firmneſs to the ſtandard trial plates kept in the Exchequer for that ſervice. It appeared on inquiry that twenty millions and a half of guineas and half guineas had been coined in his Majeſty's mint ſince the beginning of the year 1772.

12th. This evening, about 7 o'clock, a ſmall boat, with a ſail, in which were three young gentlemen of Weſtminſter-ſchool, was overſet by a ſudden ſquall of wind oppoſite Vauxhall, by which accident two of them were drowned: the other was with difficulty taken up by a waterman from Vauxhall ſtairs. They prove to be the ſons of Sir Charles Whitworth and Mr. Fenton. Dr. Warren's ſon was in the boat, but was fortunately ſaved.

Yeſterday the Houſe of Lords heard counſel in the writ of error between John Horne, appellant, and the King, reſpondent.

The attorney and ſolicitor general having finiſhed their arguments for the crown againſt Mr. Horne, Mr. Dunning was heard in reply for the appellant; after which the chancellor, by deſire of the Houſe, took the opinion of the twelve judges upon the caſe. It was delivered by Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey, who, in the name of the twelve, pronounced in favour of the ſentence paſſed upon the appellant by the court of King's-Bench.

On the chancellor's pūtting the queſtion, that the ſentence be reverſed, the non-contents were 20, and the contents only 4.

Yeſterday the report was made to his Majeſty in 14th. council of the convicts who received ſentence of death laſt February ſeſſions at the Old-Bailey, when the ſeven following were ordered for execution on Friday the 22d inſtant, viz. Edward Lake, on three indictments, for robbing on the highway; Thomas Oſborne, for robbing Tereſia Barkham on the highway; Philip Ramſay and William Murray, for a burglary in the houſe of Joſeph Field; Tho-

mas Hughes, for feloniouſly ſtealing in the houſe of the Counteſs Dowager Morton 48 guineas and ſome apparel; Thomas Sherwood, for forgery; and Peter Ceppi, alias Scipio, for forcibly entering the apartments of Harriet Knightly, and firing a loaded piſtol at her.

15th. *Admiralty Office.* Extract of intelligence received by the commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, in relation to the French fleet lately ſailed from Toulon, as laid before both houſes of parliament.

Received 11th April, 1778.—Count D'Eſtaing is to ſail from Toulon between the 12th and 15th of this month with ten ſhips and five frigates; his deſtination is not known, but it is imagined he is to go to Breſt.

Received 13th April. — Count D'Eſtaing arrived at Toulon the 27th paſt, with unlimited powers. He has added two ſhips to his ſquadron.

Received 21ſt April.—Since the arrival of Count d'Eſtaing at Toulon, they have redoubled their activity in order to complete the arming his ſquadron.

Received 27th April.—The whole of Count D'Eſtaing's ſquadron, of which the following is a liſt, is in the road, and will ſail to-morrow.

Count D'Eſtaing's ſquadron.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Le Languedoc	90	Mr. D'Eſtaing
Le Tonnant	80	Brumon
Le Ceſar	70	Broves
Le Zele	70	Barras
Le Hector	70	Mories
Le Protecteur	70	D'Apchon
Le Marſeillois	70	Virtrieux
Le Guerrier	70	Bougainville
Le Vailliant	64	Chabert
La Provence	64	Champorcin
Le Fantaſque	64	Suffier
Le Sagittaire	50	D'Albert.

Frigates.

Veſſels.	Guns.	Commanders.
La Fleche	26	Mr. de Caſtellannis
L' Aimable	26	Sr. Coſine
L' Alcmene	26	Bonneval
La Chimere	26	Sr. Cezair
L' Engageante	26	Previll
L' Eclair	16	de Flotte.

Received 27th April.—An account is received from Toulon, by expreſs, of Count D'Eſtaing's ſquadron having ſet ſail the 13th at four in the afternoon, with a favourable wind.

Received 5th May.—By the lateſt intelligence the armament at Toulon conſiſts of ſixteen ſhips of the line, eight frigates, and four large armed xebecs, which are fitting with all poſſible expedition. It is thought they may paſs the Straits of Gibraltar for Cadiz the firſt eaſterly wind.

In the court of common-council, the following letter was read, which had been received by the chamberlain from the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons:

"Sir, I deſire you will return my thanks to the court of common-council for the honour they have done me, by making me a freeman of the city of London, an honour far beyond my expectation.

"I had no other motive for my late conduct than the faithful diſcharge of my duty; and upon the moſt careful review of all that has paſſed upon that occaſion, I cannot wiſh to have omitted one word of that ſpeech which has attracted this extraordinary notice of the common-council; for, beſides the ſatisfaction which I feel in having done what I then thought, and ſtill

ſtill think to have been right, I have had (what will ever be to me the pride and honour of my life) my behaviour repeatedly approved by the general and almoſt unanimous voice of the Houſe of Commons, who alone, by this conſtitution, have the right to call in queſtion and decide upon the parliamentary conduct of their ſpeaker. I am, Sir, your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

F. NORTON."

The above letter, being read, was ordered to be entered in the proceedings of the court; and Sir Fletcher having politely declined accepting the gold box, it was ordered to be reſerved till a proper perſon can be found to be preſented with it.—*Vid. An. Reg.* 1777, *Chron. p.* 181.

16th. Yeſterday, by virtue of a commiſſion from his Majeſty, the royal aſſent was given to the following bills, viz.

The bill to raiſe a certain ſum by loans on exchequer bills for the ſervice of 1778.

The bill to indemnify perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices within the time limited, and allowing them a further time.

The bill to allow a further time for the inrollment of deeds and wills made by Papiſts, and for the relief of proteſtant purchaſers.

The bill to continue and revive ſeveral expiring laws.

The bill to repeal ſuch part of an act as relates to the manner of diſcharging bonds given on the exportation of goods to foreign parts.

The bill to amend an act for the relief of the poor, ſo far as relates to the apprenticing pariſh children.

The bill to enable the city of London to raiſe a ſum of money for completing the building of Newgate, and for other public purpoſes within the city.

And to ſeveral other public and private bills.

21ſt. The Right Hon. the Earl of Dalhouſie, his Majeſty's Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland, delivered his commiſſion to that aſſembly, together with his Majeſty's letter and royal warrant for 1000l. to be employed for the propagation of proteſtant ſchools in the Highlands of Scotland. A committee being appointed to draw up an anſwer to his Majeſty's letter, it was debated, whether a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, expreſſing the aſſembly's concern on ſeeing a bill brought into parliament for repealing thoſe laws that reſpect Roman Catholics, and praying his Majeſty to diſcountenance the ſame, as tending to fruſtrate the very purpoſe for which the royal bounty was granted; but it paſſed in the negative.

22d. This morning the following convicts were executed at Tyburn, according to their ſentence, viz. Thomas Sherwood, for forgery; Edward Lake and Thomas Oſborne, for highway robberies; Philip Ramſay, William Murray, and Thomas Hughes, for burglary; and Peter Ceppi, alias Scipio, for ſhooting at Harriet Knightly, and wounding her in a dangerous manner.

28th. This day, by virtue of a commiſſion from his Majeſty, the royal aſſent was given to the following bills, viz.

The bill for granting to his Majeſty a certain ſum on a vote of credit, for the ſervice of 1778.

The bill for granting to his Majeſty a certain ſum out of the ſinking fund.

The bill for raiſing a certain ſum by loans on exchequer bills.

The bill to prevent the clandeſtine conveyance of ſugars from the American colonies.

The bill for the relief of inſolvent debtors.

The bill for the more eaſy and ſpeedy recruiting his Majeſty's land-forces.

The bill to enable the truſtees for different turnpikes, to carry into execution ſuch acts as relate to the tolls for horſes, &c. employed by officers and ſoldiers on duty.

The bill to continue an act for puniſhing convicts by hard labour.

The bill to apply the ſum granted for the pay and cloathing of the militia.

The bill for allowing the exportation of certain enumerated goods directly from Ireland, to any of the Britiſh plantations in America, or any of the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa.

The bill to allow the free importation of cotton yarn, manufactured in Ireland, into any of the Britiſh ports.

The bill for the relief of proteſtant purchaſers of forfeited eſtates in Ireland.

The bill for relieving his Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects, from certain pains and penalties impoſed on them by an act of King William.

And to ſeveral other public and private bills.

By the bill for the relief of Roman Catholics above mentioned, the clauſe in the act of William the Third for proſecuting of popiſh biſhops, prieſts, or jeſuits, is to be repealed; alſo the clauſe for ſubjecting Papiſts keeping ſchools for the education of youth to perpetual impriſonment; alſo the clauſe that diſables Papiſts to inherit lands by deſcent, and gives to the next of kin (being Proteſtants) a right to inherit ſuch lands; alſo the clauſe that diſables Papiſts from purchaſing manors, lands, or hereditaments, in England or Wales; but leaves all lands in poſſeſſion juſt as they were, and all cauſes in litigation, as if this act had never been made; and the benefits ariſing from it are, on condition of taking the oath of allegiance within ſix months after its paſſing into a law.

The coach-revenue of laſt year amounting to 117,000l. ſhews that 23,000 coaches had paid duty: allowing three horſes to every coach, one with another, their number will amount to 69,000.

30th. This evening three riding officers belonging to the cuſtoms meeting a man, ſaid to be a ſmuggler, near Epſom, endeavoured to ſtop him, when the latter made the beſt of his way to town; the officers purſued him, and during the purſuit, ſeveral ſhots were exchanged; at length arriving in Fetter-lane, Fleet-ſtreet, about ten o'clock, another ſkirmiſh enſued, when one of the officers, who had received ſeveral wounds, ſhot the ſmuggler in the body, who was immediately carried to an inn in Holborn, where he died ſoon after. The coroner's inqueſt brought in a verdict of wilful murder againſt the officers.

Extract of a Letter from Dublin, May 31.

"On the 11th inſtant an action, brought by the Rev. Edward Berwick,

wick, againſt the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinſon, Provoſt of this college, for rejecting the plaintiff's vote at the late election for members to ſerve in parliament, was tried at the bar of the court of Common-pleas by a ſpecial jury of reſpectable citizens; when, after hearing the plaintiff's evidence, and ſeveral of his counſel, the court, without hearing any witneſs on the part of the defendant, having unanimouſly declared that it appeared from the plaintiff's evidence that the defendant had acted by the advice of counſel, and that therefore no improper motive could be imputed to him, the jury found the defendant not guilty. The queſtion of law relative to the plaintiff's right of voting was not determined, nor was the charter of ſtatutes on which that queſtion depended, laid before the court. It appeared in the courſe of the trial, that the action was not ſupported at the expence of the plaintiff, but by contribution. This was the firſt action of that kind ever brought in Ireland."

DIED, Mrs. Catherine Wilſon, at Carliſle, aged 97. Her two ſons (Chriſtopher and Joſeph Philipſon, Eſqrs.) paid her a viſit laſt ſummer, and found her in ſuch high health, that ſhe both danced and ſang. It is remarkable, that ſhe retained all her ſenſes in full perfection to the laſt. She lived to ſee the fifth generation, and her eldeſt ſon is now ſaid to be in his 82d year; ſo that ſhe muſt have been married at *fourteen*.

Mrs. Sparrow, in the 100th year of her age, at Lymington.

John Lambart, at Kendal, aged 103. He lived a ſervant in one family near 70 years.

JUNE.

A general embargo was laid on all ſhipping in the different ſea-ports in Great Britain, on Saturday morning laſt:—The ſame morning early about fifty lieutenants and midſhipmen drew up their gangs on Tower-hill, afterwards manned fifteen galleys, and then ſurrounded every tier of ſhips, ſo that no ſailors could eſcape on ſhore. All the tenders were filled with men. 1ſt.

A large American privateer, mounting 16 carriage guns, and ſeveral ſwivels, landed at Foggyton, near Bamff, in the north of Scotland, and plundered Meſſrs. Gordon's houſe, carried off the plate and other portable effects; but the country being alarmed, they ſoon moved off.

The court of Common-Pleas, in the caſe of Mr. Swain (the man impreſſed from the ſervice of the Navy Board, by a warrant from the Admiralty), have declared, that when a freeholder enters into the profeſſion of a ſeaman, he gives up his right of protection from being impreſſed, becauſe, by his knowledge, he becomes eligible to the ſervice of the navy. 2d.

His Majeſty went in ſtate to the Houſe of Peers, and put an end to the ſeſſions. 3d.

Before his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, Edward Thurlow, Eſq; late Attorney-General, took his ſeat by the title of Lord Thurlow, Baron Aſhfield; and after the parliament was prorogued, Earl Bathurſt went to St. James's, and reſigned the ſeals into his Majeſty's hands, which were immediately preſented to Lord Thurlow.

Tueſday

Tueſday was tried before Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone, at Weſtminſter, an action of treſpaſs, brought by Mr. Davies, hoſier, in New Bond-ſtreet, againſt Meſſ. Conſtable, Venables, and Burton, three cuſtom-houſe officers, for having entered his houſe, and ſeized (as ſmuggled) divers goods to the ſaleable value of 172l. 10s. 6d. On the part of the defendants, who reſted their caſe on the general iſſue, it was urged, that as they acted under an information, and had taken things, which (though not contraband, had all the appearance of being ſo) they were not treſpaſſers under the act of 19 George II. which excuſes officers from damages when among the things they may ſeize any part of them be really prohibited; but as all the goods of the plaintiff in this caſe were proved to be legal, and as the information was not in *writing*, or *on oath*, but conſiſted only in conjecture, raiſed in the mind of ſome rival in trade of the plaintiff's, the jury, under the candid and conſtitutional direction of the judge, conſidered the defendants as treſpaſſers on the common rights of Engliſhmen, and found a verdict againſt them for 300l. including the value of the goods.

Bath, June 2. On Tueſday laſt Mr. Hill, of Marlborough, had a wen extirpated from his ſhoulder which had been growing many years, and weighed upwards of eleven pounds. Mr. Hill is in a very promiſing way of doing well.

4th. Paſſed the great ſeal commiſſions authorizing the Earl of Buckinghamſhire, to give and declare the royal aſſent to the following acts of the Iriſh parliament:

An act for continuing an act for the further encouragement of tillage.

To explain a ſtatute of Henry the VIIIth, intituled the Act of Faculties.

For the better preſervation of fiſh, in rivers, lakes, and inland waters.

For the further encouragement of the whale fiſheries carried on from Ireland.

For reviving and continuing ſeveral temporary ſtatutes.

To amend an act to regulate the trials of controverted elections, or returns of members to ſerve in parliament.

For the relief of inſolvent debtors.

For preventing the cutting or deſtroying of plain, ſtained, or printed linens, cottons, lawns, or muſlins, or other manufactured goods.

For regulating the price and aſſize of bread, preventing frauds and impoſitions in the ſale of flour, meal, beer, ale, potatoes, butcher's meat, and other articles ſold by weight or meaſure in the county of Dublin.

To amend and continue an act for better regulating the baking trade in the city of Dublin, and for other purpoſes.

For enforcing a due execution of the laws, relative to turnpike roads in that kingdom.

To amend an act for amending the public roads.

To explain and amend the acts made for the encouragement of the fiſheries of that kingdom.

For encouraging the planting of timber trees.

For preſerving the health of priſoners in gaol, and for preventing the gaol diſtemper.

To oblige ſhips more effectually to perform quarantine, and for better preventing the plague being brought

brought from foreign parts into Ireland, and to hinder the ſpreading of infection.

And to five private bills.

5th. A motion for raiſing 300,000l. by way of tontine, at ſeven and an half per cent. with increaſing intereſt, was made and agreed to in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons.

7th. Laſt week, at the ſeſſions in the court of King's-bench, Weſtminſter-hall, an action was tried by a ſpecial jury brought for a breach of marriage contract. The defendant was the ſon of an eminent weaver in Spitalfields, and the plaintiff a lady of ſome property in that neighbourhood. It appeared in evidence that the acquaintance firſt commenced upon honourable terms, ſeveral years ſince; but the lady's father not being able to give a fortune equal to the expectations of the defendant's father, the defendant's father diſapproved of the match; but the young couple liking each other, continued to keep company until after the death of the lady's father, who left her a fortune at her own diſpoſal. Soon after her father's death ſhe went to live in one of her own houſes ſeparate from her mother, where ſhe and the defendant ſoon became intimate, and lived ſeveral years as man and wife, in the opinion of all their acquaintances; nay, the young man's father dined at his ſon's, where the lady ſat at the head of the table as the wife; but a diſagreement ariſing between them, the gentleman availed himſelf of the lady's having no legal tie upon him, quitted her, leaving her with child. They ſoon came together again, at which time the contract proved upon trial was made. The only defence ſet up by the defendant's counſel was, that his father did not conſider the match prudent, and as he found his ſon was not married, never would give his conſent. Earl Mansfield ſummed up the evidence with great preciſion, and the jury retired to conſider of their verdict, and in half an hour returned into court, and gave the plaintiff 1200l. damages.

15th. An inquiſition was taken on the bodies of two men near Leiſton, who were ſuffocated in a ſubterraneous place, in which was concealed a large quantity of liquors. The men were maſter and ſervant, the former of whom firſt went in to take out ſome of the liquor, but not returning the latter followed him, and he alſo not returning, a third perſon attempted to enter, but was happily prevented by touching the feet of the ſervant, who had fallen down dead cloſe to his maſter, and near the entrance of the place, which from the emiſſion of prodigious damps and foul air, appeared not to have been opened for a conſiderable time paſt.

21ſt. This evening one Lloyd, in Parker's-lane, Drury-lane, having had ſome words with his wife, pulled a knife from his pocket and ſtabbed her in the neck, at the back of her head, and afterwards ſtruck her on the forehead: he then attempted to eſcape, but was apprehended, notwithſtanding he made a ſtout reſiſtance.—Next day the woman died, in the Middleſex Hoſpital. The priſoner was on his examination touching the matter when the news of her death was brought. On being acquainted with it, he ſaid, "I thought ſhe could not have lived ſo long." During his examination it

it appeared that the priſoner and the deceaſed had dined together with ſome friends at their own room in Parker's-lane; that after dinner one of them had taken the liberty to kiſs the deceaſed, which was conſtrued by the priſoner as too great freedom; that he ſtifled his revenge till the company were gone, and being ſomewhat intoxicated with liquor, which fomented the rage of jealouſy, perpetrated the deed.

23d. This morning the following ſix malefactors were carried from Newgate and executed at Tyburn, viz. Francis Lewis Crimiſon, alias Grimiſon, for ſtealing out of the houſe of Colonel Edmonds, in Queen-ſquare, Weſtminſter, where he was butler, a large quantity of plate; Henry Jordan, William Turner, and Joſeph Davis, for breaking open the houſe of Mrs. Errington, known by the name of Copenhagen-houſe, near Iſlington, and ſtealing a quantity of wearing-apparel, ſilver plate, and caſh; James Fryer and Thomas Horner, for breaking open the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Daniel Clewin at Finchley, and ſtealing a ſilver cup, a ſilver watch, and ſeveral other things of value.

On Tueſday evening a warrant from the office of the Earl of Suffolk was ſent to Newgate, reſpiting the execution of Thomas Condon (who was convicted with Fryer and Horner, of burglary in the houſe of Mr. Clewin, at Finchley) until the 1ſt day of July next; his companions having declared when they received the ſacrament that he was not concerned in the robbery.

Thomas Condon, who was to have been executed yeſterday, obtained his reprieve through the interceſſion of a magiſtrate, who received a letter from one of the unfortunate malefactors the day before, acquainting him in the moſt ſolemn manner of the innocency of Condon, of the charge for which he was condemned.

The following is the ſubſtance of the confeſſion of Horner and Fryer, which was laid before the privy council, and was the ground on which they granted Condon a reſpite.

That Horner, Fryer, Gentleman Harry, alias Sterne, Hartley, and Bean, were the only people concerned in the robbery at farmer Clewin's, and that Condon and Jordan were innocent; but they did not deny Jordan's being concerned in the robbery at Copenhagen-houſe.—That in the robbery at Enfield-waſh, where the ſervant was ſo terribly cut, the gang conſiſted of Fryer, Gentleman Harry, and Bean; that Horner was at the ſame time in Clerkenwell-bridewell, as a diſorderly priſoner; and that Fryer brought him five guineas, being his ſhare of the booty, as he was to have been concerned in the robbery; and that Fryer was the perſon who cut the ſervant.

28th. Laſt week the purchaſe of the Opera Houſe was completed; Meſſrs. Harris and Sheridan paying down 10,000l. to Meſſrs. Yates and Brookes, and giving ſecurity for the remaining twelve.

The following unfortunate accident happened lately at farmer French's, at Stanmore, in Middleſex: A number of hay-makers and labourers having taken their repoſe, as it is common in the country in hot weather, under the ſide of a hay-rick, containing about ſixty

ſixty loads, the rick, by overweight at the top, overſet upon them, and ſmothered them. Three women, one man, and a child, have been got out dead.

The following is an authentic account of the ſummer encampments:

Saliſbury. 1ſt, 2d, 3d, and 6th dragoon guards.

St. Edmundſbury. 3d, 4th, 7th, and 10th dragoons.

Coxheath, Kent. 1ſt battalion of royals, 2d, 14th, 18th, 59th, and 65th regiments of foot, 1ſt regiment of dragoons, and twelve regiments of militia.

Warley Common, Eſſex. 6th, 25th, and 69th regiments of foot, and ſix regiments of militia, viz. the Somerſet, Wilts, Kent, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Pembroke.

Winchester. 50th regiment of foot, ſix regiments of militia.

Three regiments of militia at Plymouth, two ditto at Portſmouth, and one at Dover.

Vienna, June 10. By letters from Moldavia we learn, that the Hoſpodar of that principality, lately raiſed to that dignity, did not long enjoy it, the Grand Signior having ſent a perſon to demand his head, which, it is ſaid, was executed without any obſtacle. The good underſtanding and harmony between that prince and Ruſſia, has been the chief cauſe of his death.

DIED, at her apartments in Oxford-ſtreet, Miſs Mary Lydia Lucrine, a maiden lady of genteel fortune, and who ſome years ſince meeting with a diſappointment as to matrimony, made a vow "never to ſee the light of the ſun again:" accordingly the windows of her apartment were cloſely ſhut up, and ſhe ſtrictly kept her reſolution.—A few years ago, another lady, who had reſolved "never to ſee the light of day again," from a matrimonial diſappointment, lived ſhut up in darkneſs (at leaſt ſhe had only a lamp or candle burning) in Charter-houſe-ſtreet; and this lady, like the above, rigidly kept her maiden vow.

The Rev. James Hampton, at Knightſbridge, Rector of More-Monkton, and of Folkton, in Yorkſhire, and well known to the learned world for his tranſlation of Polybius.

JULY.

A court was held at the Eaſt-India Houſe in Leaden-hall-ſtreet, when, among other matters, it was moved and carried, that the next dividend be eight per cent. on the whole ſtock, ſubject to the determination of the proprietors. 1ſt.

The chairman was much preſſed to read a copy of a letter from the Nabob of Arcot (the original of which was in the poſſeſſion of Lauchlin Macleane, Eſq; who, it is ſuppoſed, is gone to the bottom in the Swallow), but oppoſed the motion with all his power, and got the better of it. The purport of the letter is ſaid to be a declaration of the Nabob to throw off the yoke of the Company, and ſubmit himſelf as a tributary to the King of Great Britain, confeſſing no other ſuperior, and determining in future to pay no price for the Company's protection.

Same day, at the final cloſe of the poll at Guildhall for chamberlain, the numbers were, for Benjamin Hopkins, Eſq; 1216; and for John Wilkes, Eſq; 287; majority 929.

Cambridge. "The prizes of fifteen guineas each, given by the repreſentatives in parliament for the univerſity, for the beſt eſſays in Latin proſe, are this year adjudged to Mr. Gretton of Trinity, and Mr. Wakefield of Jeſus College, Senior Batchelors; and to Mr. Rennel of King's, and Mr. Taylor of Bennet College, Middle-Batchelors."

4th. The ſeveral depoſitions on the part of Earl P—cy, in a libel for a divorce againſt his lady, were read in the conſiſtory court of Doctors Commons, when Dr. Betteſworth pronounced immediately for a divorce.

8th. Farenheit's thermometer, on Sunday laſt, in town, and an eaſtern aſpect, in the ſhade, at half paſt one, was at 78¼; at three was at 79, where it remained till the thunder ſtorm, after which it fell about two degrees. Theſe obſervations were made on a very correct inſtrument, which ſtood near a window which was open; the guſts of wind which occaſionally entered, were as hot as if it had come from a furnace.

Ipſwich, July 11. Tueſday the 23d ult. an exhibition was made at Loweſtoff of the new-invented lamp to give light to ſhips out at ſea. It conſiſts of above 1000 ſmall mirrors, fed by oil, which reflect the light. It anſwered beyond expectation, and is much ſuperior to the preſent light-houſes. A ſhip was ſent out to ſea, when the people on board ſaw it many minutes before they could the light-houſes; at four leagues diſtance it appeared like a globe of fire in the air.

17th. Sir Alexander Leith, Bart. and member of parliament, ſurrendered himſelf at the bar of the Old Bailey, to take his trial on a capital indictment on the proſecution of Benjamin Pope, Eſq; before the Judges Nares and Buller. Mr. Pope being examined by Serjeant Davy, counſel for Sir Alexander Leith, kept the court in a continual laugh: it appeared from his own confeſſion, that Sir Alexander Leith had inſtituted divers ſuits in law and equity againſt him, previous to his criminal complaint; and that thoſe ſuits, or the dread of their conſequences, gave birth to the preſent proſecution; for on his being aſked, If he did not rely on Sir Alexander's conviction as the only means of barring the ſeveral ſuits againſt him? he, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole court, calmly replied, That he had been told, if Sir Alexander was hanged, the ſuits would abate. Here the bench reprobated the proſecution in terms of the utmoſt ſeverity, and mentioning ſomething relative to the proſecution to Mr. Bearcroft, counſel for the proſecution, he inſtantly replied, "If I am aſked the queſtion by the bench, I declare there is not a ſhadow of cauſe for the proſecution." Here the buſineſs cloſed, and the bench granted Sir Alexander a copy of his indictment.

[The indictment charged Sir Alexander with feloniouſly ſtealing, taking, and carrying away, a quantity of plate and houſehold furniture. There was alſo a ſecond count in the indictment, charging Sir Alexander with horſe-ſtealing, viz. feloniouſly ſtealing, taking and carrying away three horſes, the above plate, houſehold furniture, and horſes, being the property of Benjamin Pope, Eſq;]

An indictment was tried in the court of King's-bench, on the proſecution of Mr. Davis, againſt the Governor

Governor and Council of Bengal, for falſe impriſonment, and ſending him home to England. He proved his caſe, and his authority from the company. The defence ſet up conſiſted of three parts; firſt, That he was concerned in a conſpiracy in 1776; this was advanced by counſel, but not proved; the ſecond, That his licence was to trade as a mariner only, and not to intermeddle in the inland trade; and the miſtake in his licence was not a juſtification, as his petition was for liberty to trade as a mariner, and not to trade as a merchant: the third ground of juſtification was, the conſtruction of the ſtatute juſtified the company's ſervants taking up any Engliſhman in the dominions of an Indian prince, where we had no ſettlement; this the company's counſel inſiſted they had a right to do. Lord Manſfield ſaid, That the laſt juſtification was of the utmoſt importance to the company, and if the jury found that the proſecutor had acted in India contrary to what he knew he ſhould have done, then the queſtion of conſtruction ſhould be reſerved for the opinion of the judges. The jury found for the proſecution.

20th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when thirteen priſoners received judgment of death, twelve were ſentenced to hard labour on the river Thames, twelve to hard labour in Bridewell, four to be impriſoned in Newgate, ſixteen branded, twelve to be whipped, and fifteen diſcharged by act of parliament.

Lyon Lyons, convicted in January ſeſſions of ſhooting at Thomas Goodall, received judgment of death.

21ſt. A cauſe came on in the court of Common-Pleas, Guildhall, before Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey, wherein Capt. Nicholls was plaintiff, and Governor Vereliſt, and ſome inferior officers, defendants. The action was for falſe impriſoning the Captain at Calcutta, on charge of carrying on a trade which they deemed illegal. The trial began at nine o'clock in the morning, and laſted till after five in the evening. The jury withdrew about three quarters of an hour, when they returned with a verdict for the plaintiff.

At a burying-place called Ahade, in the county of Donegal, in Ireland, there was lately dug up a piece of flat ſtone, about three feet by two, the device on which was a figure of death with a bow and arrow, ſhooting at a woman with a boy in her arms; and underneath was an inſcription in Iriſh characters, of which the following is a juſt tranſlation:

"Here are depoſited, with a deſign of mingling them with the parent earth from which the mortal part came, a mother who loved her ſon to the deſtruction of his death. She claſped him to her boſom with all the joy of a parent, the pulſe of whoſe heart beat with maternal affection; and in the very moment whilſt the gladneſs of joy danced in the pupil of the boy's eyes, and the mother's boſom ſwelled with tranſport—Death's arrow, in a flaſh of lightening, pierced them both in a vital part, and totally diſſolving the entrails of the ſon without injuring his ſkin, and burning to a cinder the liver of the mother, ſent them out of this world at one and the ſame moment of time, in the year of Chriſt 1343."

23d. The

23d. The following are ſome of the miſchiefs done by the late terrible ſtorms of lightening, &c.—A barn belonging to the rectory farm at Rampton, in Cambridgeſhire, was ſet on fire and conſumed, together with twenty quarters of wheat, ten quarters of beans, a new cart, ſeveral ploughs, and other implements of huſbandry.—A man was ſtruck dead near Battle-bridge.—Four cows belonging to Mrs. Laycock, of Iſlington, graſing in a field near the New River reſervoir, were all ſtruck dead.—Seven ſheep and a heifer were found dead on Hounſlow Heath.—At Hanwell and at Laleham a great deal of damage was done, ſeveral barns being ſet on fire.—At Weybridge, in Surry, a man and his two daughters were ſtruck dead.—The turret clock upon Mr. Green's houſe, brewer, at Pimlico, was ſet on fire and deſtroyed; but by the timely aſſiſtance of the engine on the premiſes, further miſchief was prevented.—One Cheaphouſe, a carpenter at Lambeth, driving a horſe over St. George's Fields, in order to draw a piece of timber, was ſtruck dead.—As Mr. Nelme, jeweller, at Clerkenwell, was croſſing his own yard, he was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, and continued in that ſtate about ſeven hours, when he began by degrees to recover, but remains exceeding weak by the violent ſtroke he received.—A young woman big with child going along Thames-ſtreet, was ſtruck, and taken in labour in the ſtreet. Some people humanely put her into a coach, and went with her, in order to convey her home to Lambeth, but ſhe died without being delivered, juſt before ſhe reached the place of her abode.—At Millington Hoſpital, near Shrewſbury, it entered the roof of an apartment where no perſon was, melted the pewter, broke all the earthen ware, &c.—We hear from Oſweſtry, that it entered the kitchen of a carrier of that town and killed the maid who was rocking the cradle with a child in it; but though ſeven more people were in the ſame room, not one of them was hurt.—A barn belonging to a farmer at Shepperton caught fire by a flaſh, and was conſumed, as were ſeveral loads of hay.—A cottage, about half a mile from the above place, was alſo burnt down by the ſame accident.—A hay-ſtack belonging to a farmer on Epping-foreſt, was ſet on fire and entirely conſumed.—A man, his wife, and two children, ſtanding at the door of a houſe at Chigwell, in Eſſex, were all ſtruck dead.

25th. All deſerters from any of the military corps are in future to be ſent to the Eaſt Indies, or the coaſt of Africa, for life: this new regulation has been read at the head of every regiment in Great Britain and Ireland by his Majeſty's order.

There is now growing in the garden of Charles Leigh, Eſq; of Addington, in Lancaſter, a ſerpent melon, which meaſures in length five feet two inches and an half. The fruit of this curious plant grew to the above length in fourteen days, and for a week paſt has continued increaſing in thickneſs.

Ipſwich, July 31. On Saturday a gang of ſmugglers, conſiſting, as was reckoned, of 140 men, landed a large quantity of tea and other dry goods, which they loaded into 27 carts,

27 carts, near Orford; they alſo had with the above carts two other carts, which contained 56 half-ankers of ſpirits. As they were on the road not far from, and leading to, Melton, they were overtaken by Meſſ. Planner, Brock, Burdett, and three other officers of exciſe, who began to ſeize the foremoſt carts, and a ſmart ſcuffle enſued; but the great ſuperiority of the numbers of the ſmugglers, forced the officers ſoon to deſiſt from their attempt to ſeize the dry goods, with which the ſmugglers got clear off. However, the two carts, and 56 half-ankers of ſpirits, fell into the officers hands, and are ſafely lodged in the Cuſtom-houſe.

Died, at a village near Reading, John Jackſon, aged 93, and James Jackſon, aged 87. Theſe two brothers were old bachelors, and afforded a ſtriking inſtance of the inſufficiency of wealth to create happineſs. Though theſe old men had been bleſt with great riches ever ſince they were 20 years of age, they abſolutely denied themſelves the common neceſſaries of life; and lived in the village for fifty years paſt as poor men, and often accepted of charity from rich perſons who reſided near them; they never ſuffered any woman or man to come into their apartment; (which was only one ſhabby room) and about three weeks ago were both taken ill, and after languiſhing a ſhort time, they expired on the ſame day, within an hour of each other. It is computed by their writings, that they have died worth an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.

In his 130th year, John Watſon, Keeper of Lime park, Cheſhire.

At Paris, aged 120, Henry d'Arcary de Beaucovoy, Lord of Covicmont, Knight of the order of St. Louis, Governor of Beauqueſne, &c.

In the pariſh of Kinnef, in Scotland, Iſabel Guthrie, aged 105; ſhe had three huſbands, the laſt of whom ſhe ſaw chriſtened in her ſecond huſband's time; ſhe kept a public-houſe in that pariſh ever ſince the year 1690.

Letter from Smyrna, July 3.

"This day the city of Smyrna, the richeſt city in the Levant, after being kept in continual agitation by a ſucceſſion of ſhocks from the 25th of June, was thrown into univerſal conſternation by the moſt violent earthquake ever known in that part of the world. Many houſes were deſtroyed, together with four moſques, and three public baths, and many people buried in the ruins; forty men were buried by the fall of one moſque, ſome of whom were dug out alive twenty-four hours after; between ſeven and ten in the morning were two more violent ſhocks, which were followed by twenty-four others; between that time and midnight the next day (the 4th) the earth ſhook again five or ſix times, but leſs violent than the day before: every ſhock was preceded by a ſubterraneous noiſe, like the report of cannon. The 5th was a more terrible day than the preceding ones. The earthquakes began on that morning at half an hour paſt one, and the earth was not ſtill one moment till eight o'clock; during that ſpace there were nine violent ſhocks, which threw down walls and houſes, and cauſed a fire which laſted twenty-eight hours; and as

there were thirteen other ſhocks before midnight, no ſuccour could be given towards putting a ſtop to the progreſs of the flames; every one endeavoured to make his eſcape; many of thoſe who ſtaid to take away their effects were cruſhed in ruins of houſes; every building was conſumed as far as St. Venerando, when, there being nothing more to burn, the fire ſtopped in the mountains; more than half the city, and all the richeſt quarter of it, is burnt down; the houſes of the French, Engliſh, Neapolitan, Venetian, and Raguſan Conſuls, were conſumed among the reſt; and, what was more terrible, three dervres, or places built on purpoſe to ſecure things from fire, were burnt down, which was never known to have happened before, and they were full of valuable effects; and many magazines were conſumed. Notwithſtanding theſe calamities, there were people who had villainy enough both to be incendiaries and thieves. The deſolation is beyond conception, and the damage ſo great that it is much doubted whether this city will ever recover it. It is a moſt ſhocking ſight to ſee the neighbouring mountains covered with people of all nations wanting the neceſſaries of life; and their ſituation is the more deplorable, as the magazines of wheat, rye, barley, coffee, &c. are burnt."

SUMMER ASSIZES.

At Northampton 1 condemned, but afterwards reprieved.

At Guildford 5,—2 of whom, viz. Joſhua Crompton, for forgery; and R. Pendleton, for the murder of his wife, were executed.

At Abingdon 5,—2 reprieved.

At Wincheſter 5,—3 reprieved.

At Kingſton upon Hull 1 for coining.

At Huntingdon 2; but reprieved.

At Saliſbury 1—reprieved.

At York 1—reprieved.

At Maidſtone 5,—2 reprieved.

At Lincoln 4—all reprieved.

At Nottingham 2—reprieved.

At Derby 1—reprieved.

At Shrewſbury 2,—1 reprieved.

At Exeter 1.

At Chelmsford 8,—4 of whom were executed.

At Warwick 5,—2 of whom (women) for the murder of their children, were executed.

At Glouceſter 6—reprieved.

At Hereford 1 for murder executed.

Hertford, Leiceſter and Worceſter proved maiden.

AUGUST.

1ſt. Friday laſt, about eleven o'clock, during a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, as a team of ſix oxen belonging to farmer Pincott, of Saddlewood, in the pariſh of Hawkeſbury, were at work in Treſſam Field, the whole team in an inſtant was ſtruck dead by a flaſh of lightning. The boy who was driving them had ſtopped the beaſts, and was ſtanding by way of ſhelter cloſe by the middlemoſt ox; he was rendered inſenſible for ſome time, but afterwards recovered. One of the yokes was ſplintered, and it is ſuppoſed that the chain ſerved as a conductor to the lightning. The boy's back was ſingularly marked; the lightning had perforated his coat in two different

different parts, and left five places in his back where the skin was eraſed, about the ſize of a ſhilling, and had the appearance of a burn from gunpowder.

3d. Came on before Earl Mansfield, at Guildhall, an action brought by the city againſt the fruit-people of Kent, Eſſex, Berkſhire, &c. for refuſing to pay 1s. 8d. for landing their goods at Blackfryars-ſtairs; when after two hours hearing the city was non-ſuited.

The court of ſeſſion of Scotland have lately determined a cauſe of great importance to the public. The proprietors of the bank of Douglas, Heron, and Co. having loſt their whole capital paid in, a demand was made upon them ſome time ago of 300l. more upon each ſhare; this was refuſed to be paid by ſome of the proprietors, upon the grounds, that they were not liable for more than their ſtock, and that great part of the loſs was occaſioned by the directors borrowing money on annuities, which they had no power to do. To this it was replied, that the directors had full power to borrow money for the uſe of the company; but at any rate the creditors of the company muſt be paid, in whatever manner the directors and proprietors might ſettle the matter betwixt themſelves afterwards. The court unanimouſly found the proprietors obliged to pay the additional call of 300l. each ſhare, and alſo found them liable in coſts of ſuit.

5th. Mr. Thomas Linley, a celebrated performer on the violin, and eldeſt ſon of Mr. Linley, one of the proprietors of Drury-lane Theatre, fell out of a boat into a lake belonging to his Grace the Duke of Ancaſter, at Grimſthorpe, in Lincolnſhire, and was unfortunately drowned. He remained under water full forty minutes, ſo that every effort made uſe of to reſtore him to life proved ineffectual.

Laſt year there were upwards of 400 lottery-offices in and about London only; but the late act obliging the keepers of them to take out licences at the expence of 50l. the whole number at preſent for all England, as appears by the liſt publiſhed by authority, amounts to no more than 51.

7th. This day died, raving mad, the only daughter of Mr. Graſſing, a wine-merchant, in Thames-ſtreet; who was bit by a favourite cat about three weeks ago.

9th. This morning about five o'clock, by virtue of an information, ſome cuſtom-houſe officers, aſſiſted by a file of muſqueteers, entered the Fleet Priſon, in ſearch of run goods, on which the priſoners were much alarmed, and ſome little reſiſtance was made; but after the ſoldiers had knocked two or three of them down, they retired, and left them to ſearch for the goods. Previous to their going, the officers had obtained leave from the Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, to enter with their arms to prevent any miſchief being done to them by the priſoners. The ſeizure conſiſted of 2491 lb. weight of tea, 1874 lb. weight of coffee, ſeveral large bags of chocolate, weighing 1020 lb. and a large quantity of lace, worth about 1500l. The way theſe contraband articles were got into the above priſon, was by ladders raiſed on the outſide, and the goods let down on the inſide, but not for the uſe or

benefit of any of the priſoners, except what they got for warehouſe-room from the ſmugglers, who for a long time paſt have ſecreted articles in the above priſon to a very large amount.

Norwich, Aug. 11. This day a very intereſting cauſe, reſpecting common rights, was tried between Henry Wells, of Banham, plaintiff, and Thomas Watling, of Winfarthing, defendant, on an action brought by the plaintiff, on behalf of himſelf and the other inhabitants of Banham againſt the defendant, for his keeping and depaſturing upon the large waſte called Banham Heath, a very conſiderable number of ſheep more than he could keep levant and couchant upon the lands in his occupation; when, after a hearing of three hours, the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, with damages and coſts.

Same day paſſed the great ſeal a commiſſion impowering the Lords of the Admiralty to iſſue letters of marque, alſo authorizing them to ſend like powers to the Governors of the Leeward Iſlands, and in the Weſt Indies.

The ſame time a commiſſion paſſed the great ſeal empowering the High Court of Admiralty to condemn ſuch prizes as ſhall be taken from the French.

14th. This morning a terrible fire broke out at farmer Auger's, at Walthambury Farm in Eſſex, occaſioned by a ſtack of hay being put up too ſoon, which entirely conſumed the ſame, together with the barns, ſtables, out-houſes, granaries, all the waggons, carts, ploughs, &c. two horſes, and produce of 150 acres of corn unthreſhed. The damage is computed at 3000l. and upwards. The dwelling-houſe and furniture are ſaved.

15th. Lately the court of ſeſſion of Scotland determined a cauſe of great importance to the liberty of the ſubject. The law regarding recruiting, to prevent perſons being trepanned, when drunk, &c. humanely gives a certain time for thoſe who are inliſted to get off, upon returning the inliſting money, and what is called the ſmart money. It has been doubted whether the time allowed by act of parliament is twenty-four hours or four days. Three perſons who had taken the inliſting money, had offered to return it, with the ſmart money, on the third day, which was refuſed, as it was alledged it ought to have been returned within twenty-four hours. This gave riſe to the preſent action. The court unanimouſly gave the cauſe in favour of the three men, and eſtabliſhed this important point, that any perſon inliſted may be ſet at liberty, upon returning the money within four days.

17th. On Saturday a French ſignalment, or hue and cry, was received at the Public-office in Bow-ſtreet, from the Lieutenant-general of the police at Paris, giving an account of a moſt horrid murder, committed by a fellow whoſe ſurname is Richard, and a woman whoſe name is Serard, or Suer, with a particular deſcription of their perſons. The murder they committed is perhaps beyond example; after having poiſoned her huſband, in concert with the above Richard, in order to put him out of the way, that he might not be an interruption to their criminal correſpondence; he had ſcarcely been buried

buried before they formed the helliſh deſign of poiſoning five children, the offspring of the above Richard. This infernal purpoſe they completed, and poiſoned every one, with ſo ſtrong a potion, that they ſwelled inſtantly beyond credibility, and died in a few hours in the moſt excruciating torments; the eldeſt was a fine young girl of about ſeventeen, and the youngeſt about three years of age, all of whom were buried together in one grave, at Lalande upon Maine. Although the ſtricteſt ſearch has been made all over France, and the conquered countries, yet theſe deteſtable beings have eſcaped that juſtice due to crimes as accumulated as they are monſtrous.

18th. Laſt week Mrs. Johnſon, of Thames-ſtreet, coming over Moorfields, found a pocket-book containing bank notes to the amount of 1000l. which ſhe carried to Mr. Drummond, banker, at Charing croſs, when he generouſly gave her 50l. for her honeſty. And the next morning the ſame gentlewoman found a gold watch belonging to Mr. Drummond's brother, which ſhe carried home, and received a reward of 20l.

25th. In the Weſt-India iſlands there has been ſome diſturbance about the King's duty, which ſtands thus: four and a half per cent. is to be paid to the crown out of all ſugars and rum exported from the iſlands. The uſual method has always been, to pay in rum and ſugar, the former of which was uſually ſold on the iſland, and the latter ſent to England to be diſpoſed of. Hogſheads of ſugar are eſteemed at 12cwt. though ſome run as far as 13, 14, and ſometimes 15cwt. yet the duty was always paid reckoning them at 12cwt. Sometimes the ſugar was not ſo good as that for which it was paid, and on the paſſage to England accidents have happened by weather and leakage; to prevent any loſs in future, and to make the utmoſt of the duty, a collector on a certain iſland has refuſed to accept the ſugars, as formerly, at an eſtimate, but inſiſts upon a full four and a half per cent. agreeable to what is ſhipped. The planters have therefore agreed not to ſhip any till the matter is ſettled on the old foundation and uſage; and we are happy to hear that this matter will be ſhortly ſettled, as Admiral Barrington carried over inſtructions to receive the duty as heretofore it has been accuſtomed to be received.

There is now growing in a gentleman's garden at Spondon, near Derby, a cucumber that meaſures 19 inches in length, and 30 in circumference. It is ſuppoſed to weigh near 20 pounds, and is ſtill in a thriving ſtate. There are others on the ſame bed, which, though not ſo large, are nevertheleſs of an amazing ſize.

There is alſo now growing in a garden belonging to Mr. Richard Hobcraft, in the pariſh of Bucknall, in the county of Oxford, a thiſtle called the Carduus Benedictus, which meaſures above ſeven yards in circumference, is upwards of ſeven feet high, and has upon it more than 120 heads.

A remarkable inſtance of the fury of diſappointed love manifeſted itſelf in the deſperate attempt of one Empſon, a footman to Dr. Bell, on the life of a maid-ſervant belonging to Lord Spencer. The fellow, having courted her for ſome

time in vain, at laſt cauſed the banns to be put up in church, without her conſent, which ſhe forbade. Being thus diſappointed, he meditated revenge; and having got a perſon to write a letter to her, appointing a meeting, he contrived to way-lay her and ſurprize her in Lord Spencer's park: on her ſcreaming, he diſcharged a loaded piſtol with intent to kill her, and then made his eſcape. The ball wounded her, but not mortally.

The following are the particulars of the evidence on which Mary Knight was convicted of the wilful murder of her eldeſt ſon. The only witneſs was a younger brother. The ſtory the boy told was credible: That the deceaſed was ſent into a field to glean; that when he came home his mother beat him with a great ſtick, for not bringing more corn; that he cried ſadly, and ſhe ſhut him up in the pantry; that ſome time after the witneſs called to him to come to play, but he made no anſwer; that he opened the pantry door, and took hold of his hand; that it felt cold; that he told his mother that Roger (the deceaſed) felt cold, and aſked her to let him come to the fire; that his mother went into the pantry, brought Roger wrapped up in her apron, and carried him out of doors; that he looked under the door, and ſaw her throw him into the well; that when ſhe came in again ſhe put the ſtick ſhe had beat him with into the fire; that before it was burnt out the neighbours came in, took the deceaſed out of the well, and the ſtick out of the fire, which laſt was produced in court. On this evidence, and theſe circumſtances, the woman is ſaid to have been convicted and executed.

Copy of a Letter from the French King to Count d'Orvilliers.

Verſailles, Aug. 1.

"I have received, Sir, with the greateſt joy, the news of the combat which you have ſuſtained againſt the Engliſh fleet; and am exceedingly pleaſed to find that by your prudent conduct, and excellent *manœuvres*, you have juſtified the choice I have made of your naval abilities. I deſire you will let the officers, and all your ſeamen in general know, that their gallant behaviour has met with my full approbation. I ſincerely feel for the wound of Mr. Duchaffault, but I hope that it will have no dangerous conſequence, and that he will ſoon be able to proſecute his good ſervices. I have given ſtrict orders that every proper care ſhould be taken of the wounded, and I deſire you to aſſure the widows, as well as the relations of the deceaſed, that I am extremely grieved for their loſs.

"Mr. de Sartine ſhall impart you my further orders, and I have every reaſon to believe that they will be executed with ſucceſs.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

Paris, Aug. 21. This day the pregnancy of the Queen of France was publickly declared, and received with all the uſual rejoicings and demonſtrations of joy.

DIED, At his houſe in Chiſwell-ſtreet, Mr. William Caſlon, to whoſe ſkill and ability, added to the ingenuity and invention of his father, (dead twenty years ſince,) Great Britain is indebted for the ſuperiority ſhe enjoys over every country

country on the face of the globe in the art of letter-founding; an art obviouſly and eſſentially important to a nation, whoſe great and glorious characteriſtic is the freedom of its preſs! Letter-founding was firſt practiſed with reputation and ſucceſs in England by Mr. Caſlon's father; ſince his death it has been brought to wonderful perfection by his ſon. Before the art was diſcovered by Mr. Caſlon's father, we had all our printing types from Holland, and other parts of the continent; ſince his diſcovery the moſt elegant editions of our moſt valuable authors, as well as thoſe of other countries, have been printed at home and abroad on Engliſh letter; and of late years it has been univerſally confeſſed that the moſt beautiful types the world has produced have been caſt in the foundery in Chiſwell-ſtreet.

Capt. Maurice Suckling: he commanded the Dreadnought in that very memorable engagement, when three Engliſh men of war, under the command of Commodore Forreſt, defeated a ſquadron of ſeven French men of war off Cape Francois, in October, 1757.

William Lee, Eſq; chief clerk on the pleas ſide in the court of King's-bench, by whoſe death a place of 4000l. a year is become vacant, the appointment to which, for two lives, reſts with the Earl of Mansfield.

At York, aged 87 years, Mr. Thomas Gent, printer, citizen of London, York, and Dublin, author of the Antiquities of York, Hull, Ripon, &c.

The Rev. Dr. Barnardiſton, maſter of Bennet College, Cambridge, principal librarian of that univerſity, rector of Polmodeſton, in Norfolk, and one of the prebends of Lincoln.

SEPTEMBER.

1ſt. The following ſingular tranſaction happened laſt week in the city:—One Watts, a clerk to Meſſ. Bartlett and Co. at Edinburgh, having got 1600l. in his poſſeſſion, the property of his maſter, 1000l. of which was a draft on Meſſ. Hog and Co. of Foſter-lane, Cheapſide, London, payable on ſight to a Mr. Montgomery, ſat off from Edinburgh on Wedneſday laſt with the caſh and draft, and arrived in town on Saturday morning. When he got to the corner of Foſter-lane, he accoſted a perſon with 'Sir, will you be ſo gude as to direct me the ſtraight gait to Maiſter Hog's,' pulling a paper out of his pocket. I don't rightly underſtand you, Sir, ſaid the perſon; you ſeem to be a foreigner; let me ſee the paper. On reading it, he ſaid, Oh, Sir, you want Mr. Hog's, in Foſter-lane? 'Yes, Sir, (ſaid Watts) it is Maiſter Hog's; do you ken the houſe?' I'll ſhew you, Sir, ſaid the man, and directly took him to the houſe, while Watts preſented the draft for 1000l. and ſaid his name was Montgomery. His kind conductor, however, happened to be Charles Jealous, one of Sir John Fielding's men, who was waiting in the ſtreet with others, in hopes of meeting with the raw Scotchman, which he, luckily for Meſſrs. Bartlett and Co. did, and on ſearching him, found the other 600l. all but 9l. ſpent in travelling expences. This, being in law called a breach of truſt, the

note and cash was taken from Maister Watts in the presence of his master, Mr. Bartlett, who happily got to town time enough to give proper information at Bow-street, and thereby saved his property.

Extract of a Letter from Portsmouth, September 7.

"Early on Monday morning it was discovered at Forton prison, near Gosport, that fifty-seven prisoners, all Americans, had effected their escape in the night. Immediately the picquet guard from Weovill camp scoured the coast and country, and the alarm was made as general as possible, so that it is hoped they will soon be retaken. The black-hole in which the refractory have been confined, is immediately under the room where the other prisoners sleep; those in the dungeon had for several days undermined and worked a subterraneous passage, which led beyond the wall that incloses the prison, so that they had only to open the ground upwards into the country, where they knew there was no guard to discover them. A hole sufficient to admit a man through was made from the cieling of their bed-room down to the black hole; by which they had conveyed up the rubbish brought from the working below, some of which they had put into their beds, and some into the chimney, and the hole was easily covered over with a bed when any person came into the room, to prevent any suspicion of their intention. The prison is by no means adequate to the purposes, and, if continued, ought to be inclosed with a very high wall, some distance from the house.

The following is a Copy of the Letter sent by Mr. Oliver in answer to the Request of his Friends, to stand for the Mayoralty for the ensuing Year.

"Gentlemen,

"I AM extremely sorry that the situation to which extreme misconduct and extreme infatuation have at length reduced this country, constrains me to return your obliging compliment an absolute and firm refusal of the honour you propose by your intended nomination of me at Michaelmas.

"Instead of taking upon me any further trust, I must propose to resign back into the hands of my fellow-citizens those trusts with which they have already honoured me;—I mean my gown as an alderman of London, and my delegation as one of their representatives in parliament. The greatest part of my property is vested in the once flourishing West-India Islands, a part of the remaining colonies, which still I hope continue to belong to the crown of Great Britain. But in whatever possession they may now or hereafter be, the precarious state of that much-injured property will speedily demand my presence, and it never was my intention to hold an office, and neglect the duties by absence. My case in this respect is only similar to that of many persons more, whose property is situated as mine is; and those who seem least willing to admit it, will find at last that there is a reciprocal duty, and that allegiance will always go together with protection and justice.

"In every part of the world I shall always carry with me a grateful remembrance of the honour conferred upon me by the good opinion and confidence of my fellow-citizens, and shall quit a country

try in which I have been ſo honoured, with the deepeſt regret—a regret which receives no alleviation, but what is furniſhed by thoſe who have cauſed the neceſſity of quitting it.

I am, Gentlemen, with the greateſt eſteem and gratitude,

Your much obliged,

and faithful humble ſervant,

Margate, RICHARD OLIVER."

Sept. 6, 1778.

11th. *Camp at Coxheath.* This day was appointed for the execution of Bryant Sheridan, who was ſentenced to be ſhot. The picquet guard of every regiment marched early in the morning to the right of the dragoons, and formed two battalions about 200 yards from each other, with their flanks againſt a ſmall wood; parties of dragoons paraded to keep perſons from entering the wood, and about ten o'clock every regiment formed in the front of their lines; the ſoldiers on the quarter-guards were drawn out in the rear of their guard, by which means there was a lane of ſoldiers from one end of the camp to the other. About twelve o'clock the proceſſion began from the bottom of the left wing as follows:

Ten pioneers.
Major on horſeback.
Grenadier company.
Provoſt on horſeback.
Chaplain on horſeback.
Priſoner.
Six men appointed to ſhoot him.
Cart to receive the body.
Colonel.

The royal Iriſh regiment, forming a hollow ſquare, with the drums (muffled) and fifes playing the dead march in Saul, in the centre.

Adjutant.

They marched up the centre of the parade, and round the end of the dragoons, at which place the Welch regiment were formed. When the proceſſion reached the place where the picquet guards were drawn out, it wheeled, and marched up between the two battalions, and halted in the centre. The priſoner then had a cap put on, and the chaplain began praying to him; after a ſmall time ſpent in prayer, General Keppel arrived, and immediately ſpoke aloud to the following purport: "The priſoner, Bryant Sheridan, has been tried for deſertion, found guilty, and ſentenced to be ſhot; but his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to pardon him on condition that he do, as ſoon as poſſible, tranſport himſelf to Senegal, and there ſerve his Majeſty for the remainder of his life." The priſoner immediately kneeled down, returns thanks, and was directly conducted to the Provoſt's.

The priſoner marched with great fortitude, and we hope the proceſſion had a good effect on the minds of the men in general.

A few days ſince, as ſome labourers were at work in a bean-field at Sudbury-green, near Thrapſtone, in Northamptonſhire, they diſcovered a great quantity of ſmall coin, ſcattered over the ſurface of the ground, and in digging found many more buried beneath it. On examination, they proved to be ſilver pieces, of a penny and a halfpenny value each, and to have been coined in the reigns of Edward I. and II. at London, York, Canterbury, and divers other parts of the kingdom, particularly at Hadley, in Suffolk, and

at

at Cheſter, the coinage of which latter place is ſcarce. There were amongſt them a conſiderable number of Scotch pennies in ſilver, the coin of Alexander, and John Baliol, Kings of Scotland, and ſeveral Iriſh pieces of the ſame value, which appear to have been made at Dublin and Waterford, in the reigns of the before-mentioned Kings of England.

21ſt. The ſeſſion, which began at the Old Bailey on the 16th, ended, when the following convicts received ſentence of death: Fr. De Lile, for ſtealing jewels, &c. to a conſiderable amount, in the dwelling-houſe of the Hon. Henry Neville, Eſq. George Goodwin, and Joſeph Green, for a robbery in the Five Fields, Chelſea; James Durham, for horſe-ſtealing; John Frederick Ludovick Giebelhanſen, for ſhop-lifting; John Jones, a brick-maker, for a rape on a girl not ten years of age, who worked with him; Margaret Fillſtone, for ſtealing divers articles from the dwelling-houſe of Thomas Hunt, in Spital-fields; Patrick Boyle, for a robbery near Shadwell Work-houſe; James Farmer, for a burglary at Chelſea; Francis M'Cawley, for a ſtreet robbery.

At the above ſeſſions, Thomas Robinſon was convicted of feloniouſly killing and ſlaying Frances Pickwell, a woman with whom he cohabited, and in a ſudden quarrel threw at her a pair of ſciſſars, which penetrated an artery in the left ſide of her neck, of which ſhe died in a very ſhort time.

22d. The grand dock at Hull, ſaid to be the largeſt in England, was opened for the reception of ſhips.

Came on at the palace of Holyrood-houſe, in Scotland, the election of a peer of that kingdom in parliament, in the room of Lord Viſcount Irvine, deceaſed; when John Marquis of Lothian was unanimouſly choſen. 24th.

Near 500 of Lord Seaforth's Highland regiment, who had deſerted, had taken poſſeſſion of Arthur's Hill near Edinburgh, with a deſign to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; but the prudent application of Gen. Oughton and other leading officers perſuaded them to return to their duty, on promiſe of free pardon. They had been led to believe, that they were to be ſold to the Eaſt-India company. 25th.

This day the lord mayor and court of aldermen met at Guildhall, to ſwear into the office of ſheriffs for the city of London and county of Middleſex, John Burnell, Eſq. and Henry Kitchen, Eſq.

Yeſterday being Michaelmas-Day, the lord mayor, aldermen, ſheriffs, &c. met in the council-chamber at Guildhall, when the common ſerjeant came forward, and opened the buſineſs which called them together that day. 30th.

Sir Watkin Lewes then came forward on the huſtings, and addreſſed the livery to the following purport:

"Gentlemen and fellow citizens,

"I was called on this day by a very reſpectable body of the livery to offer myſelf to this great and important city, which is in a very dangerous ſituation at this time, as we are engaged in a war with two powers, and that things grow worſe and worſe every day, which makes it

it neceſſary for you to be very cautious in your choice."

After which Mr. Baker came forward, and addreſſed the livery, aſſuring them, that ſhould Mr. Oliver reſign his ſeat in parliament, his intentions were to offer himſelf a candidate to repreſent this city; and if he ſhould be honoured with their choice, would pay the greateſt attention to the welfare of this city in particular, and the nation in general; which was received with ſhouts of joy throughout the hall. He then made a motion, that an addreſs of thanks be delivered to Frederick Bull, Eſq. John Sawbridge, Eſq. Richard Oliver, Eſq. and George Hayley, Eſq. repreſentatives of this city, for the diligent and upright attention they have paid, during their ſeats in parliament, to the duties of their office.

All the aldermen below the chair, who had ſerved the office of ſheriff, were then put up, to ſerve the high office of lord mayor, when the ſhow of hands appeared for Alderman Plumb, and Alderman Kennett, who were returned to the court of aldermen for their election of one of them, when they made choice of Alderman Plumb, and he was declared duly elected; being inveſted with the chain, &c. he made a ſhort ſpeech to the livery, thanking them for the honour they had conferred upon him, and aſſuring them that he would, to the utmoſt of his abilities, execute the duties of his office with honour and integrity.

Conſtantinople, Aug. 3. The plague continues to render our ſituation in this capital very diſagreeable, which has induced moſt of the merchants to go into the country, ſo that trade here is entirely at a ſtand. This diſorder rages as violently as it did in the year 1751, and is computed to have carried off upwards of 80,000 people in this capital.

DIED, Thomas Towers, Eſq. of the Inner Temple, who has, by his laſt will, left a legacy of 1500l. to the corporation of the Marine Society in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, by which that truly patriotic body will be enabled to purſue the great object of their deſigns: their finances being much reduced by their having clothed near 1500 landmen volunteers, and near 400 diſtreſſed boys for his Majeſty's navy, ſince the month of April laſt, renders this aſſiſtance peculiarly ſerviceable.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. The parliament, which ſtood prorogued to Thurſday the firſt of October, is further prorogued to Thurſday the 26th of November next, then to ſit for the diſpatch of buſineſs.

A letter from Plymouth, dated Sept. 29, ſays, "This day arrived the Porcupine man of war, Capt. Finch, and has taken and brought in La Modeſte, a French Eaſt-Indiaman of 1000 tons, richly laden from China."

La Modeſte was parted in a gale of wind from three other French Eaſt-Indiamen, about four days before ſhe was taken. As the frigates belonging to Admiral Keppel's fleet were all out cruizing for them, their eſcape would be an almoſt impoſſibility.—The Porcupine ſloop was on her voyage from Liſbon for England, when ſhe fell in with the above ſhip. Her lading chiefly conſiſts of tea, and her value is eſtimated at 300,000l.

300,000l. ſterling; 150,000l. of which money has been underwrote by the Engliſh underwriters.

The following is the Motion made by Mr. Baker, at the Common-Hall, held on Michaelmas-Day laſt.

"That the thanks of this common-hall be given to John Sawbridge, Geo. Hayley, Richard Oliver, and Frederick Bull, Eſquires, the repreſentatives of this city in parliament, for their ſteady and uniform oppoſition to the meaſures of a weak and wicked adminiſtration, whoſe injuſtice, obſtinacy, and folly have rent the empire, and loſt to Great-Britain her moſt valuable poſſeſſions in America; who have diffuſed diſcord and diſtruſt at home, and tarniſhed the glory which Engliſh virtue and Engliſh valour had acquired in every quarter of the globe; and who (in the hope of eſcaping puniſhment in the general calamities of their country), to the miſeries of an unnatural civil conteſt, which they fomented, have added thoſe of a foreign war.

"That under theſe unhappy circumſtances, the repreſentatives of this city, on whoſe ſpirit, probity, and judgment, we have the moſt firm reliance, be requeſted to continue their honeſt endeavours for the reformation of thoſe abuſes, which have boldly invaded, and now make a part in the management of our public affairs; and that they will proſecute to ſhame and puniſhment the authors of our preſent diſgraceful councils, wiſely remembering, that it is by ſuch critical exertions alone, of the individual citizen, in times like theſe, that what remains of our empire and conſtitution can be preſerved from utter ruin."

Which queſtion the lord mayor refuſed ſhould be put; and after a long altercation on the ſubject, in which the ſenſe of the livery appeared to be nearly unanimous for putting the queſtion, Alderman Lewes was voted into the chair, when a liveryman propoſed it again, as well as the following reſolution; both of which being put, were voted unanimouſly:

1ſt, "That Sir James Eſdaile, the lord mayor of this city, deſerves the *cenſure* of the livery of London, for refuſing to put to the vote the thanks of the livery to their repreſentatives in parliament, for their ſteady and uniform good conduct in oppoſing the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration."

2dly, "That the thanks of the livery be given to Sir Watkin Lewes, and to Wm. Baker, Eſq."

Portſmouth, Oct. 4. "This morning arrived at the Mother Bank, two Liverpool privateers, with a French homeward-bound Eaſt-Indiaman, taken by them; ſhe is called the Gaſton, with a French general on board. She is ſaid to be valued at 500,000l."

The reaſon of the above ſhip proving ſo very valuable is, that, beſides her own cargo, ſhe has on board the moſt valuable part of another Indiaman lately wrecked there.

Dublin, October 6. This harbour is now perfectly ſecured from any attempts which might be made againſt our ſhipping by the enemy; two floating batteries are now moored at the entrance into Poolbeg; they are two large Newcaſtle cats, one of them mounting 20 eighteen pounders, and the other 24 twelve pounders.

Late one evening laſt week, as a young gentle- 8th.

man was paſſing by Scotland-yard, in a heavy ſhower of rain, a woman decently dreſſed begged the favour of him to hold a child ſhe had in her arms whilſt ſhe ſhook the water off her cloak: the gentleman good-naturedly complied with her requeſt. She then took off her cloak and ſhook it, and retired a little way up the gateway, which the gentleman imagining to be occaſioned by a circumſtance ſhe did not chooſe to mention, waited contendedly with his face to the road, and the child in his arms, till he thought a ſufficient time elapſed; and then turned round to re-deliver the child to her, but no woman was to be found. The watch coming up, the gentleman informed him of the trick, and he with his companions made a diligent ſearch for the woman, but in vain; and the unwary young fellow was obliged to carry the child himſelf to the workhouſe in St. Martin's-lane, none of the watchmen chooſing to relieve him from his burthen. It is remarkable the infant continued in a ſound ſleep till brought to the workhouſe, where, on examining it, it proved a fine boy, ſuppoſed to be about half a year old, very neatly dreſſed, and with a ſupply of all the neceſſaries for a child of that age.

This evening, about a quarter paſt ſeven o'clock, their Majeſties ſet out from St. James's, to ſtand ſponſors to the new-born daughter of the Duke and Ducheſs of Chandos. Her Majeſty was dreſſed in white ſilk flounced with ſilver, and a ſuperb diamond ſtomacher. The Counteſs of Hertford, as lady of the bed-chamber in waiting, attended on the occaſion, as did the maids of honour, all dreſſed in white. His Majeſty was attended by Lord Hertford and the Earl of Winchilſea. The Princeſs Royal did not go from St. James's, as expected.

The canopy, gold fringe and taſſels, and illumination of lamps in the hall, at the entrance of the houſe of his Grace the Duke of Chandos, for the reception of their Majeſties and the Princeſs Royal, the rich canopy under which they ſat, the new chairs and cuſhions for the chriſtening of his grace's new born daughter, with the chandelier and other decorations, are ſaid to have coſt upwards of 3000l. beſides the apparel of the child during the ceremony, being of the richeſt laces, to the amount of 700l.

This night about twelve o'clock, died the new-born daughter of his Grace the Duke of Chandos; and on Saturday morning, a meſſenger was diſpatched to Windſor to acquaint their Majeſties and the Princeſs Royal of the death of the child. 9th.

The caſe of Mr. Chapman, the ingenious painter, who died lately, was as ſingular as it was dreadful. About a fortnight ago he was overtaken in the park by a fellow, who aſked him if he had any money. Mr. Chapman ſaid, "'Tis an odd queſtion—but I have four or five ſhilling." "Shillings! (ſaid the other) If you had ſaid guineas, it might have done." "What do you mean?" (ſaid Chapman) "Why (cried the villain) you have attempted an unnatural crime, and I ſhall ſwear it." This he did before a magiſtrate, and Mr. Chapman was obliged to give bail to anſwer the complaint; which ſo affected him that he loſt all memory and recollection, being reduced to the condition 12th.

condition of an ideot; and dying ſuddenly, a jury ſat on the body, and brought in their verdict "*died of a fright!*"

14th. This day the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following convicts received ſentence of death:

William Holloway, for feloniouſly aſſaulting William Proffitt in a field near the highway on Chelſea common, and robbing him of an ink-caſe, a tobacco-box, and 14s. 6d. in money; George Graham, for feloniouſly forging and uttering a certain order, purporting to be the order of John Miller, Eſq. one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for the county of Middleſex, for the payment, by the treaſurer of the ſaid county, of a certain ſum of money as and for a reward for apprehending a vagrant; Mary Lightbourn and Mary Grove, alias Penticroſs, for feloniouſly aſſaulting Ann Rawlinſon, an infant about nine years of age, in a field leading from Sadlers-wells to Bagnigge-wells, and robbing her of about fifteen ounces of ſilk, the property of Samuel Cluen, and a cloak, the property of Elizabeth Rawlinſon; and Michael Swift, late a convict on board the ballaſt lighter.

Edinburgh, Oct. 17. On Tueſday laſt, the ſynod of Glaſgow and Ayr appointed a day of public faſting and humiliation to be held within their bounds on the ſecond Thurſday of December, on account of the various evils which at preſent much abound, but particularly on account of the rapid progreſs of infidelity, and the encouragement given to Popery. The ſynod likewiſe appointed a committee to wait upon the Lord Advocate, to inform him of the ſpirit of the people in that part of the country reſpecting the relaxation of the Popiſh penal laws, and requeſting his lordſhip, if any motion is brought into parliament for extending that relaxation to Scotland, to give it all the oppoſition in his power. They alſo recommended it to all the miniſters of the ſynod to reviſe the ſtudy of the Popiſh controverſy, and preach frequently againſt it.

18th. An odd kind of robbery was committed laſt Monday night in Petty France, Weſtminſter. One woman robbed another of a child. She took it forcibly away from her, and almoſt in an inſtant was out of both ſight and reach. In about an hour the child was found, naked as when born.

The Britiſh channel is now ſo covered with our men of war, privateers, and letters of marque, that it is ſcarcely poſſible for any of the French merchant ſhips to eſcape. The Liſbon packet was ſpoke to and boarded by upwards of forty different cruizers in coming acroſs the channel.

19th. John Holt and Andrew Carleton for breaking open the warehouſe belonging to the White Horſe, and ſtealing plate to a very conſiderable value; John Meadows, for a highway robbery; John Milbourn and Rob. Allen, for a burglary in Holborn; Henry Scott, for a robbery in the Green-park; and Lyon Lyons, for burglary; were executed at Tyburn purſuant to their ſeveral ſentences at the Old Baily. Lyon Lyons was attended by a Jew Rabbi, and behaved becoming his melancholy ſituation.

22d. It

22d. It is computed that upwards of forty ſail of French Weſt-Indiamen have been taken, ſince the commencement of the preſent diſputes, which, at an average, conſidering each ſhip at 15,000l. value, amounts to the ſum of 600,000l.

The diſtemper among the horned cattle having broke out on the Ukraine, the importation of horned cattle, and every article relating to them, was prohibited from Ruſſia.

27th. Sarah Drake, houſekeeper to the Rev. Mr. Cayley, at Brompton-low Hall, near Leeds in Yorkſhire, in croſſing the Derwent, had the misfortune to fall off her horſe into the river, and would have infallibly been drowned, but for the ſagacity of a dog, who getting hold of her cloaths, brought her ſo near the bank, that ſhe was drawn out by the butler, who was in company with her, and ſoon after recovered.

28th. The river Iſer, which riſes in Dauphine, ſwelled to ſuch a height by an almoſt inceſſant rain of ſeveral days, that it overflowed the whole low country from Grafivordan to the frontiers at Savoy. The damage is immenſe.

The Moſelle in Germany roſe at the ſame time, two feet and a half higher than in the inundation in 1774.

29th. The Jew prieſt of the Hamburgh Synagogue, in Fenchurch-Street, was divorced from his prieſteſs. The ceremony obſerved on this occaſion was very ſolemn; there were four Jew Rabbins; two attended each party. After the parties had ſtated their complaints and objections to each other, they aſked the prieſteſs if ſhe was willing to part with her huſband; ſhe replied, "Yes;" the prieſt then ſpit in her face, to ſhew his contempt for her; ſhe in return did the ſame; the prieſt threw the bill of divorcement at the prieſteſs; ſhe with open arms, and hands expanded, received it with ſuch avidity as convinced the whole aſſembly with what ſatisfaction ſhe was willing to ſeparate from her huſband. That done, they again ſpit in each other's face, and exclaimed, "Curſed be they who ever wiſh to bring us two together again."

30th. There was lately buried at the pariſh-church of St. Giles in the fields a publican near Bloomſbury-ſquare, whoſe death was occaſioned by the following deep-laid fraud practiſed upon his wife. About a fortnight ago four men, genteelly dreſſed (having, as ſuppoſed, watched the huſband, out) went to the wife, and enquired whether they could have a dinner dreſſed, and have a room to themſelves; being told they might, they ordered a handſome dinner, and were ſhewn to a room up one pair of ſtairs. After they had dined, they drank pretty plentifully, and ſeemed to be paſſing their time in a very merry and friendly manner. About the uſual time for tea, one of them came down, and begged the landlady to favour him with a diſh, ſaying his friends above ſtairs were men for whom he had the ſincereſt regard, but that they were very hard drinkers, and were continually jeering him, becauſe he could not keep up with them. The landlady and he then ſat down together,

ther, and, when it was over, the reſt came down; and, after ridiculing the other as a milk-ſop, paid the reckoning (which amounted to near thirty ſhillings), and all went off together in a coach. But the landlady, having occaſion ſoon after to go up ſtairs, diſcovered that, while one of the pretended gentleman was amuſing her at tea, the others had broke open the bed-chamber and a bureau in it, from whence they had ſtolen near 200l. When the huſband returned, and was informed of what had happened, it had ſuch an effect upon him, that it bereaved him of his ſenſes, and he remained in a ſtate of inſanity till his death.

Died, Peter Plympton, Eſq. aged 101, at his houſe near Uxbridge, worth 20,000l. in caſh, beſides a large landed eſtate, which deſcends to two maiden ſiſters; one of whom is aged 99, and the other 95, and at their deceaſe the whole devolves to a third couſin, who is a ſoldier in the guards.

NOVEMBER.

1ſt. The greateſt ſeizure was made of ſmuggled goods between Lymington and Chriſt-Church, that has been known for many years. Twelve loaded waggons and 50 horſes were brought to the cuſtom-houſe at Southampton. The whole are valued at 5000l.

Dr. Carpenter, titular Archbiſhop of Dublin, at the head of 70 of his clergy, and ſeveral hundred Roman Catholic laity, attended at the court of K. B. in that city, and took the oaths preſcribed by the late act for the relief of Roman Catholics in that kingdom.

2d. On Wedneſday a model of a ſtatue to be erected to the memory of the Earl of Chatham, done by the ſame artiſt who executed that of Alderman Beckford, now placed at the bottom of Guild-hall, was produced before the committee appointed by the city to conſider thereof, when the committee approved of the ſame, and ordered it to be prepared with all expedition, and to be erected, when finiſhed, on the upper huſting in the hall.

3d. Tueſday laſt the principal body of merchants, trading to, and who have property in the Leeward Iſlands, waited on Lords North, Germaine, and Sandwich, acquainting them, 'that, ſince the laſt remonſtrance relative to the protection of their properties in the Leeward Iſlands, they had been rouſed to a more immediate ſenſe of their danger by the capture of Dominica; a capture, the ſuddenneſs of which, and the eaſy manner it was effected, that cannot but give them the ſtrongeſt fears about many more of the iſlands, where they have a property (including Jamaica) of no leſs than fifty millions of money; they therefore prayed their lordſhips, particularly the firſt lord of the Admiralty, that they would take ſuch meaſures as to them ſeemed moſt fitting for the further ſecurity and protection of thoſe iſlands.'

Lord Sandwich anſwered them, 'that the board of Admiralty, no doubt, had the general protection of commerce much at heart, but that the Compte D'Eſtaing's fleet had ſo deranged the purpoſes of the

the board, that a home defence was to be their firſt object.'

Upon this they aſked his lordſhip, 'whether he had any poſitive information that the Compte D'Eſtaing had gone again to the Weſt-Indies.' To which he anſwered, 'he did not at preſent poſitively know, but that, if he had, Admiral Byron had orders to purſue him whither he went, and he hoped would ſoon be able to give a good account of him.' Here the conference ended for that day. When

On Friday laſt the ſame body renewed their application for the protection of their property with greater earneſtneſs, on account of ſome freſh advices they had received in the interim, but received the ſame anſwer; they then called upon the firſt lord of the Admiralty to take notice, that they had diſcharged the duty they owed themſelves, and the public, and retired.

Extract of a Letter from Bath, Nov. 3.

"Yeſterday, according to ſeptennial cuſtom, the tomb of Thomas Fletcher, who was luteniſt to Queen Eliſabeth, was opened in the Abbey Church, and the bodies of him and his wife expoſed to ſuch as had tickets to enter the church, during the hours of one and two. The bones of Mrs. Fletcher are all in their proper place, and ſhe appears a complete ſkeleton, in the form ſhe was laid out at the time of her death. The body of Thomas is incloſed in a paſte, not unlike that compoſition which ſurrounds the Egyptian Mummies, and his bones would be quite inviſible had not a little bit of the upper cruſt been broken in. It is ſaid that he gave directions in his will to be thus expoſed at certain ſtated times. There is no inſcription on the monument, but if I miſtake not, there is an epitaph on this muſician, in Muſic's monument, by Mace, a luteniſt of Cambridge, who, I believe, was living when Fletcher died."

The ſynod of Dumfries, 4th.
after the example of that of Glaſgow and Ayr, met on the 20th ult. and appointed a ſolemn faſt on the firſt Thurſday of December, on account of abounding ſin, and preſent melancholy ſtate of publick affairs. The ſynod alſo appointed their moderator to write to the lord advocate, requeſting him to oppoſe any alteration in the Roman Catholick laws in Scotland.

A queſtion of importance 10th.
to the mercantile part of this country was argued and determined by the Judges of the court of King's-Bench. An action was brought on an agreement entered into to pay a ſum of money at a period expreſly mentioned; before the time of payment came, the defendant took the benefit of an Act of Inſolvency, which was pleaded by him in bar to the action. This being a queſtion of law, and of great conſequence to the ſubject, it was left on trial for the judgment of the court, and after a very ſolemn argument, it was the opinion of the Judges, that the defendant could not plead the Act of Inſolvency, as the plaintiff at that time could not claim a diſtributive ſhare of his aſſets, his

debt not being legally due until the expiration of the time ſpecified in the agreement.

11th. Mr. Recorder made his report to his Majeſty of the convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, when Michael Swift was ordered for execution on Wedneſday the 25th inſtant.

The following were reſpited, viz. William Holloway; George Graham; Mary Lightbourne, and Mary Graves.

This afternoon Mr. Powell, the noted walker, ſtarted from Lee-Bridge, to run two miles in ten minutes for a wager, which he loſt by only half a minute.

One day laſt week a gentleman who was paſſenger on board the Carnatic French Eaſt-Indiaman, lately taken by the Mentor, Capt. Dawſon, arrived in town, and went in a hackney coach to the chambers of an attorney to enquire for a near relation. After ſtaying a ſhort time with his friend, he came down ſtairs; but was greatly chagrined to find the coach gone, and the more ſo, as he had unadviſedly left a trunk in it, containing near 3000l. — 2300l. in bills of exchange, and the reſt in pagodas. On conſulting his friend how to act, they agreed to go to the ſtreet where the coach was taken, and there fortunately found a watchman who remembered the coachman, and directed them to the inn where he put up. They then went to the inn, but the man was not to be heard of; however, the gentleman found all his property within 50l. in his room.

19th. At a court of common council held at Guildhall, it was moved, that the thanks of the court be given to the Right Hon. Sir James Eſdaile, late lord mayor, for his conſtant attendance, and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, during his continuance in that high and important office; after warm debates it paſſed in the negative.

A motion being then made, and queſtion put, that the late lord mayor having refuſed to call a common council, on the moſt important public buſineſs, at the requiſition of the four repreſentatives of this city in parliament, and many other reſpectable gentlemen, members of this court, and having refuſed to put a queſtion in common hall, of great conſequence to the rights and privileges of this city; a warm altercation took place on the reading this motion; but, after the ſpirit of debate had ſubſided, it was carried in the affirmative, nearly two to one.

At the ſame time it was reſolved,

"That the thanks of this court be given to Frederick Bull, John Sawbridge, Richard Oliver, and George Hayley, Eſqrs. our preſent worthy repreſentatives, for their upright and ſteady conduct in parliament, for their ſtrenuous endeavours to prevent the loſs of our colonies, and the ſhame and diſtreſs of this unhappy country."

Mr. Wiſe, of Biſhopſgate-ward, moved the court, that in conſideration of the recorder's bad ſtate of health, a deputy ſhould be appointed him by that court, to tranſact the city buſineſs at thoſe times when Serjeant Glynn ſhould be rendered incapable of giving his attendance. The recorder thanked the gentleman who made the motion

motion in the moſt polite terms, and begged the court at large to comply with his requeſt, as it would be conſidered by him (the recorder) as a very great favour conferred on him. This motion was alſo carried in the affirmative.

25th. At a court of aldermen held at Guildhall, a motion was made, that the thanks of this court be given to Sir James Eſdaile, late lord mayor, for his careful, prudent, and impartial diſcharge of that high office during his mayoralty; which after debate was carried in the affirmative. At this court Mr. Alderman Oliver reſigned his gown, and received the thanks of the court unanimouſly.

Bath, Nov. 23. "On Tueſday the 17th inſtant, Count Rice, and Viſcount du Barry, being together in the latter's houſe, a queſtion aroſe between them, about which they diſagreed; and in the heat of the diſpute, upon an aſſertion of Count Rice, Viſcount du Barry ſaid, *Cela n'eſt pas vrai*; to which Count Rice immediately obſerved, You do not probably obſerve the idea that expreſſion conveys in the language you ſpeak in, and that it admits but of one very diſagreeable interpretation; upon which the other replied, You may interpret it as you pleaſe. This ungentlemanlike treatment having provoked the reſentment of Count Rice, and Viſcount du Barry offering no ſatisfaction, they immediately ſent for ſeconds, who did not quit them till they got to Claverton Down, where they remained together, with a ſurgeon, till day-light, when they took the field, each armed with two piſtols and a ſword. The ground being marked out by the ſeconds, the Viſcount du Barry fired firſt, and lodged a ball in Count Rice's thigh, which penetrated as far as the bone; Count Rice fired his piſtol, and wounded the Viſcount in the breaſt. He went back two or three ſteps, then came forward again, and both, at the ſame time, preſented their piſtols to each other; the piſtols flaſhed together in the pan, though one only was diſcharged. Then they threw away their piſtols, and took to their ſwords; when Count Rice had advanced within a few yards of the Viſcount he ſaw him fall, and heard him cry out, *Je vous demande ma Vie*; to which Count Rice anſwered, *Je vous la donne*; but in a few ſeconds the Viſcount fell back, and expired. Count Rice was brought with difficulty to Bath, being dangerouſly wounded, though now he is in a fair way of recovery.

The coroner's inqueſt ſat on the Viſcount's body laſt Saturday, and after a mature examination of the witneſſes, and the Viſcount's ſervants, brought in their verdict manſlaughter.

27th. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the poll for Alderman of Billingſgate-ward finally cloſed, by conſent of both the candidates. Upon caſting up the books, the numbers were, for Thomas Sainſbury, Eſq. 112, and for Joſiah Dornford, Eſq. 70; upon which Mr. Sainſbury was declared duly elected.

30th. Being St. Andrew's day, was held the anniverſary election of the preſident, council, and

officers of the Royal Society, when Joſeph Banks, Eſq. was elected preſident, Sir John Pringle having reſigned.

Stockholm, Nov. 3. The morning before yeſterday, the Queen was happily delivered of a prince, which agreeable event was immediately announced to the public by the diſcharge of 256 guns four times. The king then went in ſtate to the cathedral of St. Nicholas, with all the royal family, to return thanks to heaven; after which Te Deum was ſung under the diſcharge of 1024 guns. The birth of this prince gives the more pleaſure, as none of the heirs to the crown have been born in Sweden ſince Charles XII. in 1168.

Died, at Stebbing, in Eſſex, Farmer Beauchamp, aged 105.

At a lodging-houſe in St. Giles's, Jonathan Williams, aged 113, who was a ſoldier in the reign of Queen Anne. He has left, in children, grand-children, and great grand-children, one hundred and thirty ſeven.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. Yeſterday morning, about three o'clock, a terrible fire broke out near Pearce's lottery office, Pope's Head Alley, Cornhill, and ſoon conſumed the ſame, with ſeveral other offices, and Seymour's Coffee-houſe over them, and all the houſes on that ſide the way; it alſo conſumed the Pope's Head Eating-houſe, Johnſon's lottery office, and Mr. Ogier's office, a notary public, a cabinet-maker's, the corner of the Alley, and Mr. Fourdrinier, a ſtationer's adjoining, in Lombard-ſtreet, were entirely conſumed; the back part of Meſſ. Lee's and Co. bankers, in Lombard-ſtreet, was much damaged; it burnt through into Change-alley, conſumed the houſe of Mr. Webſter, watch maker, Mr. Aubury, breeches-maker, Mr. Wilkinſon, cabinet-maker, late Sam's Coffee-houſe, with all the furniture, and ſtock in trade of the ſeveral houſes. The flames reached the lottery office, late Jonathan's Coffee-houſe, which was conſumed, and part of the houſe adjoining, late the King's Arms Tavern. It likewiſe damaged Baker's Coffee-houſe, and the houſe adjoining, late a hatter's; the back parts of ſeveral houſes in Cornhill were much damaged. The aunt and maid-ſervant of a gentleman, and his wife, periſhed in the flames, and others narrowly eſcaped. Two firemen are miſſing. The damage done is very conſiderable. — The great fire which happened on the 25th of March, 1748, was partly on the ſame ſpot.

2d. One William Smithſon, a hackney coachman, driver of No 253, was brought before Juſtice Addington in Bow-ſtreet, charged by Mr. M'Sween with the following capital offence: On Monday night Mr. M'Sween ordered the boy of the ſhop where he lodged, to call a coach (Mr. M'Sween living in Warwick-court, Holborn) and put his trunks and things into the coach; Matthew Wilſon, the boy, went and called a coach from the ſtand at Fulwood's rents, and then helped the coachman to put the trunks into the coach. Wilſon then called Mr.

Mr. M'Sween, who immediately came out, but the coachman had driven off with the trunks. The boy, fortunately knowing the owner of the number, Thomas Earle, of Purpool-lane, Mr. M'Sween ran immediately there, when Earle abuſed them with a number of oaths, denied his knowledge of the man, and diſbelieved Mr. M'Sween's loſs. In conſequence of this treatment, Mr. M'Sween came to Bow-ſtreet, when proper officers were diſpatched, who ſoon found out the priſoner, and happily the trunks, broken up and rummaged, though all the property was ſafe, which was to a large amount, with a bank-note of 50l. Smithſon ſaid he was drunk when he did it. He was committed, the proper parties bound over to proſecute for a capital felony, and the magiſtrates recommended it to Mr. M'Sween to complain to the commiſſioners of hackney coaches of the conduct of the maſter.

4th. Yeſterday a court of common-council was held at Guildhall, when the court agreed that thanks be given to Richard Oliver, Eſq. for his uniform conduct in the adminiſtration of juſtice, &c.

The court took into conſideration the report of the committee to perpetuate the memory of the late Lord Chatham, when painting was fixed on as the beſt method to perpetuate his memory, and the committee were deſired to meet for the purpoſe of receiving deſigns for that purpoſe.

6th. The Liſbon letters are full of commendation of a moſt gallant action which happened on the 20th of October, between his Majeſty's ſhips the Jupiter, of 50 guns, Capt. Reynolds, and the Medea, of 28, Capt. James Montagu, with a French 80 gun ſhip, off Cape Finiſterre: Capt. Reynolds and Capt. Montagu conceiving her to be an Indiaman, got ſo cloſe to her, without apprehenſions of danger, that it was too late to eſcape it; they therefore attacked her like Engliſhmen. Capt. Reynolds at once laid alongſide of her to windward, at five o'clock P. M. the Medea placed herſelf on the lee-quarter, and continued for ſome time giving her broadſides, but from the inferiority of her force could do very little execution, and was ſoon driven to leeward with an 18 pounder between wind and water, and never after able to recover her ſtation, ſo as to be of any ſervice to the Jupiter. Capt. Reynolds continued cloſe engaged till eight o'clock, when the French ſhip gave way, took the advantage of a very dark night, and eſcaped to Ferrol, with the loſs of her Captain, and about 200 men. The Jupiter is arrived at Liſbon in a ſhattered condition to refit, and found the Medea there on the ſame buſineſs.

His Majeſty having been pleaſed to comply with the requeſt of the King of Sweden, to inveſt the Right Honourable Lord Macleod with the enſigns of the order of the Sword, of which order his Swediſh Majeſty has been pleaſed to nominate him a commander; his lordſhip had accordingly an audience of his Majeſty this day, to which he was introduced by the Earl of Suffolk, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate; and after having made the uſual

reverences on entering the royal preſence, he kneeled down before the King; his Majeſty then took the ſword of ſtate, and performed the ceremony of knighting him therewith; after which his Majeſty took the ribbon of the order, and inveſted him with it: this being done, Lord Macleod roſe up, and his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to congratulate him on this diſtinguiſhed mark of his Swediſh Majeſty's approbation: Lord Macleod then returned his thanks in the moſt reſpectful manner to his Majeſty, and retired, obſerving the ſame ceremony as on entering into his Majeſty's preſence.

10th. This day being the anniverſary of the inſtitution of the Royal Academy, a general aſſembly of the academicians was held at Somerſet-houſe, when the following premiums were given:

A gold medal to Mr. Charles Rubens Ryley, for the beſt compoſition in oil colours; the ſubject of which was the Sacrifice of Iphigenia.

A gold medal was given to Mr. John Hickey, for the beſt model of a bas-relief; the ſubject of which was the Slaughter of the Innocents.

A gold medal was likewiſe given to Mr. William Moſs, for the beſt deſign in architecture, being the plan, elevation, and ſection, of a church of the Corinthian order, in form of a Grecian croſs, finiſhing with a dome.

Three ſilver medals were given for the beſt drawings of academy figures to Meſſrs. A. W. Devis, James Cook and John Hoppner.

A ſilver medal was given to Mr. Joſeph Wright, for the beſt model of an academy figure.

After the medals were given, the Preſident, as uſual, delivered to the ſtudents a diſcourſe; the ſubject of which was, an inquiry into the connection between the rules of art, and the paſſions and affections of the mind; ſuch an inquiry he obſerved was going to the fountain head of criticiſm. He gave many inſtances of difficulties in the painter's art, from which this knowledge alone can extricate the artiſt. He concluded, making ſome obſervations on the conduct of the ſtudents in the prize pictures: he obſerved, that every candidate had carefully followed the invention of Timanthes in hiding the face of Agamemnon in his mantle; he examined whether this artifice (of leaving to the imagination a grief ſuppoſed to be too great to be expreſſed) was within the province of the painter's art.

After the Preſident had finiſhed his diſcourſe, the aſſembly proceeded to elect the officers for the year enſuing.

11th. The following act of female heroiſm was exerciſed this evening:—A milliner's apprentice, with a box of lace, going along the Strand, a fellow ſnatched it from her, and ran up Southampton-ſtreet, but by ſome means or other fell down. The girl immediately got up to him, laid hold of him, and taking off one of her pattens, ſtruck him over the face with it ſeveral times; but the fellow being too powerful for her, got off, but left the box, the contents of which were worth at leaſt forty pounds.

12th. This day the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when Samuel Bonner was capitally convicted for ſending an incendiary letter

letter to Mrs. Teſhmaker, at Winchmore-hill, threatening to burn her eſtate to aſhes, and murder her, unleſs ſhe relieved with one guinea and a half three poor people in her neighbourhood named in the letter, of whom Bonner was one. At the time of his receiving ſentence he begged for mercy, and ſaid it was done through ignorance, and not knowing the ſevere puniſhment allotted for ſuch an offence.

Rowland Ridgley was tried on an indictment for high treaſon, in having in his poſſeſſion a punch, on which was made and impreſſed the figure, ſimilitude, and reſemblance of the head ſide of a ſhilling; and after a long trial, and the jury being out ſome time, a verdict was returned that they found him guilty, having the punches, &c. in his cuſtody; but from ſome circumſtances ſubmitted to the court, whether or not they were proper for coining: his judgment was reſpited for the opinion of the judges.

Late the ſame night judgment of death was paſſed upon nine capital convicts; ſix were ſentenced to hard labour on the Thames; nine to be branded and impriſoned in Newgate; nine to be branded and kept to hard labour in the houſe of correction; five to be whipped, and twenty-four diſcharged by proclamation.

13th. On Thurſday night laſt, as Mr. Sharp, chymiſt, ſtopped in his carriage at his door in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, five villains obſerved a box in the coach, and whilſt Mr. Sharp was getting out, they took the opportunity on the oppoſite ſide to take it away, with which they got clear off. The contents of the box were mercurial pills, lozenges, ſugar plumbs, &c. of which the thieves had fed ſo plentifully, beſides ſeveral others they had given them to, that, finding themſelves ſtrangely affected by the pills, and apprehending they were all poiſoned, they yeſterday ſent a boy to Mr. Williams, chymiſt, in Smock-alley, Petticoat-lane, with the box, pills, &c. Mr. Williams, being acquainted with the affair from Mr. Sharp, very properly detained the boy, who impeached his companions; and a ſufficient number of conſtables being obtained, they went into Petticoat-lane, and ſecured as deſperate a covey of thieves as perhaps ever herded together, who were, from the large doſes they had ſwallowed, in as wretched a condition as ever were a neſt of poiſoned rats. Seven of them were yeſterday committed to priſon.

Sir Hugh Palliſer exhibited on Wedneſday laſt, at the Admiralty Board, an accuſation conſiſting of five articles, or ſeparate ſpecific charges againſt Admiral Keppel; a copy of which was ſent by the ſaid board to the Admiral, accompanied with a notice to prepare for his ſpeedy trial by a court martial, on the ſeveral charges of neglect, incapacity, &c.

Extract of a Letter from Oxford, December 19.

" About two o'clock yeſterday morning a fire was diſcovered in the attick ſtory at Queen's College, in this univerſity, ſuppoſed to have begun in the ſtaircaſe, which raged with great violence till about ſeven o'clock, when the whole roof, and moſt of the floors, wainſcoting, &c.

of the weſt wing, were conſumed to the firſt party wall, where the roof having been previouſly cut away to ſtop the progreſs of the flames towards the hall and library, together with the aſſiſtance of many fire-engines, the reſt of the college was ſaved. This part of that noble edifice is reduced to a mere ſhell, nothing remaining except the bare walls. No lives were loſt.

Briſtol, Dec. 26. Tueſday, about ſix o'clock in the evening, part of a caſk of gunpowder being brought into the houſe of Mr. Deake, in Queen-ſquare, and ſet down in the paſſage, the ſervant girl paſſing by with a candle in her hand, and ſeeing a ſtrange caſk, ſtooped down the candle to ſee what it was, when it unfortunately dropped into the powder, which took fire, and killed the girl on the ſpot. There was a little child by at the ſame time, which had her cap blown off, but providentially received no harm, notwithſtanding the ſervant was thrown a conſiderable diſtance, and the greateſt part of her clothes torn to pieces. The poor creature's head and face were burnt to a cinder, and the fleſh of her breaſt and arms lacerated in a manner that may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. The adjacent houſes were ſhaken by the exploſion, and the air for a conſiderable diſtance much agitated.

A Spaniſh merchant in the city has received a letter from Spain, which gives a melancholy account of a fire breaking out in the play-houſe in the city of Saragoſa, in the province of Arragon, whilſt the company was performing; that the flames were ſo rapid but few of the audience eſcaped; and that upwards of 400 of the principal people of that city had periſhed in the flames.

Died, at his houſe in Queen's-ſquare, Ormond-ſtreet, the Rev. Mr. William Hetherington, who a few years ſince veſted 20,000l. in the South-Sea Company, for the ſupport of a charity which he founded, of 500l. to be diſtributed annually, in the month of December, in ſums of 10l. each, to fifty blind perſons, under the direction of the Treaſurer and Committee of the Governors of Chriſt's Hoſpital, of which he was one.

At Bletchingley, in Surry, in the 132d year of his age, Thomas Cockey, a poor labouring man. He conſtantly went to daily labour till within three months of his death.

Mrs. Goſtling, of St. George, Southelmham, Suffolk, in the 105th year of her age.

Mrs. Priſcilla Panxton, at Hackney, whoſe death was occaſioned by exceſs of joy and ſurprize, on ſeeing a brother, who had been in ſlavery at Algiers ſeveral years.

At Llancrwiffe, in South Wales, Mr. Rice Morgan, in his 103d year.

This year, the literary world has ſuſtained great loſs by the death of two of its firſt ornaments, the illuſtrious Dr. Linnæus, who died aged 71, at Upſal in Sweden; and the celebrated Dr. Haller, who died, aged 75, at Berne in Switzerland.

General

General Bill of all the Chriſtenings and Burials from December, 16, 1777. to December 15, 1778.

Chriſtened.		Buried.	
Males	8793	Males	10235
Females	8507	Females	10164
In all	17300	In all	20399

Died under two years of age 7355

Between	2 and	5	1994
	5 and	10	789
	10 and	20	702
	20 and	30	1381
	30 and	40	1743
	40 and	50	1965
	50 and	60	1616
	60 and	70	1416
	70 and	80	995
	80 and	90	398
	90 and	100	42
	100		1
	100 and	1	1
	100 and	2	0
	100 and	3	0
	100 and	4	0
	100 and	7	1

Decreaſed in the Burials this year 2045.

A treatiſe has lately been publiſhed in France, in which a calculation is made of the population of the moſt remarkable cities in the world, the inhabitants of which the author computes to be as follow:

Paris	about 823,276	increaſing
Madrid	340,000	ditto
London	930,000	decreaſing
Amſterdam	360,000	increaſing
Liſbon	200,000	ditto
Conſtantinople	700,000	decreaſing
Venice	160,000	ditto
Dantzic	240,000	ditto
Peterſburg	350,000	increaſing
Koninſberg	300,000	ditto
Copenhagen	100,000	ditto
Stockholm	95,000	ditto
Naples	230,000	decreaſing
Pekin in China	900,000	ditto
Rome	700,000	ditto
Moſcow	400,000	increaſing
Babylon	540,000	decreaſing
Alexandria	670,000	ditto

BIRTHS for the year 1778.

Jan. 1. Right Hon. Lady Mary Hinchingbroke, of a ſon.

3. Right Hon. the Marchioneſs of Granby, of a ſon.

16. Right Hon. Lady Grimſton, of a daughter.

The Lady of Sir James Pennyman, Bart. of twins.

The Counteſs D'Artois, of a Prince, to whom his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has given the title of Duc de Berry.

Lady of the late Sir Griffith Boyntun, Bart. of a ſon.

Feb.—. The Lady of the Hon. and Right Rev. Lord Biſhop of Worceſter, of a ſon.

March 12. Dutcheſs of Portland, of a daughter.

21. Lady Harriet Ackland, ſiſter of the Earl of Ilcheſter, of a ſon and heir.

30. Right Hon. Counteſs of Carliſle, of a daughter.

April 14. Lady of Sir James Lake, of a daughter.

Right Hon. Counteſs of Radnor, of a daughter.

Lady of Sir M. White Ridley, of a ſon.

May —. Right Hon. Counteſs Cowper,

Cowper, of a ſecond ſon, at Florence.

Right Hon. Counteſs of Kinnaird, of a ſon.

Right Hon. Counteſs of Bellamont, of a ſon.

Right Hon. Lady Viſcounteſs Weymouth, of a daughter.

June —. Right Hon. Lady Cadogan, of a daughter.

Right Hon. Lady Willoughby de Broke, of a daughter.

July —. Right Hon. Lady Algernon Percy, of a ſon.

22. The Lady of Chaloner Arcedeckne, Eſq. Harley Street, of a daughter.

Aug. —. The Lady of Sir Harry Goring, Bart. of a ſon.

Sep. 7. Right Hon. Lady Townſhend, of a ſon.

6. Her Grace the Ducheſs of Chandos, of a daughter.

Right Hon. the Counteſs of Suffolk, of a ſon.

8. Lady of Sir Thomas Clarges, Bart. of a daughter.

Oct. 2. Lady of the Hon. Sir William Henry Aſhurſt, one of the Judges of the King's-Bench, of a ſon.

Right Hon. Lady Mary Fitzmaurice, of a ſon, who is heir to the title of Earl of Orkney.

Lady of the Hon. Mr. Baron Hotham, of a daughter.

Nov. 1. Her Majeſty the Queen of Sweden, of a Prince.

Right Hon. Lady Paget, of a ſon.

Hon. Lady Bridget Bouverie, of a ſon.

Dec. 1. Right Hon. Lady Mountſtewart, of a ſon and heir.

Right Hon. the Counteſs of Tankerville, of a ſon.

Right Hon. the Counteſs of Coventry, of a ſon.

Right Hon. Lady de Ferrers, of a ſon.

19. The Queen of France, of a Princeſs, baptized the ſame day, and named Maria-Thereſa-Charlotta.

Right Hon. Counteſs of Dumfries and Stair, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES, 1778.

Jan. 8. Sir George Smyth, Bart. to Miſs Curzon, niece to Lord Scarſdale.

12. Hon. Mr. Fane, to Miſs Batſon of Daliſh, in Dorſetſhire.

Sir Edmund Bacon, Bart. to Miſs Beauchamp; and at the ſame time, John Cuſtance, Eſq. to Miſs F. Beauchamp, both daughters of the late Sir William Beauchamp, Bt.

20. Henry John Kearney, Eſq. to Lady Auguſta Brydges, ſiſter to the Duke of Chandos.

29. Right Hon. the Earl of Suſſex, to Miſs Vaughan, of Briſtol.

30. Right Hon. Earl Winterton, to Miſs Eliz. Armſtrong, of Godalmin, Surry.

Feb. 2. James Fenton, Eſq. of Leeds, to Miſs Thomaſine Ibbetſon, daughter

ter of the late Sir Harry Ibbetſon, Bart.

6. Lieut. Gen. Sir Robert Hamilton, Bart. to Miſs Heathcote, ſiſter of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Bart.

17. William Drake, Junior, Eſq. member for Amerſham, to Miſs Huſſey, only daughter of William Huſſey, Eſq. member for Saliſbury.

22. Philip, eldeſt ſon of Sir John Anſtruther, Bart. to Miſs Paterſon, daughter of Sir John Paterſon, Bart.

March 1. Lately, Thomas Hooper, Eſq. to Miſs Newton, daughter of Sir Gilbert Newton, Bart.

5. Sir Thomas Beauchamp Proctor, Bart. to the ſecond daughter of Robert Palmer, Eſq.

6. The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, to Miſs Burn.

24. John Lewis, Eſq. of Harpton Court, Radnorſhire, to Miſs Ann Frankland, one of the daughters of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart.

April 4. Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, to Miſs Eliz. Ann Burrel, youngeſt daughter to the late Peter Burrel, Eſq.

16. Hon. Lionel Damer, Eſq. to Miſs Willinza Janſſen.

Robert Pope Blackford, Eſq. of the Iſle of Wight, to the daughter of Sir Fitzwilliams Barrington, Bart. of the ſame iſland.

Sir Arch. Edmonſtone, Bt. to Miſs Heathcote,

Sir Harry Trelawney, Bart. to Miſs Ann Brown.

Hon. Charles Sutton, to Miſs Thorſton, of Belvour.

17. William Strickland, Eſq. eldeſt ſon to Sir William Strickland, Bart. to Miſs Cholmley, of Howſham.

19. Hon. Mr. Stuart, ſecond ſon of the Earl of Bute, to the Hon. Miſs Bertie.

26. Hon. Hugh Somerville, to Miſs Mary Digby.

27. Hon. Temple Luttrell, member for Milbourn-Port, and ſecond ſon to Lord Irnham, to Miſs Gould, daughter of Sir Henry Gould, one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas.

May —. Robert Nicholes, Eſq. to Miſs Charlotte Frankland, daughter of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart.

Nich. Loftus Tottenham, Eſq. a member in the Iriſh parliament, to Miſs May, daughter of Sir James May, Bart.

June 3. Sir Watts Horton, Bart. to the Hon. Miſs Harriet Stanley, ſiſter to the Earl of Derby.

4. —— Smith, Eſq. of Heath, near Wakefield, to Lady Georgiana Fitzroy, eldeſt daughter to the Duke of Grafton.

27. At Dublin, Sir Cornwallis Maude, Bart. to Miſs Iſabella Monk.

July 2. William Bacon Forſter, Eſq. to Lady Catherine Tourner,

Tourner, ſecond daughter to Lord Winterton.

22. Sir George Oſborne, Bart. to Lady Heneage Finch, daughter to the late Earl of Winchelſea.

Hugh Montgomery, Eſq. of the county of Fermanagh, in Ireland, to the Hon. Miſs Acheſon, daughter to Lord Gosford.

Sir Hector Mackenzie, of Gairlock, Bart. to Miſs Chalmers.

Sept. 16. John Stuart, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir John Stuart, Bart. to Miſs Coutts.

21. The Hon. Col. Harcourt, only brother of Earl Harcourt, to Mrs. Lockhart, relict of Thomas Lockhart, Eſq. of Craig-Houſe, in Scotland, and eldeſt daughter of William Danby, Eſq. of Brompton.

Rev. Mr. Harrington, of Norwich, to the Hon. Miſs Louiſa Forteſcue.

Oct. 20. Edward Foley, Eſq. brother to Lord Foley, to Lady Ann Margaret Coventry, youngeſt daughter of the Earl of Coventry.

Nov. —. Hon. Capt. James Roſs, ſon of the Earl of Roſs, to Miſs Rhoda Tradgold, of Warwickſhire.

John Milnes, Eſq. of Wakefield, to Lady Rachel Bruce, daughter to the late Lord Elgin.

George Powell, Eſq. to the Right Hon. Lady Ann Stratford, daughter of the late Earl of Aldborough.

Lieut. Col. Woodford, of the firſt regiment of foot guards, to the Counteſs Dowager of Weſtmoreland.

Dec. 3. The Right Hon. George Viſcount Middleton, of Ireland, to the Hon. Frances Pelham, daughter of the Right Hon. Thomas Lord Pelham, of Stanmer, in Suſſex.

17. The Hon. Mr. Finch, brother to the Earl of Aylesford, to Miſs Jane Wynne, of Voylaſs, in Denbighſhire.

Sir John Tayler, Bart. of St. George's, Hanover-ſquare, to Miſs Eliz. Goodin Haughton, of Mary-le-bone.

Principal PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1778.

Jan. 6. The King has been pleaſed to order his Congé d'Elire to the dean and chapter of Exeter, for the election of a biſhop for that ſee, the ſame being void by the death of Dr. Frederick Keppel, late biſhop thereof, and to recommend the Rev. Dr. John Roſs to be by them elected.—Rev. Robert Foley, D. D. Dean of Worceſter, void by the promotion of the Hon. and Rev. William Digby, to the Deanery of Durham.—Hon. and Rev. John Harley, D. D. Dean of Windſor, with the Deanery of Wolverhampton and regiſtry of the Garter annexed, void by the death of the late Biſhop of Exeter.—Mr. Arch. Campbell, one of the clerks of ſeſſion, appointed ſole clerk of the regiſters, &c. in room of Mr. William

William Kirkpatrick, deceaſed.—His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, keeper of Linlithgow-palace, and Blackneſs-caſtle, in Scotland, with the power of appointing deputies.—George Heathcote, Eſq. a commiſſioner of taxes, vice Thomas Wyndham, Eſq. deceaſed.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 23. His Majeſty was this day pleaſed to order the following promotions of flag officers of his Majeſty's fleet. John Reynolds, Eſq. Sir Hugh Palliſer, Bart. Hon. John Byron, and the Right Hon. Auguſtus John Earl of Briſtol, Rear Admirals of the White, to be Rear Admirals of the Red.—George Mackenzie, Eſq. Matthew Barton, Eſq. and Sir Peter Parker, Knt. Rear Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear Admirals of the White.—And the following Captains were alſo appointed Flag Officers of his Majeſty's fleet, viz. Hon. Samuel Barrington, Marriot Arbuthnot, Eſq. Robert Roddam, Eſq. and George Darby, Eſq. to be Rear Admirals of the White.—John Campbell, Eſq. Chriſtopher Hill, Eſq. James Gambier, Eſq. William Lloyd, Eſq. Francis William Drake, Eſq. Sir Edward Hughes, Knt. and Hyde Parker, ſen. Eſq. to be Rear Admirals of the Blue.

Admiraly Office, Jan. 29. His Majeſty was this day pleaſed to order the following promotion of Flag Officers of his Majeſty's fleet, viz.—Sir Charles Hardy, Knt. Right Hon. George Earl of Northeſk, Sir Thomas Pye, Knt. Francis Geary, Eſq. Admirals of the Blue, to be Admirals of the White.—Sir George Bridges Rodney, Bart. James Young, Eſq. Vice Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the White.—Sir Piercy Brett, Knt. Sir John Moore, Bart. and K. B. Sir James Douglaſs, Knt. Right Hon. George Lord Edgecumbe, Samuel Graves, Eſq. William Parry, Eſq. Hon. Auguſtus Keppel, John Amherſt, Eſq. his Royal Highneſs Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland, Vice Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the Blue.—Sir Peter Dennis, Bart. Matthew Buckle, Eſq. Robert Man, Eſq. Clark Gayton, Eſq. John Montagu, Eſq. Vice Admirals of the White, to be Vice Admirals of the Red.—Right Hon. Waſhington Earl Ferrers, Hugh Pigot, Eſq. Right Hon. Molineux Lord Shuldam, Vice Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice Admirals of the White.—John Vaughan, Eſq. Rear Admiral of the Red, to be Vice Admiral of the White.—John Lloyd, Eſq. Robert Duff, Eſq. Rear Admirals of the Red, to be Vice Admirals of the Blue.—John Reynolds, Eſq. Sir Hugh Palliſer, Bart. Hon. John Byron, Right Hon. Auguſtus John Earl of Briſtol, Rear Admirals of the Red, to be Vice Admirals of the Blue.—George Mackenzie, Eſq. Matthew Barton, Eſq. Sir Peter Parker, Knt. Hon. Samuel Barrington, Rear Admirals of the White, to be Rear Admirals of the Red.—John Campbell, Eſq. Chriſtopher Hill, Eſq. Rear Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear Admirals of the White.

Feb. —. John Durbin Eſq. Mayor of Briſtol, to the honour of Knighthood.—Thomas Dampier, clerk, to the twelfth prebend in the cathedral church of Chriſt and the bleſſed Virgin Mary in Durham.—John Charles Brooke, Eſq. to be Somerſet-herald.—Samuel Hood, Eſq. to be one of the Commiſ-

Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's yard at Portſmouth.

April 5. Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Knight of the Thiſtle, Richard Lord Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, Knight of the Bath, Lieut. Gen. of his Majeſty's forces in North-America only, William Eden, Eſq. one of the Commiſſioners for trade and plantations, and George Johnſtone, Eſq. Captain in the royal navy, to be his Majeſty's Commiſſioners to treat, conſult, and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of his Majeſty's colonies, plantations, and provinces in North-America.

—20. Sir John Griffin Griffin, K. B. appointed Adjut. Gen. of his Majeſty's forces, in room of Gen. Hervey.—Lord Adam Gordon, Governor of Tinmouth.—Sir John Williams, Knt. and Edw. Hunt, Eſq. Surveyors of the navy.—Lieut. Gen. Rt. Monckton, Governor of Portſmouth.—Lieut. Gen. Alexander Mackay, Governor of Landguard-fort.—Francis Buller, Eſq. to be one of the Judges in the court of King's-bench.—Samuel Hood, of Catherington, in the county of Southampton, Eſq. to the dignity of a Baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain.—Sir Richard Bickerton, Knt. Captain in his Majeſty's navy, to the dignity of a Baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain.—Hon. Daines Barrington, to be ſecond Juſtice of Cheſter.—James Hayes, Eſq. to be firſt Juſtice for Angleſey, Caernarvon, and Merioneth ſhire.—Thomas Potter, Eſq. to be ſecond Juſtice of the aforeſaid counties.

War-Office, April 21. Lieut. Gen. Frederick Haldimand is appointed Lieut. Gov. of Quebec, vice Sir Guy Carleton.—Capt. William Browne, of the Invalids, to be Governor of Upnor, vice James Murray.—Gen. Sir John Mordaunt to be Governor of Berwick, vice Sir John Clavering.—Lieut. Gen. Francis Craig to be Governor at Sheerneſs, vice Sir John Mordaunt.

May 28. The following officers were appointed to the Staff, viz. Gen. Amherſt, Lieut. Generals Pierſon and James Johnſon; with Major Generals Sir David Lindſey, Amherſt, Sloper, Ward, and Calcraft.—Lieut. Gen. Sir James Adolphus Oughton, to be commander of the forces in North-Britain, and alſo of the caſtles, forts and barracks there.

June 1. Rev. William Courtenay, of Ken, in Devonſhire, and William Courtenay the younger, Eſq. to the office of making, writing, and engroſſing, all writs of ſubpœna iſſuing out of the high court of Chancery, commonly called the ſubpœna office in Chancery.—Edward Thurlow, Eſq. to the dignity of a Baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the name, ſtile, and title, of Baron Thurlow, of Aſhfield, in the county of Suffolk.—Right Hon. Edward Lord Thurlow, to be one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-council, and Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

4. Yeſterday a chapter of the Knights of the Garter was held at St. James's, to fill up the vacancies therein by the death of the Duke of Kingſton, Lord Albemarle, and Lord Cheſterfield, when the Earls of Suffolk and Rochford, and Lord Viſcount Weymouth were appointed.

Lord

Lord North, to the office of conſtable of his Majeſty's caſtle of Dover; and alſo the office of warden and keeper of his Majeſty's Cinque Ports; and the office of admiralty within the ſaid Cinque Ports, and their Members; and likewiſe all wrecks of ſea whatſoever.

—10. Alex. Wedderburn, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's Attorney-general. — James Wallace, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's Solicitor-general. — Walter Pye, and William Buller, Eſqrs. to the office of Chaſe Wax in Chancery.—Daniel de Laval, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary at the court of Copenhagen.—Thomas Wroughton, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary at the court of Stockholm, — Richard Oakes, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary at the court of Warſaw.—Benjamin Langlois, Eſq. to be Keeper of his Majeſty's ſtores, ordnance, and ammunition of war.—Henry Strachey, Eſq. to be Clerk of the delivery and deliverance of all manner of artillery, ammunition, and other neceſſaries whatſoever appertaining to his Majeſty's office of ordnance.

July 7. Martin Whiſh, Eſq. to be Commiſſioner of the Stamp-Office, vice —— Blair, Eſq. reſigned.—Marquis of Carmarthen, to be Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire.—Dr. Colman, Maſter of Bennet-college, Cambridge, vice Dr. Barnardiſton, deceaſed.—Dr. Farmer, Maſter of Emanuel-college, Principal Librarian of the Univerſity of Cambridge, vice Dr. Barnardiſton, deceaſed.

—25. The dignity of a Baronet of Great-Britain unto the following gentlemen, and to their heirs-male, viz. the Right Hon. Richard Heron, youngeſt ſon of Robert Heron, of Newark upon Trent, in the county of Nottingham, Eſq. and in default of iſſue to Thomas Heron, of Chilham Caſtle, in the county of Kent, Eſq. eldeſt ſurviving ſon and heir-male of the ſaid Robert Heron, and to his heirs male. George Wombwell, of Wombwell, in the county of York, Eſq. William James, of Park Farm Place, Eltham, in the county of Kent, Eſq. Edward Lloyd, of Pengwern, in the county of Flint, Eſq. and in default of iſſue to Bell Lloyd, of Bodfack, in the county of Montgomery, Eſq. and to his heirs male. John Coghill, of Coghill-Hall, in the Weſt-Riding of the county of York, Eſq. John Taylor, of Lyſſon-Hall, in the iſland of Jamaica, Eſq. James Riddell, of Ardnamorchan and Sunark, in the ſhire of Argyll, Doctor of Laws. Cæſar Hawkins, of Kelſton, in the county of Somerſet, Eſq. Richard Jebb, of Trent Place, near Eaſt Barnet, in the county of Middleſex, Doctor of Phyſick. Sir John Elliot, of Peebles, Knt. Doctor of Phyſick. Henry Lippencot, of Stoke Biſhop, Glouceſterſhire, Eſq.—Rev. Mr. Fawcet, to be a Prebend of Durham. Rev. Mr. Fotheringham, to be Archdeacon of Coventry. Rev. Mr. Arnold, to be Precentor of Litchfield. Rev. Mr. Heſlop, to be a Prebend of Lincoln.

Aug. 18. Charles Middleton, Eſq. to be Comptroller of his Majeſty's Navy, in the room of Maurice Suckling, Eſq. deceaſed.—Charles Winſtone, Eſq. to be Attorney General of and in his Majeſty's iſland

iſland of Dominica. — Thomas Yeo, Eſq. to be Solicitor General of and in the ſaid iſland of Dominica.—The dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain unto Joſeph Copley, of Sprotbrough, in the county of York, Eſq. grandſon and heir of the late Sir Godfrey Copley, Bart. and to his heirs male.

Oct. 3. William John, Marquis of Lothian, elected one of the ſixteen peers to vote in the Britiſh Parliament for Scotland, in the room of Charles, Lord Viſcount Irwine. —Thomas Allan, Eſq. to be a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, in the room of Corbyn Morris, Eſq.

— 17. James Marriott, D. L. Official Principal Commiſſary General, and Special Lieutenant, Preſident and Judge, of the High Court of Admiralty, vice Sir George Hay, deceaſed. He was at the ſame time knighted.—Peter Calvert, LL.D. Dean of the Arches, and Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, vice Dr. Hay. — William Wynne, LL.D. Vicar General of the Province of Canterbury, vice Dr. Calvert. He is likewiſe appointed his Majeſty's Advocate General in all matters eccleſiaſtical and marine. — Rev. Robert Clive, M. A. Prebendary of St. Peter's Weſtminſter, vice Dr. Thomas Patrick Young, deceaſed.

— 27. Dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain, to Sir Robert Gunning, K. B. of Eltham, in Kent, and to his iſſue.

Nov. 20. Laurence Hill, Eſq. deputy to the Clerk of his Majeſty's Rolls, and Regiſter of Seaſines, &c. within the regalities of Glaſgow and Paiſly, — William Frazer, Eſq. Commiſſary of the Commiſſariot of Inverneſs.—Lord Viſc. Stormont, Juſtice General of Scotland, vice D. of Queenſberry. —John Flockart, Eſq. Keeper of the General Regiſter of the Hornings, vice Sir Archibald Grant, deceaſed.—William Fawkener, one of the Clerks of the Privy-council, vice W. Blair, Eſq. reſigned.—Thomas Percy, D. D. Dean of Carliſle, vice Dr. Thomas Wilſon, deceaſed.—John Larpent, Junior, Eſq. Examiner of all Plays, &c. vice William Chetwynd, Eſq. deceaſed.

— 29. The Right Hon. Lord Viſc. Stormont, and John Way, of Lincoln's-inn-fields, Eſq. to the office of Chief Clerk of the King's-bench, &c. in the room of William Lee, Eſq. and John Antonie, Eſq. both deceaſed.

Dec. —. Duke of Northumberland, Maſter of the Horſe, vice Duke of Ancaſter, deceaſed.—Right Hon. Charles Jenkinſon, to be his Majeſty's Secretary at war.—James Craufurd, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's Agent for Rotterdam, Dordrecht, &c. in Holland.—Right Rev. Robert, Biſhop of Killaloe, to the Archbiſhoprick of Dublin. — Rev. Dr. George Chinnery, to the Biſhopricks of Killaloe and Kilfenora.—Duke of Ancaſter, Lieutenant of the county and city of Lincoln, in room of the late Duke.—Rear Adm. Sir Edward Hughes, inveſted with the Order of the Bath.

DEATHS, 1778.

Jan. 1. Laſt month, His Serene Highneſs Maximilian Joſeph, elector of Bavaria, of the ſmall pox, in the 51ſt year of his age.

12. Laſt

12. Laſt week the Hon. Lady Catherine Lowther, relict of the late Sir William Lowther, Bart.

Sir Griffith Boyntun, Bart.

15. Right Hon. Lady George Germaine.

27. Hon. Mr. Fitzmaurice, youngeſt ſon of the Earl of Shelburne.

At Tunis, the Conſort of Side Muſtapha Coggia, and daughter of the Bey.

Right Hon. the Counteſs of Eglington.

Sir Hanſon Berney, of Norfolk, Bart.

Feb. —. Lately, Hon. Richard Dawſon, eldeſt ſon of Lord Dartrey, at Cambridge.

5. Lady Auguſta Corbet, daughter of the Earl of Bute.

Right Hon. Dowager Lady Abergavenny.

6. Lady of Sir Walden Hanmer, Bart.

7. Lieut. Gen. Vernon, Lieut. Governor of the Tower.

12. Admiral Amherſt, brother of Lord Amherſt.

In Italy, Lady Louiſa Mann.

Lord Mexborough.

25. Right Hon. Andrew, Lord Archer, recorder of Coventry. His Lordſhip married Sarah, eldeſt daughter of the late James Weſt, Eſq. of Alſcott, and has left four daughters.—Dying without male iſſue, the title is extinct.

March 1. Sir Richard Aſton, Knt. one of the Judges of the King's-bench.

Right Hon. the Counteſs of Wemys.

Sir John Elwyll, Bart.

4. Sir Thomas Heſketh, Bart.

11. Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bt.

27. Hon. Lieut. Gen. Hervey, Governor of Portſmouth, and member for Harwich.

Right Hon. Lady Viſcounteſs Mountgarret, at Paris.

April 5. Marmaduke Lord Langdale, the fifth of that title, who having no male iſſue, the title becomes extinct.

Right Hon. Charles Ingram, Viſcount Irwin, Lord Ingram, of Irvine, one of the ſixteen peers of Scotland.

Sir William Fownes, Bart. of the Kingdom of Ireland.

The Right Hon. Thomas Cochran, Earl of Dundonald and Lord Cochran, at Lamancha in Scotland.

10. Sir John Clavering, K. B. Lieut. General of his Majeſty's forces, Colonel of the 52d regiment of foot, ſecond in council, and commander in chief of the forces in Bengal.

30. Hon. Mrs. Wrotteſley, mother to the Dutcheſs of Grafton.

May 10. The Right Hon. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Viſc. Pitt, of Burton Pynſent, in Somerſetſhire, at his ſeat at Hayes, in Kent. [*See the Appendix.*]

12. Right Hon. the Counteſs Dowager of Traquair.

13. Right Hon. the Counteſs Dowager of Strathmore.

16. Right Hon. Robert D'Arcy, Earl of Holderneſſe, Lord D'Arcy, Lord Warden and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, Governor of Dover-caſtle, Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding of Yorkſhire, and Vice Admiral of the ſame, Keeper of the Liberty and Foreſt of Richmond, Conſtable of Middleham-caſtle in Yorkſhire, and a Governor of the Charterhouſe.

24. Sir Conyers Jocelyn, Bart.

At Florence, the Archduke Maximilian, the fifth of the Princes of the houſe of Tuſcany.

Right Hon. Counteſs Dowager of Granard.

June 3. Right Hon. James, Earl of Errol, hereditary Lord High Conſtable of Scotland. He was the eldeſt ſon of Lord Kilmarnock, beheaded in 1746 for high treaſon, and ſucceeded to the Earldom of Errol in right of his mother.

6. Mr. Lowth, eldeſt ſon to the Biſhop of London.

Right Hon. Lady Dowager Waltham.

11. Sir Peter Dennis, Bart. Vice Admiral of the Red.

15. Sir Cecil Biſhop, Bart.

17. Miſs Maria Catherine Williams Wynne, youngeſt daughter of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart.

George Earl Marſhal, Governor of Neufchatel, and elder brother of Field Marſhal Keith, who fell in the Pruſſian ſervice, October 14, 1758.

July —. Her Serene Highneſs the Dutcheſs of Brunſwick Lunenburg.

Princeſs Amelia D'Eſte, ſiſter to the Duke of Modena.

Franciſco Salvities de Conti Guido, Archbiſhop of Piſa, Primate of Sardinia, Corſica, &c. aged 85 years.

29. Right Hon. William Lord Cranſton.

Lewis Charles Otto, reigning Prince of Salm Salm. He is ſucceeded by his nephew.

Aug. 3. Right Hon. Patrick Lord Elibank.

7. Sir Thomas Hay, Bart.

Sir Lionel Pilkington, Bart.

Right Hon. Dowager Counteſs of Weſtmoreland.

Right Hon. Dowager Viſcounteſs Grimeſtone.

Sir Thomas Cave, Bart.

Lord Maxwell, ſon of the Right Hon. Earl Farnham.

Hon. Thomas Chamber Cecil, brother to the Earl of Exeter.

12. The moſt noble Peregrine Bertie, Duke of Ancaſter and Keſteven, Marquis and Earl of Lindſay, Baron Willoughby of Ereſby, and Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England, in the 65th year of his age. His firſt wife was Elizabeth, daughter and ſole heireſs of William Blundell, of Baſingſtoke, Eſq. and widow of Sir Charles Gunter Nicol, with whom he had an immenſe fortune; but by her had no iſſue. By his ſecond wife Mary, daughter of Thomas Panton, Eſq. he had ſix children, three of whom are now alive, namely, Robert (now Duke of Anceſter), Aid de-camp to Gen. Clinton, now in America, Lady Priſcilla Barbara Elizabeth, and Lady Georgina Charlotte.

13. Sir George Lockhart, Bart. at Bomington, Scotland.

22. At Bath, Sir Charles Whitworth, Knt. Lieut. Gov. of Tilbury-fort, and member for Saltaſh, chairman of the committee of ways and means, &c.

23. Sir Charles Sedley, Bart.

Sept. 16. Lady Dowager Cheſterfield.

Lady Downing.

17. Sir Francis Mannock, Bart.

The Hon. Lieut. Francis Anſtruther, at Madraſs.

The Right Hon. Lady Holland, at Old-Windſor,

Lady Wolſely, at Dublin, relict of the late Sir Richard Wolſeley, Bart. ſiſter of the Right Hon. Sir Capel Molyneux, Bart.

The

The Counteſs of Thanet, at her ſeat near Canterbury.

Lord William Campbell, third brother to his Grace the Duke of Argyle.

Prince Lewis of Mecklenburgh Schwerin, brother to the reigning duke.

Sir Archibald Grant, Bart. at his ſeat at Monymuſk, in Aberdeenſhire.

24. The Right Hon. the Counteſs of Lauderdale.

Lady of Sir William Draper, K. B.

Lady of Sir Charlton Leigh, Bt.

Sir William Elwes, Bart.

Lady of Sir William Codrington, Bart.

Right Hon. the Earl of Cavan, Lieut. Gen. of his Majeſty's forces.

The only ſon of the Earl of Buckinghamſhire.

Oct. 1. The Hon. Ann Arundel, at Rawden-hill, near Chippenham, relict of the Hon. Thomas Arundel, count of the ſacred Roman Empire, and great aunt to the preſent Henry Lord Arundel, of Wardour-caſtle.

2. The Right Hon. Waſhington Shirley, Earl Ferrers, Viſcount Tamworth, vice admiral of the blue ſquadron, and F. R. S.

Hon. Miſs Amelia Wilhelmina Maleſina Sparre, only daughter of the late Baron Sparre, who was Ambaſſador from the Court of Sweden to that of Great Britain.

6. Sir George Hay, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Dean of the Arches, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and Preſident of the College of Doctors of Law, exercent in the Eccleſiaſtical and Admiralty: he was likewiſe member for the borough of Newcaſtle under Line, in Staffordſhire.

22. The Right Hon. the Earl of Lincoln, eldeſt ſon to his Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle.

The moſt noble Charles Douglas, Duke of Queenſberry, in Scotland, alſo Duke of Dover, and Marquis of Beverly, in England, and Lord Juſtice General in Scotland.

30. Hon. Mrs. Burgeſs, daughter to Lord Wentworth.

Right Hon. the Counteſs of Thanet.

Right Hon. Sir Sydney Stafford Smythe, late Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

The only daughter of his Excellency Count Almadovar, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at this court.

31. The Hon. Lieut. Col. John Gordon, of the 81ſt regiment of foot, at Kinſale in Ireland.

Colonel Ackland, eldeſt ſon of Sir Thomas Ackland, Bart. brother-in-law to the Earl of Ilcheſter, Major of the 20th regiment of foot, Colonel of the firſt battalion of the Devonſhire militia, and Member of Parliament for Callington, in Cornwall.

Nov. —. Right Hon. the Marchioneſs of Lothian.

Sir John Douglas, of Kilhead, Bart.

Hon. Miſs Mary Eliz. Napier, third daughter of the late Lord.

Rev. Sir John Peſhel, Bart.

The Hon. Mrs. Charlotte Digby, at Thames Ditton, Surry, relict of the Hon. Edward Digby, Eſq. mother to the preſent Lord Digby, Baron of Sherborne, laſt ſurviving child of Sir Stephen Fox,

&c. ſiſter to the late Earl of Ilcheſter and Lord Holland.

The Right Rev. Dr. John Craddock, Archbiſhop of Dublin, and Primate of Ireland.

Dec. 6. Sir Francis Skipwith, Bt.

Her Grace the Dutcheſs of St. Albans.

The infant Charles Francis, Prince of Naples, and of the Two Sicilies, and heir of that crown, in his 4th year, at Naples.

The reigning Landgrave of Heſſe Rhinfels Rothembourg, at Caſſel, field marſhal in the ſervice of their Imperial Majeſties.

The Sultan Mehmet, ſecond ſon of the Grand Signior, at Conſtantinople.

The lady of Lord Deerhurſt, at Ledbury, in Herefordſhire, in child birth.

APPEN-

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Abſtract of the Act for granting to his Majeſty certain Duties upon all inhabited Houſes within the Kingdom of Great Britain.

THIS Act ſets forth, that, from and after the 5th day of July, 1778, the ſeveral duties upon houſes ſhall be charged and paid unto his Majeſty by the occupiers thereof reſpectively; (that is to ſay), upon and for every dwelling-houſe inhabited, together with the houſhold offices therewith occupied, which now are, or ſhall hereafter be, erected within the kingdom of Great Britain, and which are, or for the time being ſhall be, worth the yearly rent of five pounds and upwards, and under the yearly rent of fifty pounds, the yearly ſum of ſixpence in the pound; and upon and for every dwelling-houſe inhabited, together with the houſhold offices therewith occupied, which now are, or hereafter ſhall be, erected within the kingdom of Great Britain, and which are, or for the time being ſhall be, worth the yearly rent of fifty pounds and upwards, the yearly ſum of one ſhilling in the pound, to be eſtimated and aſcertained in manner hereinafter expreſſed.

The duties in England and Wales to be paid quarterly; and in Scotland half-yearly.

And be it further enacted, that the duties granted by this act ſhall be charged only upon the inhabitants or occupiers for the time being of the houſes or tenements, and not on the landlord or landlords who let or demiſed the ſame.

Warehouſes, &c. not liable to the new duty; nor perſons who are not rated to church and poor.

It is further enacted, that no farm-houſe ſhall be aſſeſſed or rated for the purpoſe of raiſing the duty herein mentioned.

And, for the better underſtanding what is hereby meant as a farm-houſe, it is further declared, that all houſes bona fide uſed or occupied, for the purpoſes of huſbandry only, ſhall be deemed and taken to be farm-houſes, and no other.

Provided always, that no ſuch farm-houſe, which ſhall be occupied by the owner thereof, ſhall be intitled to ſuch exemption, which ſhall be valued under this act at more then ten pounds per annum, diſtinct from the land therewith occupied.

Provided always, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or

be conſtrued to extend, to charge or make liable any hoſpital, or houſe provided for the reception and relief of poor perſons, to the payment of the rate or duty to be laid by virtue of this act.

Abſtract of an Act of Parliament for better recruiting his Majeſty's Land Forces.

THE Juſtices of Peace, and Commiſſioners of the land tax, are appointed to put this act in execution, and are impowered, within their ſeveral juriſdictions, to raiſe and levy all able-bodied, idle, and diſorderly perſons, who cannot, upon examination, prove themſelves to exerciſe and induſtriouſly follow ſome lawful trade and employment, for their ſupport and maintenance, to ſerve his Majeſty as ſoldiers, and they are to order a general ſearch within their pariſhes for all perſons anſwering ſuch deſcriptions; and all perſons convicted of ſmuggling, to the value not exceeding forty pounds, may be raiſed and levied in like manner for ſoldiers, in lieu of the preſent puniſhments they are liable to. Able-bodied men only to be inliſted, and none under 17 or above 45 years of age. It is ſtrictly injoined, that the inhabitants of the different pariſhes ſhall be aſſiſting to the Commiſſioners, in putting in force this act. And, as an encouragement to the inhabitants, they are to receive a premium of 10s. for giving information of any able-bodied man, who ſhall be in conſequence thereof apprehended and inliſted. The chief magiſtrates of cities to inforce this act upon notice from the Secretary at war.

Amendments of the Laws relating to Forgeries.

IN conſequence of the opinion of the Judges in the caſe of Mr. Harriſon, lately diſcharged from Newgate, after conviction for forgery, the legiſlature have thought it neceſſary to paſs an act this preſent ſeſſions, to explain the former laws on the ſubject of forgeries. The new act declares, "that if any perſon, from and after the 25th day of March, 1778, ſhall falſely make, alter, forge, or counterfeit, or cauſe or procure to be falſely made, altered, forged, or counterfeited, or willingly act or aſſiſt in the falſe making, altering, forging, or counterfeiting, any acceptance of any bill of exchange, or the number or principal ſum of any accountable receipt for any note, bill, or other ſecurity for payment of money, or any warrant or order for payment of money or delivery of goods, with intention to defraud any corporation whatſoever; or ſhall utter or publiſh as true any falſe, altered, forged, or counterfeited acceptance of any bill of exchange, or accountable receipt for any note, bill, or other ſecurity for payment of money, or warrant or order for payment of money or delivery of goods, with intention to defraud any corporation whatſoever, knowing the ſame to be falſe, altered, forged, or counterfeited; every ſuch perſon, being thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall be deemed guilty of felony, and ſhall

ſhall ſuffer death as a felon without benefit of clergy.

Abſtract of an Act for regulating Lottery-offices.

THE new act for regulating the conduct of the lottery, and the lottery-office-keepers, reſtrains any perſon from keeping an office for the ſale of tickets, ſhares, or chances, or for buying, ſelling, inſuring, or regiſtering, without a licence; for which licence each office-keeper muſt pay 50l. to continue in force for one year, and the produce to be applied towards defraying the expences of the lottery. And no perſon is to be allowed to ſell any ſhare or chance leſs than a ſixteenth, on the penalty of 50l. All tickets divided into ſhares or chances, are to be depoſited in an office to be eſtabliſhed in London by the Commiſſioners of the treaſury, who are to appoint a perſon to conduct the buſineſs thereof; and all ſhares are to be ſtamped by the ſaid officer, who is to give a receipt for every ticket depoſited with him. The numbers of all tickets ſo depoſited are to be entered in a book with the names of the owners, and the number of ſhares into which they are divided, and two-pence for each ſhare is to be paid to the officer on depoſiting ſuch tickets, who is therewith to pay all expences incident to the office. All tickets depoſited in the office to remain there three days after drawing. And any perſon keeping an office, or ſelling ſhares, or who ſhall publiſh any ſcheme for receiving moneys in conſideration of any intereſt to be granted in any ticket in the ſaid lottery, &c. without being in poſſeſſion of ſuch ticket, ſhall forfeit 500l. and ſuffer three months impriſonment. And no buſineſs is to be tranſacted at any of the offices after eight in the evening, except on the evening of the Saturday preceding the drawing. No perſon to keep any office for the ſale of tickets, &c. in Oxford or Cambridge, on penalty of 20l.

Account of the Gold Coin brought into the Mint from Great Britain *and* Ireland, *by the Proclamations in* 1773, 1774, *and* 1776.

FIRST proclamation brought in 3,806,435l. 7s. 2d. deficient more than ſix grains in a guinea.

Second proclamation brought in 4,876,171l. 18s. 3d. deficient between three and ſix grains.

Third proclamation brought in 6,880,986l. 5s. 3d. deficient between one and three grains.

Total 15,563,593l. 10s. 8d.

Account of the Expence of calling in and recoining all the Gold Coin deficient more than a Grain in a Guinea.

	l.	s.	d.
EXPENCE to the bank for melting —	16,786	14	6
Deficiency in melting —	317,314	6	11
Intereſt of money advanced to the holders of gold coin	231,982	17	7
To maſter of the mint, for the charge of recoining and other charges	115,459	12	9

To ſeveral perſons who were appointed in the ſeveral counties to take in and exchange the gold coin, and for other charges and expences	72,476	8	0
Total	754,019	19	9

N. B. The loſs from the deficiency in the coin brought in by the firſt proclamation (amounting nearly to 300,000l.) was thrown on the holders of the coin; and therefore could not be included in this account.

Account of the King's viſits to Chatham, Portſmouth, Wincheſter, Saliſbury, Wharley, *and* Coxheath. *Extracted from the London Gazettes.*

CHATHAM.

ON the 24th of April, his Majeſty, attended by the Earl of Sandwich, &c. embarked on board the Auguſta Yacht, at Greenwich, and arrived at Chatham on the 25th, amidſt a full chorus of ſhipwrights, who welcomed his Majeſty with the ſong of "God ſave the King." After taking a ſurvey of the works as far as time would permit, he returned to his yacht to dinner, afterwards proceeded on his ſurvey till near dark. Next day he reviewed the firſt regiment of royals; held a public levee at the Commiſſioner's houſe, where he received the officers and neighbouring gentry; and where the Mayor and corporation of Rocheſter in their formalities made their compliments in a ſhort ſpeech.

His Majeſty the ſame evening went in his barge on board the Victory; upon his entering the ſhip, the royal ſtandard was hoiſted, and his Majeſty, after having ſpent upwards of two hours in examining the ſame, returned to the yacht about ſeven o'clock, being ſaluted, upon his leaving the ſhip, with a royal ſalute of twenty-one guns.

Monday, April 27. At nine o'clock his Majeſty went again on board the Victory, where he had a levee, when the captains and officers of his ſhips at Sheerneſs and the Nore were preſented to him. His Majeſty, after continuing on board about three quarters of an hour, went into his barge, preceded by Rear Admiral Campbell as before, rowed down to Sheerneſs, and landed in the dock-yard at ten o'clock, where he was received by Lord Amherſt, the Commiſſioners of the navy, and officers of the yard.

His Majeſty afterwards examined the ſhips fitting in the docks, the batteries, and the naval and ordnance ſtore-houſes. At Twelve o'clock his Majeſty left the yard, and rowed to the yacht at Blackſtakes; and as ſoon as the tide was made, at half paſt one o'clock weighed and ſailed, being ſaluted by the Victory, the garriſon of Sheerneſs, the ſhips at the Nore, and the forts, as he paſſed. The wind being fair from the Nore, his Majeſty landed at Greenwich at twelve at night, where his carriages and eſcort were ready to receive him; and arrived in about three

three quarters of an hour at St. James's.

PORTSMOUTH.

Saturday, May 2. His Majeſty and the Queen ſet out at ſix in the morning from the Queen's houſe, and arrived at Portſmouth about three quarters paſt twelve, when they were ſaluted by all the guns round the works and the garriſon.

Their Majeſties got to the Commiſſioner's houſe about one o'clock, eſcorted by a party of the third or Queen's regiment of dragoon guards. His Majeſty was attended by the Marquis of Lothian, Gold Stick in waiting; the Honourable Colonels St. John and Harcourt, two of his Aid de Camps; and Lieut. Gen. Carpenter, his Equerry in waiting; and her Majeſty by the Marquis of Caermarthen, Lord Chamberlain of her Majeſty's houſehold; and the Counteſs of Egremont, one of the ladies of her bed-chamber. The ſtandard was immediately hoiſted in the dock-yard, and the workmen aſſembled, and gave their Majeſties ſeveral cheers as they paſſed. Their Majeſties were received at the door of the Commiſſioner's houſe by the Earl of Sandwich, Lord Amherſt, Lieut. Gen. Monckton, the Commiſſioners of the navy, and the Commiſſioners and Officers of the yard. His Majeſty left the houſe at half paſt five o'clock in the afternoon, to viſit the yard; and after viewing the ſhips in docks, the ſmith's ſhop and boat-houſe, returned to the Commiſſioner's houſe about ſeven o'clock.

Sunday, May 3. At ten o'clock their Majeſties went to the Garriſon Chapel, where they heard divine ſervice. After which their Majeſties had a public levee at the Governor's houſe, and were waited on by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Corporation of Portſmouth, with their addreſſes.

Monday, May 4. The King left the yard at ſeven this morning, and went to the gun-wharf; viewed the ordnance-ſtores and ſtore-houſes; and returned to the yard about eight o'clock. At a quarter paſt nine, the Queen went in the barge to the yatch, which lay half way to Spithead. The barge was preceded by Admiral Pye with his flag flying, and followed by the other Admirals and Captains in their boats, drawn up in four regular lines, and amounting to fifty boats. The ſhips in the harbour were manned, and on getting out of the harbour, the guns of the platform, the Blockhouſe Fort, and South-ſea Caſtle, ſaluted her Majeſty as ſhe paſſed. Her Majeſty got on board the yatch at half paſt nine. All the ſhips at Spithead were manned, and the fleet ſaluted her Majeſty with twenty-one guns each. At a quarter paſt ten the barge returned to the dock yard, and his Majeſty embarked on board her, attended by the Admirals and Captains in their boats, in the ſame manner as her Majeſty.

On the King's arrival at Spithead, all the ſhips were manned, and ſaluted his Majeſty. His Majeſty was rowed through the fleet, and received three cheers as he paſſed each ſhip. At half paſt eleven, the King went on board the Prince George of 90 guns, (Admiral Keppel) where the ſtandard was immediately hoiſted, the fleet ſaluting with twenty-one guns each.

The

The yacht with her Majeſty on board, ſailed round the fleet; the ſhips were all manned, and gave three cheers as the yacht paſſed.

At half paſt twelve the fleet ſaluted the Queen with twenty-one guns each ſhip, as her Majeſty paſſed by the Prince George. His Majeſty, during his ſtay on board, ſaw the men at their quarters, when they performed their ſeveral exerciſes of the great guns and ſmall arms; after which his Majeſty received all the Captains of the fleet upon the quarter-deck. At one o'clock the King left the Prince George, and went into the barge, receiving three cheers. The barge was preceded by Admiral Pye in his barge, and followed by the Admirals and Captains in the fleet in their barges, and went on board the yacht, which lay at anchor to windward of the fleet, at half paſt one, where their Majeſties dined, the King under an awning on the quarter-deck, the Flag Officers, Generals, and thoſe of his Majeſty's ſuite, having the honour to dine at his table.

At half paſt four the Queen's health was drank, followed by a general ſalute from the fleet of twenty-one guns each. The ſame ſalute was repeated a few minutes after, when his Majeſty drank to the proſperity of the navy, and to all his good ſubjects by ſea and land.

The King went into his barge at ſix o'clock, and rowed round the fleet; and afterwards returned in his yacht into the harbour, being ſaluted by the whole fleet, and the ſeveral forts as before, and by a number of cannon from the ſhores of Portſmouth and Goſport. Their Majeſties left the yacht at half paſt eight, landed at the dock-yard, and went to the Commiſſioner's houſe.

The day being very fine, an incredible number of veſſels, pleaſure yachts and boats, attended their Majeſties; and, on their return in the evening, all the houſes of Portſmouth and Goſport were illuminated, as they had been the preceding evening.

Tueſday, May 5. At nine o'clock their Majeſties left the yard, and went to the glacis near South-ſea Common, where his Majeſty reviewed the 25th regiment of foot commanded by Lieut. Gen. Lord George Lenox.

His Majeſty went from the review to ſee the new fortifications erected round the common for the better protection of the dock-yard, and returned about half paſt one.

At ſix o'clock his Majeſty ſaw the rope-houſes, and ſeveral other ſtore-houſes, and the academy. He afterwards walked through the yard to the new ground, went into the St. George of 90 guns, whoſe frame is nearly completed, and returned to the Commiſſioner's houſe at a quarter paſt eight o'clock.

Wedneſday, May 6. Their Majeſties, at half paſt nine this morning, went into the rope-houſe, and ſaw every branch of that manufacture. Her majeſty returned immediately, and the King went in the barge to the victualling brew-houſe at Weevill, viewed the whole carrying on there, and returned to the yard at half paſt twelve.

His Majeſty then walked into the town of Portſmouth to inſpect the victualling-office and ſtore-houſes; which having been thoroughly

roughly examined, he proceeded to the marine barracs, and then came back to the yard; went into the rigging-houſe, and returned to the Commiſſioner's houſe at half paſt one o'clock.

Thurſday, May 7. Their Majeſties ſet out at half paſt eleven this morning for the ſeat of the late Earl of Hallifax, at Stanſted in Suſſex, about twelve miles off, and returned at a quarter paſt three to dinner.

His Majeſty went about ſix in the evening, in his barge up the harbour, on board the Britannia, of 100 guns, and the Royal William of 84, looked into every part of theſe ſhips, and returned to the yard about eight o'clock.

Friday, May 8. His Majeſty went about half paſt ſix this morning under the bottom of a frigate of 28 guns, to ſee the workmen ſheathe her with copper, where his Majeſty ſtaid near half an hour.

At ten o'clock their Majeſties went in the barge on board the Princeſs Auguſta yacht, and ſailed in her through the fleet at Spithead to St. Helen's, and returned to the Mother-bank, where ſhe came to an anchor.

About ſix in the evening the yacht, with their Majeſties on board, ſailed through the merchant-ſhips in Stokes-bay, and left Spithead about half paſt ſeven to go into the harbour; then parting with the fleet, they received a royal ſalute from every ſhip, of twenty-one guns, and the ſame from South-ſea Caſtle, Blockhouſe-fort, and the ſaluting battery of the town, as they paſſed them in their way into the harbour. Their Majeſties landed at eight o'clock, and went to the Commiſſioner's houſe, before which the workmen were aſſembled, who gave three cheers, and then diſperſed.

St. James's, May 9. This morning, about half paſt eight o'clock, their Majeſties got into their poſt-chaiſe at Portſmouth, and arrived at the Queen's houſe at half an hour paſt four o'clock.

His Majeſty has created the Commiſſioner, and Sir Richard Bickerton, who ſteered their Majeſties the laſt and the preſent time, Baronets; and Digby Dent, Captain to the ſenior Flag, Knt. Edward Linzee, Eſq. the Mayor, deſired to be excuſed the honour.

WINCHESTER *and* SALISBURY.

THE King and Queen ſet out on Monday the 28th of September, at one in the afternoon, from Windſor Caſtle, and arrived at Wincheſter about half paſt five in the afternoon, and alighted at Mr. Penton's houſe, where they were waited on by the Mayor and Corporation, who addreſſed the King in a loyal ſpeech, as did the maſter and fellows of the college, and received moſt gracious anſwers.

Their Majeſties ſupped and ſlept at Eaſt-gate-houſe during their ſtay. Her Majeſty held her levees there, and the King at St. John's houſe.

The next morning his Majeſty reviewed the troops, and after the review ended, the King went to the tent prepared for his reception, where he afterwards dined, as did the Queen in another tent prepared for her Majeſty. On the 30th their Majeſties were pleaſed

to

to take a view of the cathedral, its antiquities, architecture, &c. and afterwards to viſit the college, where their Majeſties were addreſſed in a Latin ſpeech * by Mr. Chamberlayne, ſon of William Chamberlayne, Eſq. Solicitor of the Treaſury, the ſenior ſcholar on the foundation, and fellow elect of New College, Oxford; and in Engliſh by the Earl of Shafteſbury †. As ſoon as they returned, they ſet off inſtantly for Saliſbury. They ordered ſums of money to be left for the poor, at the diſpoſal of the Mayor; for the three ſenior boys on the foundation, for the debtors in the priſons, and for other charitable purpoſes.

They arrived at Saliſbury a quarter before three in the afternoon. They were here addreſſed by the Biſhop and Clergy, by the Dean and Chapter, and by the Mayor and commonalty of the city of New Sarum; and after viſiting the cathedral, and ſtopping a ſhort time at the Deanry-houſe, they continued their rout to Wilton-houſe, where they were received by the Earl and Counteſs of Pembroke, and addreſſed by the Mayor, Recorder, and burgeſſes of the borough of Wilton. On Thurſday their Majeſties left Lord Pembroke's houſe a little before nine in the morning, and the review ended about two in the afternoon.

* Mr. Chamberlayne's ſpeech. "Regum antiquorum (Rex auguſtiſſime) morem revocas, qui literatorum ſodalitiis intereſſe, oculiſque et aſpectu doctrinarum ſtudia comprobare non indignum putabant amplitudine ſua. Et profecto, complures regios hoſpites, Henricos, Edvardos, Carolos, olim excepit vetus hoc inclytumque Muſarum domicilium: nullum, qui bonas literas te (Pater illuſtriſſime) vel magis amaverit, vel auxerit, vel ornaverit. Quin et animum tuum propenſamque in literas voluntatem vel hoc abunde teſtari poſſit, quod vicina caſtra tot tantiſque procerum Britannicorum pro patria militantium præſidiis inſtructiſſima bellicis ſpectaculis te non penitus occupatum tenuere, quo minus ut togatam juventutem reſpiceres, et ex armorum ſtrepitu remiſſionem quandam literati hujus otii captares. Ut diu vivas et valeas, in utriuſque Minervæ perennem gloriam, tibi fauſta et felicia comprecantur omnia, vovent, que Wiccamici tui."

† Lord Shafteſbury's verſes.

"Forgive th' officious Muſe, that with weak voice,
And trembling accents rude, attempts to hail
Her Royal Gueſt! who, from yon tented field,
Britain's defence and boaſt, has deign'd to ſmile
On Wickham's ſons; the gentler arts of peace
And ſcience, ever prompt to praiſe, and Mars
To join with Pallas! 'Tis the Muſe's taſk
And office beſt to conſecrate to Fame,
Heroes and virtuous Kings: the generous youths,
My lov'd compeers, hence with redoubled toils,
Shall ſtrive to merit ſuch auſpicious ſmiles;
And through life's various walks, in arts or arms,
Or tuneful numbers, with their country's love,
And with true loyalty enflam'd t' adorn
This happy realm; while thy paternal care
To time remote, and diſtant lands, ſhall ſpread
Peace, juſtice, riches, ſcience, freedom, fame."

His

His Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs his entire approbation of the appearance, diſcipline, and good order of the regiments, and about four returned with the Queen to Wilton houſe.

At half paſt nine o'clock on Friday morning their Majeſties, attended by their ſuites, and the Earl and Counteſs of Pembroke, left Wilton-houſe on their way to Stonehenge, which their Majeſties examined very attentively. Their Majeſties arrived at the Duke of Queenſbery's houſe at Ambreſbury at eleven o'clock, where they ſtaid a little more than an hour, and then proceeded on their return to Windſor, where their Majeſties arrived at ſix o'clock in the evening.

Camp at WARLEY.

ON Monday the 19th inſtant, at half paſt twelve o'clock, their Majeſties ſet out from the Queen's houſe, and arrived at Thorndon Place, in Eſſex, the ſeat of the Right Honourable the Lord Petre, at three o'clock.

On Tueſday morning, at three quarters paſt nine o'clock, his Majeſty on horſeback, attended by his ſuite, and alſo by General Lord Amherſt, reviewed the troops. He beheld the whole from a ſtand erected by Lord Petre in the centre of the ſcene. The ſeveral manœuvres being over a little before three o'clock, the King went towards the ſtand, where a circle being formed by the horſe and grenadier guards, the ſeveral officers of the regiments were introduced, regimentally, to his Majeſty, and had the honour of kiſſing his Majeſty's hand. The King was graciouſly pleaſed to expreſs great ſatisfaction at the appearance, diſcipline, and good order of the ſeveral regiments, and the royal artillery; and likewiſe his approbation of the manœuvres which were performed: and mounting his horſe again, a royal ſalute was fired on his Majeſty's leaving the field.

The King returned to Lord Petre's houſe, where his Majeſty, and likewiſe the Queen, arrived a little after four o'clock.

After ten o'clock on Wedneſday morning, the avenue from Lord Petre's Park, and the road and ſtreets of Brentwood, being lined by the light infantry, the 6th and Liverpool regiments of foot, the North Glouceſter and North Lincolnſhire regiments of militia, under the command of Major General Hall, their Majeſties, attended by their ſuites, and Lord and Lady Petre, left Thorndon Place, on their way to Naveſtock, the ſeat of the Earl Waldegrave, where their Majeſties arrived a little before eleven; and having continued there till near three, their Majeſties ſet out on their return to the Queen's houſe, where their Majeſties arrived at about a quarter paſt five.

The King and Queen and their ſuite, during their ſtay at Thorndon, were moſt magnificently entertained by my Lord Petre, at an expence it is ſaid of upwards of 12,000l.

Camp at COXHEATH.

THE King and Queen, attended as before, ſet out on Monday the 22d of November, at eleven o'clock, from Kew, and arrived at Montreal in Kent, the

ſeat

ſeat of Lord Amherſt, a little after two.

On Tueſday morning, at nine o'clock, the King and Queen left Lord Amherſt's houſe in their chaiſe, attended by their ſuites, and alſo by Lord and Lady Amherſt, on their way to the camp at Coxheath; and, paſſing through the town of Sevenoaks, their Majeſties were pleaſed to ſtop their carriage at the door of the ſchool there, which is of royal inſtitution, and were addreſſed in a ſhort ſpeech by the Maſter thereof.

His Majeſty then proceeded to the camp, where, having reviewed the troops, he remained till the evening gun had fired, when his Majeſty, mounting his horſe, proceeded to Leeds Caſtle, the ſeat of the Hon. Mr. Fairfax, where his Majeſty arrived, as did alſo the Queen, at ſeven o'clock. The caſtle and the approaches to it were elegantly illuminated in honour of their Majeſties; and the ſeveral General Officers and Colonels in camp had the honour of dining with his Majeſty.

At nine o'clock on Wedneſday morning, the Mayor and Corporation of the town of Maidſtone waited on his Majeſty with an addreſs, which was very graciouſly received by his Majeſty; and the Mayor, deputy Recorder, Jurats, and Common Council had the honour of kiſſing his Majeſty's hand.

His Majeſty was at the ſame time pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on William Biſhop, Eſq. the Mayor of the town of Maidſtone.

The corporation alſo waited with an addreſs on the Queen.

During the whole of theſe excurſions the King was pleaſed to leave ſums of money for the poor of the ſeveral pariſhes through which their Majeſties paſſed; and to direct a return and ſtate of all the perſons confined for debt in the priſons at Maidſtone, in order that ſuch of them as ſhall appear proper objects may receive his Majeſty's royal bounty for their enlargement.

At eleven o'clock their Majeſties, attended by their ſuites, left Leeds Caſtle on their return to the Queen's houſe, where their Majeſties arrived at four o'clock.

Account of the Death of the Earl of Chatham, *with the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, and of the City of* London, *thereon.*

ON Monday May the 11th, died the Right Honourable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Viſcount Pitt, of Burton Pynſent, in the county of Somerſet. He was born November 15, 1708. He married Lady Heſter, only daughter of Richard Grenville, Eſq; by the late Counteſs Temple, and ſiſter to the preſent Richard Earl Temple, who was created a Baroneſs, Dec. 4, 1761. By her he has left iſſue, 1. John, Lord Viſcount Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, born Oct. 9, 1756. 2. William, born May 28, 1759. 3. James-Charles, born April 24, 1761. 4. Lady Heſter, born Oct. 18, 1755. 5. Lady Harriot, born April 14, 1758.

The news of his death having reached the houſe of commons, whilſt it was ſitting, Col. Barré roſe, and made a motion that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty,

Majeſty, to requeſt he would give orders that the remains of the Earl of Chatham ſhould be buried at the public expence, as a teſtimony of the juſt ſenſe of the nation upon the loſs of ſo great a man, and ſo able a ſtateſman. An alteration was propoſed by Mr. Rigby, that, in order to perpetuate his memory, a monument would be a more eligible as well as a more laſting teſtimony, than the defraying his funeral expences.

Mr. Dunning ſaid he ſuppoſed there could not be two opinions in the houſe on ſuch a motion, and therefore thought the two propoſitions were in no degree oppoſite, and that as an amendment the monument ſhould be included as an object of the addreſs to his Majeſty: the motion was then put and carried unanimouſly.

The words of it were as follow:

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, requeſting that his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions that the remains of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, be interred at the public expence; and that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter, to the memory of that great and excellent ſtateſman, with an inſcription expreſſive of the ſentiments of the people on ſo great and irreparable a loſs, and to aſſure his Majeſty that this houſe would make good the expence attending the ſame."

On the 13th of May the following motion was made by Lord John Cavendiſh, and the queſtion being put, was carried unanimouſly.

"That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty to return him thanks for his gracious meſſage to their addreſs; and to requeſt that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to make ſuch a laſting proviſion for the family of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as his Majeſty in his wiſdom and liberality ſhould think fit, as a mark of the ſenſe the nation entertains of the ſervices done to the kingdom by that able ſtateſman; and to aſſure his Majeſty that the houſe would make good the ſame."

Wedneſday, May 20, Lord North preſented to the Houſe of Commons the following meſſage from his Majeſty:

'GEORGE R.

'His Majeſty having conſidered the addreſs of this Houſe, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to confer ſome ſignal and laſting mark of his royal favour on the family of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and being deſirous to comply as ſpeedily as poſſible with the requeſt of his faithful Commons, has given directions for granting to the preſent Earl of Chatham, and to the heirs of the body of the late William Pitt, to whom the earldom of Chatham may deſcend, an annuity of 4000l. per annum, payable out of the civil liſt revenue; but his Majeſty, not having it in his power to extend the effects of the ſaid grant beyond the term of his own life, recommends it to the Houſe to conſider of a proper method of extending, ſecuring, and annexing the ſame to the earldom of Chatham, in ſuch a manner as ſhall be thought moſt effectual for the benefit of the family of the ſaid William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

GEORGE R.'

Friday,

Friday, May 22, Sir George Savile made a report of the proceedings of the Committee on his Majeſty's meſſage; and the Houſe agreed unanimouſly to the reſolution of the Committee, that the ſum of 4000l. per annum be granted to his Majeſty out of the aggregate fund, to enable him to make a permanent ſettlement on the preſent Lord Chatham, and the deſcendants of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, to whom the earldom ſhall deſcend.

In a Committee voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, 'that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give orders that 20,000l. be iſſued for the payment of the debts of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and to aſſure his Majeſty that this Houſe will make good the ſame.'

The city of London were not leſs forward in teſtifying their regard to the memory of their once favourite miniſter.

May 20th, a court of common council was held at Guildhall, when the firſt buſineſs that came on was a motion that a Committee be appointed to draw up a petition to the Houſe of Commons, praying that the remains of the late Earl of Chatham may be depoſited in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and the Committee being appointed, withdrew, and returning produced a petition, which being read was approved, and ordered to be ſigned by the Town-clerk, and preſented to the honourable Houſe of Commons.

Reſolved, That this court is deſirous of attending the funeral of Lord Chatham in their gowns.

Reſolved, That a committee be appointed to draw up a letter to the proper officer of the crown, requeſting that their deſire of attending Lord Chatham's funeral may be humbly made known to his Majeſty, and praying that his Majeſty will order the proper officer to give them timely notice and inſtructions for regulating their attendance (if his Majeſty ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to acquieſce); which letter being drawn up was read and agreed to, and ordered to be forwarded by Mr. Remembrancer.

The humble Petition of the city of London, in common-council ſembled,

Sheweth,

"That your petitioners humbly beg leave to return their grateful thanks to this honourable houſe, for the noble and generous teſtimony which it has borne to the ſervices and merits of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

"And your petitioners, with all humility, deſire that their zeal may not ſeem unpleaſing to this honourable houſe, or be interpreted as a wiſh in your petitioners to vary from the general ſenſe of their country, as expreſſed in the late votes of this honourable houſe, by their requeſting that the remains of the Earl of Chatham be depoſited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London.

"Your petitioners farther repreſent to this honourable houſe, that they entirely feel the delicacy of their ſituation, in conſequence of the ſeveral meaſures taken by this honourable houſe; but hope that a favourable interpretation will be put upon any particular marks of gratitude and veneration which the firſt commercial city in the empire is earneſt to expreſs towards the ſtateſman, whoſe vigour

and counſels had ſo much contributed to the protection and extenſion of its commerce.

By order of the court
RIX."

The ſaid petition was ordered by the Houſe to lie on the table.

May 26. A motion was made, ſeconded, and it was unanimouſly reſolved,

That the Court do preſent an humble addreſs to his Majeſty, returning thanks for his ready and moſt gracious acquieſcence in the wiſhes of the Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, to ſhew gratitude to the memory of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and humbly intreating that his Majeſty would graciouſly condeſcend to grant permiſſion that the remains of the ſaid Earl be interred in the cathedral church of St. Paul.

The following petition was preſented to his Majeſty by the Corporation of London, in their formalities:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"We, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our moſt humble and dutiful thanks for the repeated and ſignal marks of your royal attention to the public ſenſe of gratitude due to the memory of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as truly expreſſed by the reſolutions of the Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled.

"And we humbly hope for your Majeſty's moſt gracious indulgence when the teſtimonies thus paid to the public virtues of this illuſtrious ſtateſman, encourage your moſt faithful corporation to intreat that the metropolis of your empire may be admitted to a ſhare in the expreſſions of public veneration to a miniſter ſo exemplary for his integrity, ability, and virtue.

"For this purpoſe we humbly beſeech, that your Majeſty, in your royal condeſcenſion, would give permiſſion that the remains of the ſaid Earl of Chatham be depoſited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London.

"We hope that we are not guilty of unwarrantable preſumption in conceiving that our wiſhes on this ſubject are not inconſiſtent with thoſe of the Hon. Houſe of Commons. And we flatter ourſelves that, if your Majeſty ſhould graciouſly acquieſce in this our humble prayer, it cannot fail to be agreeable to the family of the deceaſed, whoſe attention to us on all proper occaſions it is our pride to remember, who condeſcended to become our fellow-citizen, and to whom, could he have foreſeen it, we are convinced this attempt to cheriſh his memory would not have been unacceptable.

"And we beg leave farther humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, that we feel ourſelves ſingularly happy in thinking, that in this, our humble petition, we ſhew our duty and attachment to our moſt gracious Sovereign and the illuſtrious Houſe of Brunſwick, by our reſpect to one of their moſt zealous and faithful ſervants; at the ſame time that we expreſs our gratitude as a commercial body to a man who ſo ſignally ſupported its intereſts: and humbly pray that the nobleſt edifice in your Majeſty's dominions may become the depoſitary of the remains of one among the nobleſt of your ſubjects."

His Majeſty's anſwer was in ſubſtance, That, as the Parliament had ordered a monument to be erected to the memory of the deceaſed Earl in Weſtminſter Abbey, his Lordſhip's remains are to be interred there.

June 6. At a court of Common-Council, held at Guildhall, after the Lord Mayor had acquainted the court with the King's anſwer to their addreſs and petition, preſented on Friday laſt, a warm debate enſued, in conſequence of Lord Hertford's letter to the Remembrancer, in anſwer to a meſſage from the court; the copies of which are as follow:

"My Lord,

"His Majeſty's faithful Corporation of London, wiſhing to ſhew every proper reſpect in their power to the memory of his Majeſty's late zealous and moſt diſintereſted ſervant and ſubject, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and wiſhing to expreſs their own particular gratitude to the memory of that illuſtrious ſtateſman, who ſo glorioufly protected the commerce of this country, deſire your Lordſhip humbly to requeſt his Majeſty, that his faithful Corporation may receive timely notice from the proper officers of ſuch his Majeſty's gracious acquieſcence, together with the neceſſary inſtructions for regulating their attendance.

I am, my Lord, &c.

PETER ROBERTS."

Lord HERTFORD's *Letter.*

"Sir,

"Having, through your hands, received the requeſt of the Corporation of London, praying his Majeſty to permit them to attend the funeral of the late Earl of Chatham, I am to acquaint you, that I have laid the ſame before his Majeſty, who is pleaſed to comply with the ſaid requeſt, and has directed me to give public and timely notice of the ſaid funeral, that all ſuch gentlemen of the corporation who propoſe it may have an opportunity of attending as they deſired. I am, Sir, &c.

HERTFORD."

Groſvenor-ſtreet, May 25.

ESDAILE, MAYOR.

A Common-council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Saturday the 6th day of June, 1778.

This court not having yet received any anſwer to their deſire of of having timely notice to attend the funeral of the late Earl of Chatham, and information having been given by a member of this court, that that ſolemnity is ordered for Tueſday next, it is therefore now reſolved, that the former reſolution for attending the funeral of the ſaid Earl be reſcinded.

His Majeſty having refuſed to comply with the requeſt of this court, on their humble deſire to have the remains of the late Earl of Chatham buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul, Reſolved unanimouſly, nevertheleſs, that a committee be now appointed to conſider what further mark of reſpect is moſt fit to perpetuate the memory of that excellent and diſintereſted ſtateſman, in the time of whoſe adminiſtration the citizens of London never returned from the throne diſſatisfied.

When Mr. Sheriff Clarke waited on his Majeſty, to know his royal

pleaſure when he would receive the petition of the Common-council, reſpecting Lord Chatham's funeral, his Majeſty aſked, "What is the ſubject matter of the petition?" —This unexpected circumſtance diſconcerted the Sheriff; but after a momentary pauſe, he recollected himſelf, and with great preſence of mind informed the Great Perſonage, "That he himſelf was only an official agent, to know when the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council may have the honour of preſenting a petition to his Majeſty; the contents he had nothing at all to do with." Upon which the anſwer given was, "Well, then, let it be Friday ſe'ennight."

The ſame court came to the following reſolution:

"In conſequence of the Remembrancer having been called upon by this court to ſtate what paſſed in the King's cloſet when the Sheriff laſt attended at St. James's; and it appearing that an unuſual queſtion had been aſked, to which the Sheriff declined giving an anſwer: Reſolved unanimouſly, That the thanks of this court be given to Mr. Sheriff Clarke for his very prudent conduct on this occaſion."

In conſequence of the addreſs of the Houſe of Commons of the 11th of May, the body lay in ſtate in the painted Chamber the 7th and 8th of June.

Tueſday, June 9, at two o'clock, the funeral proceſſion began from the Painted Chamber, through Weſtminſter-hall, New Palace-yard, part of Parliament-ſtreet, Bridge-ſtreet, and King-ſtreet, the Broad Sanctuary, to the Weſt door of Weſtminſter-abbey.

High Conſtable of Weſtminſter.
Meſſenger to the College of Arms, with a badge of the College on his ſhoulder, his ſtaff tipt with ſilver and furred with ſarſnet.
Six men conductors, with black ſtaves, headed with Earls coronets.
Seventy poor men with Badges of the Creſt of PITT on the ſhoulders, and black ſtaves in their hands, all in black cloaks.
The STANDARD of the Family.
Twelve Servants to the deceaſed, in cloſe mourning.
Phyſicians and Divines, in cloſe mourning.
A Banner of the Barony of Chatham
Supported by
Colonel Barré, the Dukes of Northumberland, Richmond, and Mancheſter, and the Marquis of Rockingham, in cloſe mourning.
The GREAT BANNER.
The Helmet and Creſt, borne by a Herald.
The Sword and Target, by a Herald.
The Surcoat, by a Herald.
The Coronet, on a black velvet Cuſhion, by a King of Arms, between two Gentlemen Uſhers with half ſtaves.

THE BODY,

Carried by eight men, covered with a black velvet pall, adorned with eight eſcutcheons of the arms of the deceaſed, and under a canopy of black velvet, borne by eight Gentlemen.

The Pall ſupported by Sir George Saville, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Burke, Mr. T. Townſhend.

The Picture of Britannia weeping over the Arms of CHATHAM, painted on ſarſnet.

A Gentleman Uſher with a half ſtaff.	Garter King of Arms.	Black Rod with a half ſtaff.

Chief Mourner,
The Honourable Mr. PITT.
his Train borne by
Eight Aſſiſtant Mourners, Earls, Viſcounts, or Barons.

Lord Viſcount MAHON.
BANNER of the Creſts of PITT.
BANNER of the Arms of PITT.

The proceſſion cloſed by ſervants of the family, in cloſe mourning.

The ſix conductors and ſeventy poor men divide and range themſelves on each ſide without the church door, and the reſt of the proceſſion within the church.

During the ſervice in the church, the coronet and cuſhion were laid on the body, and the canopy and bannerols held over it.

The ſervice being over, Garter proclaimed the ſtyle, titles, &c. and the Earl's officers, breaking their ſtaves, gave the pieces to Garter, who threw them into the grave.

The proceſſion then returned to the Painted Chamber in the ſame order.

The ſervice was read by the Biſhop of Rocheſter.

The Duke and Ducheſs of Glouceſter attended the funeral ſervice.

Upon the coffin was a ſilver plate, on which was the following inſcription:—'The moſt noble and puiſſant William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Viſcount Pitt of Burton-Pynſent, in the county of Somerſet. Born the 15th of November, 1708. Died at Hayes, in Kent, the 11th of May, 1778.'

His Lordſhip lies interred about twenty yards from the North entrance of Weſtminſter-abbey.

Several Iriſh Earls and Viſcounts attended, as did Sir William Draper, Sir William Meredith, General Burgoyne, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, and a great number of Lords, moſtly in the minority.

An authentic Account of the Part taken by the late Earl of Chatham, *in a Tranſaction which paſſed in the Beginning of the Year* 1778.

VARIOUS falſe reports having been induſtriouſly propagated concerning a negotiation, (if it may be ſo called) ſaid to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham, it has been thought indiſpenſibly neceſſary to draw up a diſtinct and authentic account, from papers now in poſſeſſion of the Earl of Chatham's family, of what did paſs relative to that affair, that it may appear, whether the tranſaction did, or did not, originate from Lord Chatham; and that it may be clearly aſcertained, what were his ſentiments and diſpoſition with regard to it. It appears that various converſations had paſſed between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, relative to Lord Bute and Lord Chatham, previous to the third of February, 1778, but that Lord Chatham was in no wiſe apprized of this, till the abovementioned day, on which Dr. Addington went to Hayes, and read to Lord Chatham the following extract of a letter, which, the Doctor informed

informed him, he had that morning received from Sir James Wright.

No. I.—*Extract of a Letter from Sir* James Wright *to Dr.* Addington.

"AS I immediately, on my return from Lord Bute's, took down in ſhort-hand the principal heads of it, I think I ſhall not deviate materially from the very words of the converſation; at leaſt if the ſpirit of his Lordſhip's language is debilitated, the eſſential matter of it is the ſame.

"I told Lord Bute, that a friend of mine, whoſe honour and ſincerity I could rely upon, had hinted to me (*that he thought Lord Chatham had a high opinion of his Lordſhip's honour, as well as his ſincere good wiſhes for the public ſafety.) He enquired who my friend was? I told him it was you. He replied, I know he is much Lord Chatham's friend; I know alſo that he is an honeſt man, and a man of ſenſe. I related to him the converſation that had paſſed between yourſelf and me at our laſt meeting. He ſaid, Lord Chatham was one of the very few he had ever acted with in adminiſtration, who had ſhewn great honeſty and generoſity of ſentiment, with a ſincere conduct, and intention for the King's and the public welfare.

"That as for himſelf, he ſaid, he had no connection with any one in adminiſtration; that he had not the leaſt diſtant friendſhip with Lord North, or he ſhould certainly adviſe him, by all means, to aim at gaining Lord Chatham over to the King's ſervice and confidence: And, ſaid he, you may tell your friend, Dr. Addington, to aſſure Lord Chatham, that if he ſhould think proper to take an active part in adminiſtration, he ſhall have my moſt hearty concurrence and ſincere good wiſhes; and you have my full leave to communicate all my ſentiments on this ſubject to your friend. He continued ſaying many very reſpectful things of Lord Chatham, adding, Had we not unfortunately diſagreed about the laſt peace, I am ſure he and I ſhould have continued ſuch ſteady friends, that this country never would have experienced her preſent ſevere misfortunes. He alſo ſaid, the prior part of Lord Chatham's laſt ſpeech was manly and conſtitutional, and could not but induce every one, a well-wiſher to his country, to wiſh to ſee him again take a part in the government of the King's affairs, which would be a happineſs for the whole empire. He continued ſaying, Perhaps we have men of abilities in the Houſe of Lords; but thoſe in adminiſtration (except Lord Suffolk, who is uſually ill half the year) are none of them ſufficiently ſerious or attentive enough to the buſineſs of the nation, which is now of ſo much conſequence, as not to be neglected in the leaſt degree. He therefore could not ſay, he had a good opinion of their conduct. He alſo ſaid, in the courſe of the converſation, that nothing but the moſt imminent danger to this country ſhould induce him to take a part in the government of it, unleſs in conjunction with an upright and able adminiſtration.

* The truth of this part is expreſsly denied by Dr. Addington in his Narrative, in which the Doctor declares, that, to the beſt of his remembrance, Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him.

"Much more was ſaid, but of leſs moment; however, all tended to convince me, that there are not two other men in the kingdom more faithfully inclined to the good and ſafety of our preſent diſtracted nation, than our two noble friends."

[This letter was dated January 2, it ſhould have been February 2, having been received by Dr. Addington on Feb. 3.]

Lord Chatham dictated the following meſſage in anſwer, which was taken down in writing by Dr. Addington, a copy of which was delivered by him to Sir James Wright.

No. II.—*Copy of Note given by Dr.* Addington *to Sir* James Wright.

"LORD Chatham heard with particular ſatisfaction, the favourable ſentiments on the ſubject of the noble Lord, with whom you had talked with regard to the impending ruin of the kingdom. He fears all hope is precluded; but adds, that zeal, duty, and obedience, may outlive hope; that if any thing can prevent the conſummation of public ruin, it can only be *new Counſels*, and *new Counſellors*, without farther loſs of time; a *real change* from a ſincere conviction of paſt errors, and not a mere palliation, which muſt prove fruitleſs."

It appears farther from Dr. Addington's narrative, that the Doctor then proceeded to inform Lord Chatham of the ſubſtance of thoſe parts of the converſation which had paſſed between him and Sir James Wright, which are not recited in Sir James's letter of Feb. 2d, No. I.

The account of this, as well as of what paſſed at this time, in converſation between Lord Chatham and Dr. Addington, and particularly Lord Chatham's declaration, "That it was impoſſible for him to ſerve the King and Country with either Lord Bute or Lord North," is contained in Dr. Addington's narrative.

On the 7th of February, Dr. Addington ſent the following letter to Hayes;

No. III.—*Copy of a Letter from Dr.* Addington *to the Earl of* Chatham, *dated* Wigmore-ſtreet, Saturday *two o'clock*.

"My good Lord,

"SIR James Wright took a correct copy of the valuable writing entruſted to my care, between twelve and one yeſterday. At one he waited on his friend, and I was to call in Brook-ſtreet for his anſwer, at half paſt two. I was punctual to the time; Sir James had been at home; but a few minutes before my arrival had been called back again to his friend. I waited half an hour, and then left the letter, requeſting the favour of a line from Sir James, before he went out of town. At five, I received a ſhort note, ſaying, that his ſtay in town could be of no ſervice, and that he would give me an account by the poſt this day of his converſation with———. Perhaps more perſons than one were to be conſulted, before an account could be given. As far as I could learn, all parties would be pleaſed with your Lordſhip and Lord Camden, and that no objection was likely to be made to more than *one* of your Lordſhip's friends. Sir

James

James Wright aſked what was meant by the words "real change." I thought they wanted no explanation. He thought they included his friend, as well as the Miniſtry, and wiſhed that your Lordſhip and his friend could have an interview, but gave me no commiſſion to mention his wiſhes. He only added, that he really believed it was in the power of your Lordſhip and his friend to ſave the nation; I only added, that I believed the King and your Lordſhip could ſave the the nation, and that his friend might be inſtrumental to its ſalvation, by turning the royal mind from paſt errors. I hope your Lordſhip and Lady Chatham go on well, and that I ſhall have the happineſs of paying my reſpects to you both in Harley-ſtreet, on Monday. I moſt heartily congratulate my Lady and your Lordſhip on the ſafe arrival of Mr. James Pitt. I am ever, my dear and good Lord,

Your moſt faithful and
obliged humble ſervant,
A. ADDINGTON."

Wigmore-ſtreet, 2 o'clock, Saturday.

The ſame night Lord Chatham wrote with his own hand the following note, in anſwer to Dr. Addington, which was received by the Doctor the next morning.

No. IV.—*Copy of a Note from the Earl of* Chatham *to Dr.* Addington.

Hayes, Feb. 7.

"THE converſations which a certain gentleman has found means to have with you, are on his part of a nature too inſidious, and to my feeling too offenſive, to be continued, or *unrejected*. What can this officious emiſſary mean, by all the nonſenſe he has at times thrown out to you? The next attempt he makes to ſurpriſe friendly integrity by courtly inſinuation, let him know that his great Patron and your village friend differ in this *, one has brought the King and kingdom to ruin, the other would ſincerely endeavour to ſave it."

Dr. Addington, on the 8th of February, ſent to Lord Chatham at Hayes, the following letter (incloſing one which he had received that day from Sir James Wright, ſoon after the receipt of the above note from Lord Chatham).

No. V.—*Copy of a Letter from Dr.* Addington *to the Earl of* Chatham.

"I AM infinitely obliged to you, my dear Lord, for your very kind and friendly caution againſt ſurpriſe and inſinuation. It ſhall never be forgotten; and when I ſee the gentleman next (which, perhaps, may be to morrow), your Lordſhip's wiſe and noble commands ſhall be literally obeyed. The incloſed letter, which was promiſed to come yeſterday by the poſt, arrived this morning by a ſpecial meſſenger. It needs no comment of mine; I am ſure your Lordſhip will underſtand the language and drift of it, much bet-

* Sir James had told the Doctor, and the Doctor had told Lord Chatham, that Lord Chatham and Lord Bute did not differ in political ſentiments, which the Doctor thinks might occaſion the laſt ſentence in Lord Chatham's note.

ter than I can, or any body elſe. I am impatient to ſee your Lordſhip in town, and pray for a few minutes with you to-morrow. The time is come for you, and you only, to ſave a King and kingdom. Your Lordſhip knows that I am ever

Your moſt faithful, and moſt affectionate humble Servant,

A. ADDINGTON."

Feb. 8, 1773.

No. VI.—*Copy of a Letter from Sir* James Wright *to Dr.* Addington.

Ray Houſe, Feb. 7, 1778.

" My dear Doctor,

" I COMMUNICATED our converſation of yeſterday to my friend, ſoon after I left you, and then ſhewed him a copy of the paper you allowed me to tranſcribe. You will eaſily recollect, on my firſt reading it over with you, the obſervation I made on that particular expreſſion in it, " A *real* change, and not a mere palliation;" namely, that your noble friend ſtill thought that Lord Bute had influence in the meaſures of Adminiſtration. In the very ſame light he alſo conſtrued this expreſſion; he therefore deſired me to inform you, for the inſtruction of your friend, that the ill health he had long been ſubject to, united with the diſtreſſes of his family, had accuſtomed him to a perfect retired life, which he hoped, as long as he lived, ſteadily to adhere to; he added, that his long abſence from all ſort of public buſineſs, and the many years which had intervened ſince he ſaw the King, precluded him from forming any idea of meaſures paſt or to come, but what he gathers from very general converſation or the News-papers; and this total ignorance, he ſaid, renders the opinion given of the preſent dangerous criſis more alarming to him than it would otherwiſe be, and much more painful, as, notwithſtanding his zeal for the country, love for the King, and very high opinion of Lord Chatham, he has it not in his power to be of the leaſt uſe in this dangerous emergency; and that from his heart he wiſhed Lord Chatham every imaginable ſucceſs in the reſtoration of the public welfare.

" I think, my dear doctor, this was almoſt verbatim my friend's converſation; at leaſt I am confident it is a *fac ſimile* of his real ſentiments; and you ſee how very diſtant they are from the leaſt inclination ever to interfere in the preſent or any future Adminiſtration, which your noble friend ſeemed to apprehend. May he extend the powers of his own great and honeſt abilities, to heal the dreadful wounds which this poor country has received from what he very wiſely calls *paſt errors!* Without his head, as well as heart, I fear all is loſt. I remember poor Lord Northington ſaying to me more than once, not long before his death, that " as I was a young man, I ſhould probably live to ſee (if I ſurvived Lord Chatham and a few other great men), that this country would not only want abilities but hearts, and that our ſtate would then be really piteous, where both knowledge and integrity were wanting to protect us." Pray God your noble friend may ſtep forth before this ſorrowful epocha arrives, and ſtem the dreadful tide

of

of profligacy, inattention to buſineſs, and barefaced immorality, which daily increaſe in every department of life, and muſt bring down ruin, and the diſſolution of our country.

"That firſt quality of *knowledge*, which Lord Northington lamented the extinction of in this country, I ſhall never preſume to be entitled to; but that of integrity I dare aſſert my claim to; and in that particular I hold myſelf inferior to no man; I only wiſh it was in my power to give your great and invaluable friend the moſt convincing proofs of this aſſertion, as well as of my profound veneration for him. You have known me long enough to be perſuaded that nothing can diveſt me from the love of my country, and the paths of an honeſt conduct; therefore ever command, with the utmoſt freedom, my dear Doctor,

Your moſt faithful
and ſincere friend,
JAMES WRIGHT."

"P. S. I ſhall be in town on Tueſday about three o'clock, and ſtay till the following day."

The next day the following anſwer, written by the Counteſs of Chatham, was ſent to Dr. Addington:

No. VII. *Copy of a Letter from Lady* Chatham *to Dr.* Addington, *dated Feb.* 9.

"I WRITE, my dear Sir, from my Lord's bed-ſide, who has had much pain all laſt night from the gout in his left hand and wriſt. The pulſe indicates more pain to come. He deſires me to expreſs for him the true ſenſe he has of all your very friendly attention in this very delicate and critical ſituation. The gentleman's letter which you tranſmit is handſomely written, and ſufficiently explicit. At the ſame time, it is impoſſible not to remark, how widely it differs from the tenor of ſome of the intimations conveyed in former ſtrange converſations to you. The letter now before him is written alſo with much ſenſe and candour, as coming from a heart touched with the extreme dangers impending over the King and kingdom. Thoſe dangers are *indeed extreme*, and ſeem to preclude all hope."

Hayes, quarter before one,
Feb. 9, 1778.

From this unambiguous and authentic account, founded on indiſputable evidence, every impartial perſon will determine whether the following propoſition is not fully eſtabliſhed, viz. "That the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negotiation with the Earl of Bute, but without heſitation peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordſhip in Adminiſtration."

Dr. Addington's *Narrative, containing his Account of what paſſed relative to the Tranſaction between him and Sir* James Wright.

THE firſt time Sir James Wright talked with Dr. Addington reſpecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham was about the begining of January, 1778. Sir James began with lamenting the ſituation of this country, and gave it as his opinion, that the only method of

of ſaving it was for Lord Bute and Lord Chatham to unite firmly together; but remarking, that they were two of the men the King *hated* moſt. After various converſations on this matter, Sir James ſaid, Lord Bute thought Lord Chatham had a diſreſpect for him. Dr. Addington replied, that to the beſt of his remembrance, Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him; but that he thought Lord Chatham had no diſreſpect for Lord Bute; adding, that though they might differ in politics, Lord Chatham was not the kind of man to have diſreſpect, or bear ill-will to any man. Sir James added, he was ſure Lord Bute had the higheſt reſpect for Lord Chatham; that he had heard Lord Bute beſtow great commendations on his whole ſpeech at the beginning of the ſeſſion, except that part which regarded the recall of the troops, and that the Doctor might tell Lord Chatham ſo if he pleaſed; but he never mentioned it till the 3d of February.

Nothing more paſſed till the 2d of February, when Sir James aſked the Doctor, whether he had mentioned their former converſation to Lord Chatham. He ſaid he had not. Sir James then ſaid, that ſince that converſation he had ſeen Lord Bute, and was certain he had the ſame earneſt deſire with Lord Chatham to ſave the country; and was alſo certain, that nobody could ſave it, but Lord Chatham, with the aſſiſtance of Lord Bute; that Lord Bute was ready to aſſiſt him, and would be Secretary of State in the room of Lord Weymouth. The Doctor underſtood that Lord Bute had told Sir James ſo; and he has aſked Sir James once or twice ſince, whether Lord Bute would have been Secretary of State in Lord Weymouth's room? and he anſwered, Yes, he would, or would not, as Lord Chatham pleaſed. When Sir James had mentioned Lord Bute's readineſs to aſſiſt Lord Chatham, and to be Secretary of State, he expreſſed a wiſh that the whole which had paſſed might be communicated to Lord Chatham. The Doctor, on this, reſolved to go to Hayes the next morning for that purpoſe, looking upon it as a matter of very great moment. But he deſired to have in writing, before he went, the ſubſtance of what had paſſed between Lord Bute and Sir James. Sir James ſaid he had not time to write then, as he was in a hurry to go to Ray-houſe, but would write in the evening, and ſend his letter to town by nine the next morning. The Doctor, notwithſtanding, was permitted to acquaint Lord Chatham with Lord Bute's willingneſs to be Secretary of State, and, as he underſtood, with every thing elſe he has depoſed, which is not expreſſed in the letter. (Vide No. I.) The letter is dated the 2d of January, 1778; it ſhould have been dated February 2d: the Doctor received it February 3d, before nine in the morning, and ſet out directly for Hayes. He read the letter to Lord Chatham, who was very attentive, and in a few minutes afterwards dictated this anſwer. (Vide No. II. as above.) As ſoon as Dr. Addington had writ and read to Lord Chatham the above anſwer, he communicated to Lord Chatham what Sir James Wright had told him of the readineſs of Lord

Lord Bute to be Secretary of State, in the place of Lord Weymouth. He ſeemed to think it ſtrange. "Indeed! ſaid he; did Sir James Wright tell you ſo?" "He certainly told me ſo."—After this, he aſked Lord Chatham, whether he had any objection to coming in with Lord Bute or Lord North? He liſted up his hands, and ſaid, "It was impoſſible for him to ſerve the King and country with either of them; and if any one aſks you about it, I deſire you to bear witneſs that you heard me ſay ſo." He repeated the ſame words juſt as the Doctor was leaving him.

Sir James continued at Rayhouſe till February 5th or 6th. He called on the Doctor in the morning of the 6th, and took a correct copy of Lord Chatham's anſwer, dated February 3d. Upon reading it, he aſked what was meant by the words, "real change." It looks, ſaid he, as if they included Lord Bute as well as the Miniſtry, and as if Lord Chatham thought Lord Bute was concerned in public affairs. I can aſſure you, he has nothing to do with them, and has not ſeen the King theſe two years. If Lord Chatham has a mind to undertake the direction of public affairs, there will be no objection to his having the aſſiſtance of Lord Camden; but there are ſome he might chuſe who could not be admitted. Sir James ſaid, he was to wait on Lord Bute at one that day, and would ſend the Doctor an anſwer to Lord Chatham's paper between two and three, if Lord Bute ſhould chuſe to give any. But a misfortune happening in Lord Bute's family, no anſwer was ſent till February 8th in the morning. On the 7th of February, a ſervant of Lord Chatham's came to town, by whom Dr. Addington ſent a letter to Hayes at two o'clock, giving Lord Chatham an account of the above-mentioned converſation with Sir James Wright on the 6th. On the evening of the 7th, his Lordſhip wrote the following anſwer, which the Doctor received the next morning. (Vide No. III. and No. IV.)

On the 8th of February, ſoon after Lord Chatham's letter arrived, the Doctor received that letter from Sir James, which had been expected from February 6th. (Vide No. VI.) It is dated February 7th, and contains Lord Bute's anſwer to Lord Chatham's paper of February 3d. The Doctor ſent it immediately to Hayes, and had the next morning the anſwer written by Lady Chatham, dated February 9th. (Vide No. VII.) The Doctor communicated to Sir James Wright this letter from Lady Chatham, and alſo the latter part of that from Lord Chatham, as ſoon as he could; and ſo the affair ended.

P. S. In Sir James Wright's letter of February 2d, there are the following words: "I told Lord Bute that a friend of mine had hinted to me, that he thought Lord Chatham had a high opinion of his Lordſhip's honour, as well as his ſincere good wiſhes for the public ſafety." After reading theſe words to Lord Chatham, the Doctor could not but take notice, that Sir James had miſtaken him; for all he ſaid was, that he thought Lord

Lord Chatham had no diſreſpect for Lord Bute, &c. as is ſtated above.

Sir James Wright's *Anſwer to Dr.* Addington's *Narrative.*

AN account having been printed in ſeveral of the Newspapers of the 14th and 16th inſtant, concerning a negociation, (if it may be called ſo) ſaid to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham, which ſeems to convey an impreſſion as if Sir James Wright had carried to Dr. Addington a propoſition from Lord Bute, to take a ſhare in Adminiſtration with the late Earl of Chatham; Sir James Wright thinks himſelf obliged, in ſupport of Truth, and in vindication of his own honour, to declare thus publicly what he has long ſince and repeatedly given under his own hand, and aſſerted verbally on this ſubject.

He therefore now declares, in the moſt ſolemn manner, upon the word of a man of honour.—"That he never received, directly, or indirectly, from the Earl of Bute, or delivered to Dr. Addington any propoſition to that or the like effect; and that he never had the leaſt authority from Lord Bute, to mention, hint, or ſuggeſt to Dr. Addington any terms whatever on which his Lordſhip wiſhed Lord Chatham to come into Adminiſtration, or made any offer on the part of Lord Bute, but of his hearty concurrence and ſincere good wiſhes, if Lord Chatham thought fit to take a part in Adminiſtration." Thus much Sir James Wright thinks proper to ſay at preſent, until he can properly digeſt what he ſhall have ſhortly to offer the public on this ſubject.

Theſe Accounts having been Publiſhed in moſt of the News-papers, occaſioned the following Addreſs from Lord Mountſtewart, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Bute.

Hill-ſtreet, Oct. 23.

SIR,

THE publication which has appeared in your paper, and is there ſaid to be taken from a copy handed about by the friends of the late Earl of Chatham, makes it neceſſary for me to deſire a place for this letter ſigned with my name.

The firſt paragraph of that publication obſerves very truly, that various falſe reports had been induſtriouſly propagated concerning a negociation ſaid to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham. No leſs than three ſeveral reports of negociations between thoſe two noble Lords reached me in the courſe of laſt Spring, each differing from the other two in circumſtances, and all from one another in the ſubſtitutes named as having been employed in the tranſactions; and I took ſome pains to ſearch into the origin of theſe ſtories; not to ſatisfy any doubt of mine as to their falſhood, (for I believed none of them) but to convince ſome of my acquaintance who diſagreed, and others who might diſagree, with me in opinion upon the ſubject.

In conſequence of theſe enquiries, the perſons mentioned as agents or meſſage-bearers in two

of the three reports, very readily diſclaimed all ſhare in or knowledge of the tranſactions aſcribed to them. With reſpect to the third, there was more pretence of foundation; ſince meſſages certainly paſſed between the late Earl of Chatham and my father, by means of Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington.

The repreſentation I had heard of ſome particulars in the ſubject matter of that intercourſe ſurpriſed me ſo much, that I requeſted the favour of an explanation from Dr. Addington, who obligingly allowed me to write from his mouth ſuch an account as he thought fit to give me, and approved my ſtate of it when written. This was put into Sir James Wright's hands, who in a ſhort time produced an anſwer contradicting it in all the material articles of their converſations, on which Dr. Addington's reports to Lord Chatham had been founded. I read over the anſwer to Dr. Addington, who perſiſted in maintaining the truth of his relations; but ſaid, he would reconſider the matter at leiſure, and put his thoughts into writing. Accordingly he afterwards ſent me a paper, the ſame with that referred to in your publication, and ſince printed under the title of Dr. Addington's Narrative.

The relations given by theſe two gentlemen being thus inconſiſtent, it was thought proper that a full abſtract ſhould be prepared of their reſpective papers and others which my inquiries had produced, including my father's own account of his part in Sir James Wright's tranſaction, digeſted into ſome method; to be ſhewn to ſuch as might deſire to ſee it, but not allowed to be copied. This abſtract or digeſt was executed by a friend, at my requeſt, in a fair ſtate of the allegations on both ſides between Sir James and the Doctor; with a preliminary detail or introductory narrative of the ſeveral ſteps I had taken in the inquiries above-mentioned; and my friend's compilation hath been read by a few people; but no copy, as I am informed, hath been delivered out of my family, except one which had been intended for a very near relation, and was ſent to Lady Chatham, with copies of Sir James Wright's papers, at her Ladyſhip's own deſire. To theſe communications, I underſtand, it is immediately owing, that the authentic account lately printed was judged indiſpenſably neceſſary to be drawn up and circulated; of which Lady Chatham was ſo good as to furniſh my father with a copy thirteen or fourteen days before it appeared in print: ſo that I, who conſider myſelf as being in ſome degree the cauſe of the publication, am for this reaſon called upon to take a public notice of it, if my connection, and the nature of the occaſion did not afford me ſufficient inducement and excuſe for ſo doing.

The account is avowed expreſsly to be drawn up from papers in poſſeſſion of the Earl of Chatham's family, in order to ſhew whether the ſuppoſed negociation did or did not originate from his Lordſhip: ſo that the papers are confeſſedly furniſhed by the Earl's family for the purpoſe of compoſing this account; which therefore bears

bears the ſtamp of that family's authority, whether printed by their direction or not.

The account cloſes with the following obſervation, viz. *From this unambiguous and authentic account, founded on indiſputable evidence, every impartial perſon will determine whether the following propoſition is not fully eſtabliſhed*, viz. *That the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negociation with the Earl of Bute, but without heſitation peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordſhip in Adminiſtration.*

The propoſition here put, it muſt be obſerved, does not only concern Lord Chatham's rejection of every idea, &c. but involves in it a ſtrong implication, as if Lord Bute had deſired and propoſed to take a part in Adminiſtration with his Lordſhip. Now I do not at all enter into the queſtion, whether Lord Chatham did or did not court a negociation with the Earl of Bute; but when I conſider the expreſſion in his Lordſhip's dictated anſwered to Sir James Wright's letter, that he *heard with particular ſatisfaction the favourable ſentiments on his ſubject of the noble Lord* (viz. Lord Bute) *with whom Sir James Wright had talked*, and the following words of the ſentence, that *zeal, duty, and obedience might outlive hope*, even under the impending ruin of the kingdom; it appears to me, that whatever ideas his Lordſhip might reject, he had not then reſolved to reject all ideas of negociation with my father; conceiving, perhaps, from his aſſurance of hearty concurrence and ſincere good wiſhes conveyed in Sir James Wright's letter, ſome expectation of having the door of the Cabinet opened to him, by that hand, which, according to his notions, had always kept the key. I may proceed a ſtep further: it ſeems probable that Lord Chatham, at the beginning of the preſent year, was looking out for a negociation with my father; for Mr. Dagge, who was ſaid in one of the above-mentioned reports to be concerned in tranſacting a negociation between the two noble Lords, and who is an acquaintance of Lord Bute, happening to ſay in common converſation with a friend of Lord Chatham, that he had heard my father ſpeak reſpectfully of Lord Chatham, and give his opinion, that Lord Chatham's ſervices muſt of courſe be called for in the preſent criſis; and this being reported to Lord Chatham by his friend, who heard it from Mr. Dagge, his Lordſhip inſtantly concluded, the words to be meant as a meſſage to him from my father; but luckily his friend undeceived him in time; of which alſo I have my indiſputable evidence from a paper of that friend, who obliged me with it at my own deſire, but who cannot be ſuſpected of wanting partiality for Lord Chatham.—It is ſaid in the authentic account from the evidence of Dr. Addington's Narrative, that Lord Chatham held a converſation with the Doctor at Hayes, in which the former *declared it was impoſſible for him to ſerve the public with either Lord Bute or Lord North*; but I believe nobody would diſcern in this part of their converſation at Hayes, the ſhadow of a proof that my father offered to ſerve the public in a Miniſtry

niſtry with his Lordſhip, unleſs Dr. Addington had added this circumſtance in this Narrative, as gathered from Sir James Wright's diſcourſe with him: ſo that at laſt the indiſputable evidence of this fact, ſo far as regards my father, reſts wholly upon Dr. Addington's Narrative, which hath been flatly contradicted in that point, again and again, by Sir James Wright. Undoubtedly the Dr. and Sir James would have been ſufficient witneſſes of the meſſage intended to be conveyed thro' them, if their accounts had agreed; but they differ ſo widely and eſſentially, that no evidence ſeems to have leſs claim to be called indiſputable. What other evidence then can be reſorted to in this caſe, but Lord Bute's own relation of his own proceedings? This I am at liberty to give you in the following extract from his letter to Lady Chatham, of the 16th of Auguſt laſt, dated from Luton-park.

"Madam,

I am happy in the opportunity your Ladyſhip gives me of relating to you all I know concerning a tranſaction, in which both Lord Chatham and I have been ſtrangely miſrepreſented to each other, and concerning which ſo many falſhoods have been ſo induſtriouſly propagated. When Sir James Wright communicated to me the very flattering language in which he declared Lord Chatham expreſſed himſelf concerning me, I was naturally led to mention my regard for his Lordſhip, and the high opinion I entertained of his ſuperior talents, hoping from what was then publicly talked of, to ſee them once more employed in the Miniſterial line; and collecting from Sir James that the knowledge of my ſentiments would not on this occaſion be diſpleaſing, I did not heſitate to expreſs my hearty wiſhes that this important event might ſoon take place. Some time after this I was extremely ſurpriſed with a converſation Sir James ſaid Dr. Addington wiſhed to be reported to me: it was in ſubſtance Lord Chatham's opinion of the alarming condition we were in, and the neceſſary meaſures to be immediately taken upon it. As ſuch a communication to a perſon in my retired ſituation, ſeemed only made on a ſuppoſition that I had ſtill ſome ſhare in public councils, it appeared neceſſary for me to dictate to Sir James my anſwer; in which, after lamenting the dangerous ſituation of affairs, unknown to me in ſuch an extent, I added, that this affected me the more, as my long illneſs, and total ſecluſion from all public buſineſs, put it out of my power to be of the leaſt ſervice.——This, Madam, is the whole I was privy to in this affair, and all that paſſed between Sir James and me upon it."

If any further explanation can be neceſſary from my father, reſpecting either the deſign or purport of his meſſage, he allows me to ſay, in his name, that he did (perhaps erroneouſly) conſider Dr. Addington's repreſentations of Lord Chatham's manner of ſpeaking of him, as reported at the time by Sir James Wright, to be intimations thrown out by his Lordſhip, in order to know his (my father's) ſentiments upon the ſubject of his coming then into Adminiſtration: for which reaſon my father did not ſcruple to ſend a meſſage by the perſon

perſon from whom he derived his information, ſignifying, that if Lord Chatham was appointed to Adminiſtration, the hearty concurrence of his judgment and ſincere wiſhes of ſucceſs would follow that appointment. He avers, at the ſame time, that he did not conceive a thought of propoſing himſelf to his Lordſhip for any office, or of accepting any office with him, his own inclination having never prompted him, nor his ſtate of health admitted him, to engage in public buſineſs, except on very few occaſions in the Houſe of Lords, from the time of his quitting the Treaſury in 1763; neither did he entertain an idea of ſuggeſting to Lord Chatham any arrangement of an Adminiſtration, his wiſhes, and the communication of them through Sir James Wright, having ſolely regarded Lord Chatham. There is another paſſage in your publication, which appears to me more material ſtill with reſpect to my father, than what I have already mentioned. This is the copy of the note from Lord Chatham in his own hand-writing to Dr. Addington, ſaying, "the next attempt he (Sir James Wright) makes to ſurpriſe friendly integrity with courtly inſinuation, let him know that his great Patron and your Village Friend differ in this; one has brought the King and kingdom to ruin, the other would ſincerely endeavour to ſave it."

Here is a letter under the Earl of Chatham's hand, vouched to be ſuch by the authority of his family, imputing to Lord Bute thoſe counſels, which Lord Chatham ſays (whether juſtly or erroneouſly, is not the preſent queſtion) have ruined the King and kingdom. Every reader will at once have underſtood this imputation to be founded on Lord Chatham's opinion of Lord Bute's ſecret influence (as it is called), by which he has been imagined to dictate or controul the meaſures of the cabinet ever ſince the Earl of Chatham left it. Lord Bute has not been ignorant of the long prevalence of that error, having ſeen himſelf moſt injuriouſly treated in conſequence of it, for many years paſt, by writers of pamphlets, Newspaper eſſays, and political paragraphs; all which he paſſed over in ſilent indignation and contempt; but when he ſees the ſame cruel miſtake advanced and countenanced by ſuch an authority as the Earl of Chatham, he thinks he ſhould be wanting to himſelf if he did not encounter it with the beſt evidence that can be ſuppoſed to lie within his reach.

There are but two perſons in the kingdom who are capable of knowing the negative of that opinion with abſolute certainty. One of them is of a rank too high to be appealed to, or even mentioned on this occaſion; the other is himſelf. He does therefore authorize me to ſay, that he declares, upon his ſolemn word of honour, he has not had the honour of waiting on his Majeſty but at his levee or drawing-room, nor has he preſumed to offer an advice or opinion concerning the diſpoſition of offices, or the conduct of meaſures, either directly or indirectly, by himſelf or any other, from the time when the late Duke of Cumberland was conſulted in the arrangement of a Miniſtry in 1765 to the preſent hour.

Before

Before I conclude, I muſt apprize your readers that I do not intend to ſet up for a News-paper author, or to anſwer queſtions, objections or obſervations, or to engage in printed altercation with any body. I am, &c.

MOUNSTUART.

Soon after, the following Letter made its appearance in the ſame Paper.

Harley-ſtreet, Thurſday Oct. 29, 1778.

SIR,

A Letter appeared in your paper, ſigned by Lord Mountſtuart, of which I think it incumbent upon me to take public notice, and I ſhould have done ſo ſooner, if I had not been at that time at ſome diſtance from London. His Lordſhip's letter contains ſome paſſages which I think injurious to my father's memory, as well as obſervations on an *Authentic Account*, &c. which ſeems to require an anſwer from Lord Chatham's family. I wiſh it had fallen to ſome other hand to diſcharge this debt to my father's memory; at the ſame time, my impatience to vindicate his conduct, and to free this ſubject from miſconſtruction, cannot, I am perſuaded, ſtand in need of any excuſe, either towards Lord Mountſtuart, or towards the public.

Lord Mountſtuart in the beginning of his letter, ſays, That no leſs than three reports of negociations between my father and Lord Bute reached him in the courſe of laſt Spring. One of them appears to have ariſen from the tranſaction between Sir James Wright and Doctor Addington, of which the public have heard ſo much already.—Another from that affair in which Mr. Dagge was concerned, which I ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter. —— And the third report which Lord Mountſtuart alludes to, I ſuppoſe to be the ſame with that mentioned in a paper drawn up at Lord Mountſtuart's requeſt by Mr. Martyn. If it is, I can only ſay, that I have been aſſured by my brother-in-law, Lord Mahon, that my father himſelf told him, that Lord Bute's name was not mentioned in the affair which has occaſioned that report.

Lord Mountſtuart afterwards alludes to the abſtract or digeſt drawn up by his friend on the ſubject of the negociations between my father and Lord Bute. I think it right to declare that that paper, which was ſent to my mother at her requeſt by Lord Bute, together with the declarations of Sir James Wright and other concurring reports, tended, in the opinion of the family, to bring imputations upon my father's character, which they could not ſuffer to paſs unnoticed. The perſons therefore who compiled thoſe papers ſent to Lady Chatham, or who propagated ſuch injurious reports, were, in fact, the cauſes of the Authentic Account being drawn up and circulated.

I ſhall now proceed to take notice of the remarks made by Lord Mountſtuart, on the concluding propoſition of the Authentic Account, which is, "*that the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negociation with the Earl of Bute, but without heſitation, peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordſhip in Adminiſtration.*" His Lordſhip ſays, "That the propoſition does not only concern Lord Chatham's rejection of every idea, &c. but involves

volves in it a ſtrong implication, as if Lord Bute had deſired and propoſed to take a part in Adminiſtration with him." To this I ſay, that the propoſition, as quoted above, does not neceſſarily involve ſuch an implication, nor is it any where aſſerted in the *Authentic Account*, that Lord Bute did make any ſuch propoſal. The propoſition only implies (what I think the *Authentic Account* fully proves), that what was reported to Lord Chatham by Dr. Addington, was brought to him *as coming from Lord Bute*. Whether the ideas thus conveyed to Lord Chatham originated entirely with Sir James Wright—whether they aroſe from miſapprehenſions of Dr. Addington, or whether they proceeded from Lord Bute himſelf, it is equally inconteſtible, in every one of theſe caſes, that they came to Lord Chatham in the manner ſtated in the *Authentic Account*. Lord Chatham could conſider thoſe ideas only in the ſhape in which they came to him, and his meſſages in conſequence are ſufficient to ſhew his determination on this ſubject, without our enquiring how far the advances made to him were or were not authorized by Lord Bute. The ſole motive of drawing up the *Authentic Account*, was the deſire of vindicating my father's memory, and not any wiſh to affect the character of Lord Bute. If any one, by reading the *Authentic Account*, is led to form any opinion relative to Lord Bute, it muſt be from the nature of the papers contained in it (which were neceſſary to be produced for my father's juſtification), and not from any aſſertion made or implied in any part of the account. Whoever has read it, muſt have obſerved, that it conſiſts of written and indiſputable evidence, and does not contain a ſingle word beyond that evidence, excepting only the few introductory lines;—the alluſion to various converſations which had paſſed between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, previous to the 3d of February, which circumſtance, I am perſuaded, cannot be called in queſtion;—the mention of Lord Chatham's converſation with Dr. Addington, and his declaration relative to Lord Bute and Lord North, which no one can pretend to controvert;—and finally, the concluding propoſition, of the truth of which the public muſt judge, by conſidering the facts from which it is deduced. With reſpect to Dr. Addington's Narrative, it was, by his permiſſion, added in the appendix, in order to throw light upon ſome parts of the tranſaction. If Sir James Wright conteſts any thing advanced in the Doctor's Narrative, the public judgment will finally reſt on the comparative degree of credit due to thoſe two gentlemen, and upon the probability or improbability of their reſpective aſſertions.

Lord Mountſtuart alſo ſays, "That he does not at all enter into the queſtion, whether Lord Chatham did or did not court a negociation with the Earl of Bute?" If his Lordſhip had ſtrictly adhered to this intention through the remainder of his letter, theſe remarks would have been leſs neceſſary.

His Lordſhip then endeavours to prove, "That my father, at the time of dictating his anſwer to Sir James Wright's firſt letter, had not

not reſolved to reject all ideas of negociation with Lord Bute." Now, if Lord Mountſtuart means by this, that Lord Chatham would not, from any perſonal objection to Lord Bute, have refuſed to liſten to ſuch propoſals, as might be perfectly conſiſtent with his honour and his principles, and which he might have accepted with the proſpect of being ſerviceable to his country, *merely becauſe they came through his Lordſhip*; Lord Mountſtuart can deduce from this nothing that in any way affects the preſent queſtion. If, on the other hand, he means that Lord Chatham had not reſolved to reject a negociation of any other deſcription, or that there was any time when he would not have rejected every idea of acting with Lord Bute in Adminiſtration; this opinion is utterly without foundation, and no argument has been produced in ſupport of it.

The expreſſions which Lord Mountſtuart quotes from my father's note are theſe: that "*Lord Chatham heard with particular ſatisfaction the favourable ſentiments of his ſubject on the noble Lord with whom Sir James Wright had talked*, and *that zeal, duty, and obedience might outlive hope*" (even under the impending ruin of the kingdom). Now what does the firſt of theſe expreſſions amount to, but that Lord Chatham heard, with much ſatisfaction, thoſe high expreſſions of approbation, and explicit *offers of concurrence*, from one who was generally thought (no matter how truly) to have ſo much influence in the government of this country, which were conveyed in Sir James Wright's firſt letter, with the expreſs deſire that they might be communicated through Dr. Addington to Lord Chatham?—And what is the meaning of the ſecond expreſſion, but that Lord Chatham, however deſperate he thought the ſituation of public affairs, would ſtill perform the duties of a good ſubject, in endeavouring to prevent, if poſſible, the final ruin of the kingdom? It is impoſſible, therefore, to argue from either of theſe expreſſions, which were written in anſwer to Sir James Wright, that my father either courted a negociation with Lord Bute, or was willing to act with his Lordſhip in Adminiſtration; unleſs it can be pretended that the profeſſions of *zeal, duty*, and *obedience*, are to be referred to Lord Bute. Let it alſo be remembered, that the very meſſage from which Lord Mountſtuart has quoted the expreſſions above recited, contains in it the declaration of Lord Chatham's opinion, "*That, if any thing can prevent the conſummation of public ruin, it can only be new Counſels and new Counſellors, without further loſs of time, a* REAL CHANGE, *from ſincere conviction of paſt errors, and not a mere palliation, which muſt prove fruitleſs*;" which words were conſidered by Sir James Wright, and (as appears from Sir James's letter of February 7th) were conſidered by Lord Bute himſelf, as including his Lordſhip as well as the Miniſtry.

Lord Mountſtuart next attempts to ſhew, "That Lord Chatham at the beginning of the preſent year was *looking out* for a negociation with Lord Bute." It is not very clear what exactly is meant by that expreſſion. I cannot imagine Lord Mountſtuart to have intended to

imply that Lord Chatham expected a negociation would be begun on the part of Lord Bute; becauſe that would ſeem as if Lord Mountſtuart admitted that there was ground for ſuch an expectation. But, if he intended by this expreſſion to convey, that Lord Chatham was diſpoſed to court a negociation with the Earl of Bute, I muſt take the liberty to aſſert, that the circumſtance he refers to is no proof of ſuch a poſition. The affair mentioned by Lord Mountſtuart, in which Mr. Dagge was concerned, was reported to Lord Chatham by his nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt, (who is at preſent out of England) and it is from him that Lord Mountſtuart muſt have received the account he alludes to. His Lordſhip has not thought proper to lay that paper before the public, and therefore I need not enlarge upon the ſubject; but I am confident Mr. Pitt cannot have aſſerted any thing which has the moſt remote tendency to prove that Lord Chatham was at any time *looking-out* for a negociation with Lord Bute. The only reaſon alledged by Lord Mountſtuart for thinking that he was, amounts to no more than this: That Lord Bute did ſpeak reſpectfully of Lord Chatham to Mr. Dagge, and did declare his opinion, that *Lord Chatham's ſervices muſt of courſe be called for in the preſent criſis.* That Mr. Dagge did communicate this to Lord Chatham's nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt —That he did go to Hayes in order to report this to Lord Chatham —and that Lord Chatham did in conſequence imagine, that it was meant by Lord Bute to be communicated to him. On this I do not think it neceſſary to make any obſervation. I muſt, however, add, that thoſe who received an account of this affair from my father's own mouth, know, that he was ſo far from welcoming theſe unauthorized advances, with the view of improving them into farther negociation, that he expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms his diſlike to ſuch a mode of application.

Lord Mountſtuart obſerves, that Lord Chatham's declaration to Dr. Addington, "*That it was impoſſible for him to ſerve the public with either Lord Bute or Lord North,*" is no proof that Lord Bute offered to ſerve the public in a miniſtry with Lord Chatham. It was never intended as a proof of that matter; but merely as an evidence of Lord Chatham's reſolution not to act in adminiſtration with Lord Bute. To that point Dr. Addington's evidence is concluſive; for however other parts of his Narrative may be contradicted by Sir James Wright, it is impoſſible for Sir James to diſpute his account of the converſation between Lord Chatham and the Doctor, at Hayes. There are, however, other perſons beſides Doctor Addington, to whom Lord Chatham has made the ſtrongeſt declarations to the ſame purpoſe; and the more his conduct is canvaſſed, the more proofs will appear of this unalterable reſolution.

I muſt now add a few words with regard to the extract of Lord Bute's letter to my mother, which is quoted by Lord Mountſtuart. Lord Bute mentions, "That Sir James Wright communicated to him the very flattering language in which Sir James declared Lord Chatham expreſſed himſelf concerning Lord Bute." I am very far from queſtioning that Sir James Wright expreſſed himſelf in the manner ſtated by

by Lord Bute; but I must observe, that Sir James does not pretend to have heard that Lord Chatham held such language from any other person than from Doctor Addington; and whoever will take the trouble to recur to the Doctor's Narrative, will there find that the Doctor, in the beginning of this transaction, declared to Sir James Wright, that, to the best of his remembrance, *Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him.*

Lord Bute in another part of his letter says, "That he was extremely surprised with a conversation Sir James said Dr. Addington wished to be reported to him. It was in substance, Lord Chatham's opinion of the alarming condition we were in, and the necessary measures to be immediately taken upon it." Lord Bute cannot possibly here refer to any thing, except to the Paper No. 2, which is printed in the *Authentic Account*. The opinion contained in that paper of the *necessary measures* to be taken is only in *general terms*, that "*if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new Counsels and new Counsellors*," &c. and this communication did not proceed spontaneously from my father, but was in answer to Sir James Wright's letter of February 2, which was by his desire communicated to Lord Chatham.

The latter part of Lord Mountstuart's letter relates to Lord Chatham's expression, "*That Lord Bute had brought the King and Kingdom to ruin.*" What reason Lord Chatham had at that time for thinking that Lord Bute influenced the measures of Government, it would be presumption in me to examine; nor is it for me to enquire, whether he was or was not deceived in his opinion of the public ruin. But in this single instance, those who revere his memory the most will sincerely rejoice (as he himself would, were he living) if they shall find his opinion disproved by the event.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM PITT.

These Letters were followed by an Answer from Sir James Wright to Dr. Addington's *Narrative, in which, after some apologies for engaging the attention of the public, the writer proceeds thus:*

"DR. Addington (says he) has been long and intimately connected with Sir James Wright; Sir James had known him from his youth; considered him as the friend of his bosom, with whom he has ever, on all subjects, communicated as freely as with another self. Dr. Addington was *physician to Sir James*; and therefore saw him frequently in those moments in which a man is least upon his guard; under that character, in which a man is most apt to confide. Little credit, it is conceived, can be due to the Narrative of such a man, so circumstanced; if, on examining that Narrative, it shall appear that he has *divulged*—it is harsh, but it must be added—that he has *misrepresented* a confidential intercourse; which, if not private friendship, yet, professional delicacy should have been kept from the ear of babbling Curiosity.

"Before the Reader turns to the Narrative, yet another trait of the good Doctor's character must be pointed out to him. Dr. Addington's abilities as a physician are acknowledged: On the subject of his pro-

ſeſſion no man more learned or more pertinent. But that is rarely the ſubject of his choice. His darling theme is *Politicks*. Though the whole liſtening College ſhould hang on what he ſpoke, it would give him little pleaſure; his joy, his pride, are to dictate on the ſubject of Politicks.

"This Remark is not made with a view of throwing any ridicule on the Doctor, but only with a view of ſetting him right in a little point of Chronology; for, at the very outſet of the Narrative, his memory fails him. Long before the beginning of the year 1778 had the Doctor converſed with Sir James Wright of Lord Bute and Lord Chatham. He may remember that Sir James had a long fit of illneſs, which commenced *more than a year* before the æra from which the Doctor ſets out; that during that illneſs his viſits to Sir James were frequent, almoſt daily; that in all theſe viſits, equally attentive to the conſtitution of his country, as to the conſtitution of his patient, he recurred to his darling topic *Politicks*; that the hero of his theme was Lord Chatham; that the burthen of his ſong were the diſtreſſes of the nation. Let him recollect, and he will ſurely remember, that at this period, twelve months before the time which, for want of recollection, he ſo confidently fixes to be the '*firſt Time Sir James Wright talked with him reſpecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham*,' he frequently gave it as his own opinion, at leaſt, that Lord Chatham had no unfavourable opinion of Lord Bute, but conceived him to be an honeſt man, to wiſh well to his country, to be a man endowed with many private virtues.

"Was it then ſo very wonderful that, in the beginning of the year 1778, Sir James Wright ſhould '*talk with Dr. Addington reſpecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham*,' when Lord Bute and Lord Chatham had been the conſtant ſubject of the Doctor's converſations with Sir James Wright at viſits ſo frequently repeated, continued to ſuch a length during the courſe of the year 1777? Would it have been very wonderful, if, knowing how familiarly the Doctor was received by Lord Chatham; if, obſerving how frequently he introduced his opinion of the point of view in which Lord Bute was regarded by Lord Chatham; if, remarking the zeal with which he always entered on the ſubject, Sir James had been led to conclude, that the Doctor, under his own name, was delivering the opinion, was ſpeaking from the inſtructions of his patron? That his patron was not averſe to a negociation, but had ſent forth his truſty Achates to ſound the land, leſt peradventure his pride (the friends of Lord Chatham will allow that he poſſeſſed at leaſt a decent pride) might be hurt by a refuſal? Would it have been very wonderful, if, under that idea, Sir James has communicated to Lord Bute—*not expoſed to the publick*—the purport of ſuch converſation?

"But the fact is, Sir James had no ſuch idea. He conſidered the frequency of the Doctor's viſits; he conſidered the * length of his viſits as the pure effects of a warm

* The Doctor's *political* viſits—for ſuch they were, as much as *medicinal* viſits—frequently exceeded *two hours*. No doubt, his other patients may boaſt of the ſame attention. Sir James has not now the vanity to ſuppoſe *that he has been diſtinguiſhed*.

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and diſintereſted friendſhip; he conſidered the introduction of political ſubjects as kindly meant to beguile the *tedium* of a long and painful illneſs. He ſaw in the Doctor, or he thought he ſaw, a ſkilful phyſician and an affectionate friend. Wiſhing for nothing further, he looked for nothing further. It was a very worthy, a very reſpectable friend, who had been preſent at moſt of the converſations which preceded, and at all thoſe which ſucceeded the æra from which the Doctor chooſes to ſet out, who firſt ſuggeſted to Sir James, that the frequent enquiries of the Doctor about the return of Sir James to town in the beginning of 1778; that his frequent viſits when he was returned, indicated ſomething more than the attention which an eminent phyſician has the leiſure, or the moſt intimate friend has the inclination to ſhew. That friend it was, who comparing this frequency of viſits with the conſtant recourſe to the ſame topic of converſation, firſt ſuggeſted, that it was meant, and wiſhed, that the purport of theſe converſations ſhould be communicated to Lord Bute.

"Here then is the origin of the tranſaction, which the author of the *Authentic Account* is willing to call—and yet, it ſeems, aſhamed to call '*a negociation*;' and which, whatever it may be called, began on the ſecond, and terminated (on the part of Sir James) on the ſeventh of February.

"True, indeed, it is, that Dr. Addington, in his very curious Narrative*, talks of various converſations which preceded the epoch of various converſations which paſſed in the month of January.

"Of theſe various converſations one extract deſerves the reader's particular attention.

"The great object, which the Doctor attributes to Sir James, was to ſave this country from ruin. The only means which the Doctor ſuppoſes Sir James to have diſcovered of ſaving it was, that Lord Chatham ſhould be brought into Adminiſtration by Lord Bute. And the reaſon why he thought this to be the only means was, that he had '*remarked, they were the two men whom the King hated moſt.*

"It is with reluctance Sir James even quotes this paſſage. The name of his Sovereign is too dear, too ſacred, to have been voluntarily introduced: He never ſo far forgot his duty as to ſpeak ſo irreverently of his King. If he has quoted this paſſage, it is only to expoſe the palpable inconſiſtency of the Narrative. Is it poſſible that Sir James could pretend to have been authoriſed by Lord Bute to commiſſion Dr. Addington, or that Sir James could wiſh to engage Dr. Addington, to negociate with the Earl of Chatham about the terms of acting with the Earl of Bute in adminiſtration, at the very moment when he repreſented the Earl of Bute to be in the predicament in which he is here made to repreſent him?

"What idea muſt the reader form of the underſtanding of Dr. Addington, if he could have ac-

* Narrative, folio 536, The Compiler of the *Authentick Account* is the inventor of a new kind of arrangement: In his compilation, the *Narrative* forms the *Appendix*; and the vouchers introduced to ſupport the Narrative, form the body of the work. There are occaſions where obſcurity is better than order.

cepted this commiſſion; if he could even have liſtened another moment to a man, who, if his account were true, muſt have been the wildeſt of all poſſible viſionaries?

"But the converſations, whatever they were, which paſſed previouſly to the third of February, make no part of what is called the *Negociation*: For the Doctor ſet out with the caution of a veteran member of the *corps diplomatique*. However he may now find it convenient to apply, or to miſapply, theſe pretended converſations; he determined—prudentially, at the time, for himſelf, and in the event, happily for Sir James, he determined—not to truſt to mere converſation. '*He deſired to have in writing the ſubſtance of what had paſſed between him and Sir James.*' He had it in writing. He received the writing '*on the third of February before nine in the morning, and ſet out directly for Hayes.*'

"To this written evidence then let the reader advert. It was on that which was *written*, and on that *alone*, the Doctor was to negociate. All that had paſſed, and which was not written, was, in that very paper, declared to be of *little concern*."

Particulars of the Miſchianza, *exhibited in* America *at the Departure of General* Howe.

Copy of a Letter from an Officer at Philadelphia *to his Correſpondent in* London.

Philadelphia, May 23, 1778.

FOR the firſt time in my life I write to you with unwillingneſs. The ſhip that carries home Sir William Howe will convey this letter to you; and not even the pleaſure of converſing with my friend can ſecure me from the general dejection I ſee around me, or remove the ſhare I muſt take in the univerſal regret and diſappointment which his approaching departure hath ſpread throughout the whole army. We ſee him taken from us at a time when we moſt ſtand in need of ſo ſkilful and popular a commander; when the experience of three years, and the knowledge he hath acquired of the country and people, have added to the confidence we always placed in his conduct and abilities. You know he was ever a favourite with the military; but the affection and attachment which all ranks of officers in this army bear him can only be known by thoſe who have at this time ſeen them in their effects. I do not believe there is upon record an inſtance of a Commander in Chief having ſo univerſally endeared himſelf to thoſe under his command; or of one who received ſuch ſignal and flattering proofs of their love. That our ſentiments might be the more univerſally and unequivocally known, it was reſolved amongſt us, that we ſhould give him as ſplendid an entertainment as the ſhortneſs of the time, and our preſent ſituation, would allow us. For the expences, the whole army would have moſt chearfully contributed; but it was requiſite to draw the line ſomewhere, and twenty-two field-officers joined in a ſubſcription adequate to the plan they meant to adopt. I know your curioſity will be raiſed on this occaſion; I ſhall therefore give you as particular an account of our *Miſchianza* as I have been able to collect. From the name you will perceive that it was made up of a variety

ety of entertainments. Four of the gentlemen ſubſcribers were appointed managers—Sir John Wrotteſley, Col. O'Hara, Major Gardiner, and Montreſor, the chief engineer. On the tickets of admiſſion, which they gave out for Monday the 18th, was engraved, in a ſhield, a view of the ſea, with the ſetting ſun, and on a wreath, the words *Lucem diſcedens, auctæ ſplendore reſurgam.* At top was the General's creſt, with *vive vale!* All round the ſhield ran a vignette, and various military trophies filled up the ground. A grand regatta began the entertainment. It conſiſted of three diviſions. In the firſt was the Ferret galley, having on board ſeveral General Officers, and a number of Ladies. In the centre was the Huſſar galley, with Sir William and Lord Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, the officers of their ſuite, and ſome Ladies. The Cornwallis galley brought up the rear, having on board General Knyphauſen and his ſuite, three Britiſh Generals, and a party of Ladies. On each quarter of theſe gallies, and forming their diviſion, were five flat boats, lined with green cloth, and filled with Ladies and Gentlemen. In front of the whole were three flat boats, with a band of muſic in each—Six barges rowed about each flank, to keep off the ſwarm of boats that covered the river from ſide to ſide. The gallies were dreſſed out in a variety of colours and ſtreamers, and in each flat boat was diſplayed the flag of its own diviſion. In the ſtream oppoſite the centre of the city, the Fanny armed ſhip, magnificently decorated, was placed at anchor, and at ſome diſtance a-head lay his Majeſty's ſhip Roebuck, with the Admiral's flag hoiſted at the fore-top maſt-head. The tranſport ſhips, extending in a line the whole length of the town, appeared with colours flying, and crouded with ſpectators, as were alſo the openings of the ſeveral wharfs on ſhore, exhibiting the moſt pictureſque and enlivening ſcene the eye could deſire. The rendezvous was at Knight's Wharf, at the northern extremity of the city. By half after four the whole company were embarked, and the ſignal being made by the Vigilant's manning ſhip, the three diviſions rowed ſlowly down, preſerving their proper intervals, and keeping time to the muſic that led the fleet. Arrived between the Fanny and the Market Wharf, a ſignal was made from one of the boats a-head, and the whole lay upon their oars, while the muſic played *God ſave the King*, and three cheers given from the veſſels were returned from the multitude on ſhore. By this time the flood-tide became too rapid for the gallies to advance; they were therefore quitted, and the company diſpoſed of in the different barges. This alteration broke in upon the order of proceſſion, but was neceſſary to give ſufficient time for diſplaying the entertainment that was prepared on ſhore.

The landing place was at the Old Fort, a little to the ſouthward of the town, fronting the building prepared for the reception of the company, about 400 yards from the water by a gentle aſcent. As ſoon as the General's barge was ſeen to puſh for the ſhore, a ſalute of 17 guns was fired from the Roebuck, and, after ſome interval, by the ſame number from the Vigilant. The company, as they diſembarked,

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ed, arranged themſelves into a line of proceſſion, and advanced through an avenue formed by two files of grenadiers, and a line of light horſe ſupporting each file. This avenue led to a ſquare lawn of 150 yards on each ſide, lined with troops and properly prepared for the exhibition of a tilt and tournament, according to the cuſtoms and ordinances of ancient chivalry. We proceeded through the centre of the ſquare. The muſic, conſiſting of all the bands of the army, moved in front. The Managers, with favours of blue and white ribbands in their breaſts, followed next in order. The General, Admiral, and the reſt of the company ſucceeded promiſcuouſly.

In front appeared the building, bounding the view through a viſta formed by two triumphal arches, erected at proper intervals in a line with the landing place. Two pavilions, with rows of benches, riſing one above the other, and ſerving as the advanced wings of the firſt triumphal arch, received the Ladies, while the Gentlemen ranged themſelves in convenient order on each ſide. On the front ſeat of each pavilion were placed ſeven of the principal young Ladies of the country, dreſſed in Turkiſh habits, and wearing in their turbans the favours with which they meant to reward the ſeveral Knights who were to contend in their honour. Theſe arrangements were ſcarce made when the ſound of trumpets was heard at a diſtance; and a band of Knights, dreſſed in ancient habits of white and red ſilk, and mounted on grey horſes, richly capariſoned in trappings of the ſame colours, entered the liſts, attended by their Eſquires on foot, in ſuitable apparel, in the following order:—Four trumpeters, properly habited, their trumpets decorated with ſmall pendent banners—A herald in his robes of ceremony; on his tunic was the device of his band, two roſes intertwined, with the motto, *We droop when ſeparated.*

Lord Cathcart, ſuperbly mounted on a managed horſe, appeared as chief of theſe Knights; two young black ſlaves, with ſaſhes and drawers of blue and white ſilk, wearing large ſilver claſps round their necks and arms, their breaſts and ſhoulders bare, held his ſtirrups. On his right hand walked Capt. Hazard, and on his left Capt. Brownlow, his two Eſquires, one bearing his lance, the other his ſhield.

His device was Cupid riding on a Lion, the Motto, *Surmounted by Love.* His Lordſhip appeared in honour of Miſs Auchmuty.

Then came in order the Knights of his band, each attended by his Squire, bearing his lance and ſhield.

1ſt Knight, Hon. Capt. Cathcart, in honour of Miſs N. White.—Squire, Capt. Peters. Device, a heart and ſword; Motto, *Love and Honour.*

2d Knight, Lieut. Bygrove, in honour of Miſs Craig——Squire, Lieut. Nichols.—Device, Cupid tracing a Circle; Motto, *Without end.*

3d Knight, Capt. André, in honour of Miſs P. Chew.—Squire, Lieut. André—Device, two Game-cocks fighting; Motto, *No Rival.*

4th Knight, Capt. Horneck, in honour of Miſs N. Redman.—Squire, Lieut. Talbot.—Device, a burning Heart; Motto, *Abſence cannot extinguiſh.*

5th Knight, Capt. Matthews, in honour

honour of Miſs Bond——Squire, Lieut. Hamilton.—Device, a winged Heart; Motto, *Each Fair by Turn.*

6th Knight, Lieut. Sloper, in honour of Miſs. M. Shippen.——Squire, Lieut. Brown.—Device, a Heart and Sword; Motto, *Honour and the Fair.*

After they had made the circuit of the ſquare, and ſaluted the Ladies as they paſſed before the pavilions, they ranged themſelves in a line with that in which were the Ladies of their Device; and their Herald (Mr. Beaumont), advancing into the centre of the ſquare, after a flouriſh of trumpets, proclaimed the following challenge:

"The Knights of the Blended Roſe, by me their Herald, proclaim and aſſert that the Ladies of the Blended Roſe excel in wit, beauty, and every accompliſhment, thoſe of the *whole world*; and ſhould any Knight or Knights be ſo hardy as to diſpute or deny it, they are ready to enter the liſts with them, and maintain their aſſertions by deeds of arms, according to the laws of ancient chivalry."

At the third repetition of the challenge the ſound of trumpets was heard from the oppoſite ſide of the ſquare; and another Herald, with four Trumpeters, dreſſed in black and orange, galloped into the liſts. He was met by the Herald of the Blended Roſe, and after a ſhort parley they both advanced in front of the pavilions, when the Black Herald (Lieut. More) ordered his trumpets to ſound, and then proclaimed defiance to the challenge in the following words:

"The Knights of the Burning Mountain preſent themſelves here, not to conteſt by words, but to diſprove by deeds, the vain-glorious aſſertions of the Knights of the Blended Roſe, and enter theſe liſts to maintain, that the Ladies of the Burning Mountain are not excelled in beauty, virtue, or accompliſhments, by any in the univerſe."

He then returned to the part of the barrier through which he had entered; and ſhortly after the Black Knights, attended by their Squires, rode into the liſts in the following order:

Four Trumpeters preceding the Herald, on whoſe tunic was repreſented a mountain, ſending forth flames.—Motto, *I burn for ever.*

Captain Watſon, of the guards, as Chief, dreſſed in a magnificent ſuit of black and orange ſilk, and mounted on a black managed horſe, with trappings of the ſame colours with his own dreſs, appeared in honour of Miſs Franks. He was attended in the ſame manner as Lord Cathcart. Capt. Scot bore his lance and Lieut. Lyttleton his ſhield. The Device, a Heart, with a Wreath of Flowers; Motto, *Love and Glory.*

1ſt Knight, Lieut. Underwood, in honour of Miſs S. Shippen.—Squire, Enſign Haverkam.—Device, a Pelican feeding her young; Motto, *For thoſe I love.*

2d Knight, Lieut. Winyard, in honour of Miſs P. Shippen.——Squire, Capt. Boſcawen.—Device, a Bay-leaf; Motto, *Unchangeable.*

3d Knight, Lieut. Delaval, in honour of Miſs B. Bond.—Squire, Capt. Thorne.—Device, a Heart, aimed at by ſeveral arrows, and ſtruck by one; Motto, *One only pierces me.*

4th Knight, Monſieur Montluiſſant, (Lieut. of the Heſſian Chaſſeurs) in honour of Miſs B. Redman.

man.—Squire, Capt. Campbell.—Device, a Sun-flower turning towards the Sun; Motto, *Je vise à vous.*

9th Knight, Lieut. Hobbart, in honour of Miss S. Chew.—Squire, Lieut. Briscoe.——Device, Cupid piercing a Coat of Mail with his Arrow; Motto, *Proof to all but Love.*

6th Knight, Brigade-Major Tarlton, in honour of Miss W. Smith.—Squire, Ensign Heart.—Device, a Light Dragoon; Motto, *Swift, vigilant, and bold.*

After they had rode round the lists, and made their obeisance to the Ladies, they drew up fronting the White Knights; and the Chief of these having thrown down his gauntlet, the Chief of the Black Knights directed his Esquire to take it up. The Knights then received their lances from their Esquires, fixed their shields on their left arms, and making a general salute to each other, by a very graceful movement of their lances, turned round to take their career, and, encountering in full gallop, shivered their spears. In the second and third encounter they discharged their pistols. In the fourth they fought with their swords. At length the two Chiefs, spurring forward into the centre, engaged furiously in single combat, till the Marshal of the Field (Major Gwyne) rushed in between the Chiefs, and declared that the Fair Damsels of the Blended Rose and Burning Mountain were perfectly satisfied with the proofs of love, and the signal feats of valour, given by their respective Knights; and commanded them, as they prized the future favours of their Mistresses, that they would instantly desist from further combat. Obedience being paid by the Chiefs to this order, they joined their respective bands. The White Knights and their attendants filed off to the left, the Black Knights to the right; and, after passing each other at the lower side of the quadrangle, moved up alternately, till they approached the pavilions of the Ladies, when they gave a general salute.

A passage being now opened between the two pavilions, the Knights, preceded by their Squires and the bands of music, rode through the first triumphal arch, and arranged themselves to the right and left. This arch was erected in honour of Lord Howe. It presented two fronts, in the Tuscan order; the pediment was adorned with various naval trophies, and at top was the figure of Neptune, with a trident in his right hand. In a nich, on each side, stood a Sailor with a drawn cutlass. Three Plumes of Feathers were placed on the summit of each wing, and in the entablature was this inscription: *Laus illi debetur, et alme gratia major.* The interval between the two arches was an avenue 300 feet long, and 34 broad. It was lined on each side with a file of troops; and the colours of all the army, planted at proper distances, had a beautiful effect in diversifying the scene. Between these colours the Knights and Squires took their stations. The Bands continued to play several pieces of martial music. The company moved forward in procession, with the Ladies in the Turkish habits in front; as these passed, they were saluted by their Knights, who then dismounted and joined them: and in this order we were all conducted in-

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to a garden that fronted the houſe, through the ſecond triumphal arch, dedicated to the General. This arch was alſo built in the Tuſcan order. On the interior part of the pediment was painted a Plume of Feathers, and various military trophies. At top ſtood the figure of Fame, and in the entablature this device,—*I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocet; I pede fauſto.* On the right hand pillar was placed a bomb-ſhell, and on the left a flaming heart. The front next the houſe was adorned with preparations for a fire-work. From the garden we aſcended a flight of ſteps, covered with carpets, which led into a ſpacious hall; the pannels, painted in imitation of Sienna marble, enclo-ſing feſtoons of white marble: the ſurbaſe, and all below, was black. In this hall, and in the adjoining apartments, were prepared tea, le-monade, and other cooling liquors, to which the company ſeated them-ſelves; during which time the Knights came in, and on the knee received their favours from their re-ſpective Ladies. One of theſe rooms was afterwards appropriated for the uſe of the Pharaoh table; as you en-tered it you ſaw, on a pannel over the chimney, a Cornucopia, exu-berantly filled with flowers of the richeſt colours; over the door, as you went out, another preſented it-ſelf, ſhrunk, reverſed, and emp-tied.

From theſe apartments we were conducted up to a ball-room, deco-rated in a light elegant ſtile of painting. The ground was a pale blue, pannelled with a ſmall gold bead, and in the interior filled with dropping feſtoons of flowers in their natural colours. Below the ſurbaſe the ground was of roſe-pink, with drapery feſtooned in blue. Theſe decorations were heightened by 8 mirrours, decked with roſe-pink ſilk ribbands, and artificial flowers; and in the intermediate ſpaces were 34 branches with wax-lights, orna-mented in a ſimilar manner.

On the ſame floor were four draw-ing-rooms, with ſide boards of re-freſhments, decorated and lighted in the ſame ſtile and taſte as the ball-room. The ball was opened by the Knights and their Ladies; and the dances continued till ten o'clock, when the windows were thrown open, and a magnificent bouquet of rockets began the fire-works. Theſe were planned by Capt. Montreſor, the chief engi-neer, and conſiſted of twenty dif-ferent exhibitions, diſplayed under his direction with the happieſt ſuc-ceſs, and in the higheſt ſtile of beau-ty. Towards the concluſion, the interior part of the triumphal arch was illuminated amidſt an uninter-rupted flight of rockets and burſt-ing of baloons. The military tro-phies on each ſide aſſumed a variety of tranſparent colours. The ſhell and flaming heart on the wings ſent forth Chineſe fountains, ſucceeded by fire-pots. Fame appeared at top, ſpangled with ſtars, and from her trumpet blowing the following de-vice in letters of light, *Tes Lauriers ſont immortels.*—A *ſauteur* of rock-ets, burſting from the pediment, concluded the *feu d'artifice*.

At twelve ſupper was announced, and large folding doors, hitherto artfully concealed, being ſuddenly thrown open, diſcovered a magni-ficent ſaloon of 210 feet by 40, and 22 feet in height, with three al-coves on each ſide, which ſerved for ſide-boards. The cieling was the ſegment of a circle, and the ſides were

were painted of a light ſtraw-colour, with vine leaves and feſtoon flowers, ſome in a bright; ſome in a darkiſh green. Fifty-ſix large pier-glaſſes, ornamented with green ſilk artificial flowers and ribbands; 100 branches with three lights in each, trimmed in the ſame manner as the mirrours; 18 luſtres, each with 24 lights, ſuſpended from the cieling, and ornamented as the branches; 300 wax-tapers, diſpoſed along the ſupper tables; 430 covers, 1200 diſhes; 24 black ſlaves, in oriental dreſſes, with ſilver collars and bracelets, ranged in two lines, and bending to the ground as the General and Admiral approached the ſaloon: all theſe, forming together the moſt brilliant aſſemblage of gay objects, and appearing at once as we entered by an eaſy deſcent, exhibited a *coup d'oeil* beyond deſcription magnificent.

Towards the end of ſupper, the Herald of the Blended Roſe, in his habit of ceremony, attended by his trumpets, entered the ſaloon, and proclaimed the King's health, the Queen, and Royal Family, the Army and Navy, with their reſpective Commanders, the Knights and their Ladies, the Ladies in general: each of theſe toaſts was followed by a flouriſh of muſic. After ſupper we returned to the ball-room, and continued to dance till four o'clock.

Such, my dear friend, is the deſcription, though a very faint one of the moſt ſplendid entertainment, I believe, ever given by an army to their General. But what muſt be moſt grateful to Sir W. Howe, is the ſpirit and motives from which it was given. He goes from this place to-morrow; but, as I underſtand he means to ſtay a day or two with his brother on board the Eagle at Billingſport, I ſhall not ſeal this letter till I ſee him depart from Philadelphia.

Sunday 24th. I am juſt returned from conducting our beloved General to the water-ſide, and have ſeen him receive a more flattering teſtimony of the love and attachment of his army, than all the pomp and ſplendor of the *Miſchianza* could convey to him. I have ſeen the moſt gallant of our officers, and thoſe whom I leaſt ſuſpected of giving ſuch inſtances of their affection, ſhed tears while they bid him farewel. The gallant and affectionate General of the Heſſians, Knyphauſen, was ſo moved, that he could not finiſh a compliment he began to pay him in his own name and that of his Officers who attended him. Sir Henry Clinton attended him to the wharf, where Lord Howe received him into his barge, and they are both gone down to Billingſport. On my return, I ſaw nothing but dejected countenances.

Adieu, &c.

An Account of the Ceremony obſerved at the firſt Audience given to Monſieur Gerard, *Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the* French *King to the Rebel Colonies, by their General Congreſs; a Copy and Tranſlation of the* French *King's Letter to them, his Miniſter's Speech in Congreſs, with their Reply by the Preſident.*

Philadelphia, Auguſt 11.

LAST Thurſday being the day appointed by Congreſs for the audience of the Sieur Gerard, Miniſter Plenipotentiary from his moſt Chriſtian

Chriſtian Majeſty, that Miniſter received audience accordingly. In purſuance of the ceremonial eſtabliſhed by Congreſs, the Hon. Richard Henry Lee, Eſq. one of the delegates from Virginia, and the Hon. Samuel Adams, Eſq. one of the delegates from Maſſachuſett's-bay, in a coach and ſix, provided by Congreſs, waited upon the Miniſter at his houſe. In a few minutes the Miniſter and the two delegates entered the coach, Mr. Lee placing himſelf at the Miniſter's left hand on the back ſeat, Mr. Adams occupying the front ſeat; the Miniſter's chariot being behind received his ſecretary. The carriages being arrived at the ſtate-houſe in this city, the two members of Congreſs, placing themſelves at the miniſter's left hand, a little before one o'clock, introduced him to his chair in the Congreſs-chamber; the Preſident and Congreſs ſitting —the Miniſter being ſeated, he gave his credentials into the hands of his Secretary, who advanced and delivered them to the Preſident. The Secretary of Congreſs then read and tranſlated them; which being done, Mr. Lee announced the Miniſter to the Preſident and Congreſs; at this time the Preſident, the Congreſs and the Miniſter roſe together: he bowed to the Preſident and the Congreſs; they bowed to him: whereupon the whole ſeated themſelves. In a moment, the Miniſter roſe and made a ſpeech to Congreſs, they ſitting. The ſpeech being finiſhed, the Miniſter ſat down, and, giving a copy of his ſpeech to his Secretary, he preſented it to the Preſident. The Preſident and the Congreſs then roſe, and the Preſident pronounced their anſwer to the ſpeech, the Miniſter ſtanding. The anſwer being ended, the whole were again ſeated, and, the Preſident giving a copy of the anſwer to the Secretary of Congreſs, he preſented it to the Miniſter. The Preſident, the Congreſs, and Miniſter, then again roſe together: the Miniſter bowed to the Preſident, who returned the ſalute, and then to the Congreſs, who alſo bowed in return: and, the Miniſter having bowed to the Preſident and received his bow, he withdrew, and was attended home in the ſame manner in which he had been conducted to the audience.

Within the bar of the Houſe, the Congreſs formed a ſemicircle on each ſide of the Preſident and the Miniſter: the Preſident ſitting at one extremity of the circle, at a table upon a platform elevated two ſteps,—— the Miniſter ſitting at the oppoſite extremity of the circle in an arm-chair upon the ſame level with the Congreſs. The door of the Congreſs-chamber being thrown open, below the bar, about 200 gentlemen were admitted to the audience, among whom were the Vice-preſident of the ſupreme executive Council of Pennſylvania, the ſupreme executive Council, the Speaker, and members of the Houſe of Aſſembly, ſeveral foreigners of diſtinction, and officers of the army.

The audience being over, the Congreſs and the Miniſter, at a proper hour, repaired to an entertainment by Congreſs given to the Miniſter; at which were preſent by invitation ſeveral foreign-

ers of diſtinction and gentlemen of public character. The entertainment was conducted with a decorum ſuited to the occaſion, and gave perfect ſatisfaction to the whole company.

In Congreſs, Aug. 6, 1778.

According to order the honourable the Sieur Gerard being introduced to an audience by the two members for that purpoſe appointed, and being ſeated in his chair, his Secretary delivered to the Preſident a letter from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, which was read in the words following:

Very dear great friends and allies,

THE treaties which we have ſigned with you, in conſequence of the propoſals your Commiſſioners made to us in your behalf, are a certain aſſurance of our affection for the United States in general and for each of them in particular, as well as of the intereſt we take, and conſtantly ſhall take, in their happineſs and proſperity. It is to convince you more particularly of this, that we have nominated the Sieur Gerard, Secretary of our Council of State, to reſide among you in the quality of our Miniſter Plenipotentiary; he is the better acquainted with our ſentiments toward you, and the more capable of teſtifying the ſame to you, as he was entruſted on our part to negociate with your Commiſſioners, and ſigned with them the treaties which cement our union. We pray you to give full credit to all he ſhall communicate to you from us, more eſpecially when he ſhall aſſure you of our affection and conſtant friendſhip for you. We pray God, very dear great friends and allies, to have you in his holy keeping. Your good friend and ally.

Signed,

LOUIS.

Verſailles, March 28, 1778.

(Under-ſigned) GRAVIER de VERGENNES.

(Directed)

To our very dear great Friends the Preſident and Members of the General Congreſs of North America.

The Miniſter was then announced to the Preſident and the Houſe, whereupon he aroſe and addreſſed Congreſs in the ſpeech, which, when he had finiſhed, his Secretary delivered the ſame in writing to the Preſident as follows:

Gentlemen,

THE connection formed by the King, my maſter, with the United States of America, is ſo agreeable to him, that he could no longer delay ſending me to reſide among you for the purpoſe of cementing it. It will give his Majeſty great ſatisfaction to learn that the ſentiments, which have ſhone forth on this occaſion, juſtify that confidence with which he hath been inſpired by the zeal and character of the Commiſſioners of the United States in France, the wiſdom and fortitude which have directed the reſolutions of Congreſs, and the courage and perſeverance of the people they repreſent; a confidence which you know, gentlemen, has been the baſis of that truly amicable and diſintereſted ſyſtem, on which he hath treated with the United States.

It is not his Majeſty's fault that the engagements he hath entered

into did not eſtabliſh your independence and repoſe without the further effuſion of blood, and without aggravating the calamities of mankind, whoſe happineſs it is his higheſt ambition to promote and ſecure. But, ſince the hoſtile meaſures and deſigns of the common enemy have given to engagements purely eventual an immediate, poſitive, permanent, and indiſſoluble force, it is the opinion of the King my maſter, that the allies ſhould turn their whole attention to fulfil thoſe engagements in the manner moſt uſeful to the common cauſe, and beſt calculated to obtain that peace which is the object of the alliance.

It is upon this principle his Majeſty hath haſtened to ſend you a powerful aſſiſtance, which you owe only to his friendſhip, to the ſincere regard he has for every thing which relates to the advantage of the United States, and to his deſire of contributing with efficacy to eſtabliſh your repoſe and proſperity upon an honourable and ſolid foundation. And further it is his expectation that the principles, which may be adopted by the reſpective governments, will tend to ſtrengthen thoſe bonds of union, which have originated in the mutual intereſt of the two nations.

The principal object of my inſtructions is to connect the intereſts of France with thoſe of the United States. I flatter myſelf, gentlemen, that my paſt conduct in the affairs which concern them hath already convinced you of the determination I feel to endeavour to obey my inſtructions in ſuch manner as to deſerve the confidence of Congreſs, the friendſhip of its members, and the eſteem of the citizens of America.

GERARD.

To which the Preſident was pleaſed to return the following Anſwer:

SIR,

THE treaties between his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the United States of America ſo fully demonſtrate his wiſdom and magnanimity, as to command the reverence of all nations. The virtuous citizens of America in particular can never forget his beneficent attention to their violated rights; nor ceaſe to acknowledge the hand of a gracious providence in raiſing them up ſo powerful and illuſtrious a friend. It is the hope and opinion of Congreſs, that the confidence his Majeſty repoſes in the firmneſs of theſe ſtates will receive additional ſtrength from every day's experience.

This aſſembly are convinced, Sir, that, had it reſted ſolely with the moſt Chriſtian King, not only the independence of theſe ſtates would have been univerſally acknowledged, but their tranquillity fully eſtabliſhed. We lament that luſt of domination, which gave birth to the preſent war, and hath prolonged and extended the miſeries of mankind. We ardently wiſh to ſheathe the ſword and ſpare the farther effuſion of blood; but we are determined, by every means in our power, to fulfil thoſe eventual engagements which have acquired poſitive and permanent force from the hoſtile deſigns and meaſures of the common enemy.

Congreſs have reaſon to believe, that the aſſiſtance ſo wiſely and generouſly ſent will bring Great Britain

tain to a ſenſe of juſtice and moderation, promote the common intereſts of France and America, and ſecure peace and tranquillity on the moſt firm and honourable foundation. Neither can it be doubted, that thoſe, who adminiſter the powers of government within the ſeveral ſtates of this union, will cement that connection with the ſubjects of France, the beneficial effects of which have already been ſo ſenſibly felt.

Sir, from the experience we have had of your exertions to promote the true intereſts of our country as well as your own, it is with the higheſt ſatisfaction Congreſs receive, as the firſt Miniſter from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, a gentleman, whoſe paſt conduct affords a happy preſage, that he will merit the confidence of this body, the friendſhip of its members, and the eſteem of the citizens of America.

HEN. LAURENS, Preſ.

In Congreſs,
Auguſt 6, 1778.

The Secretary of Congreſs then delivered to the Miniſter a copy of the foregoing reply, ſigned as above; whereupon the Miniſter withdrew, and was conducted home in the manner in which he was brought to the Houſe.

Extract from the minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1778.

NAVY.

NOVEMBER 27, 1777.

1. THAT 60,000 men be employed for the ſea ſervice, for the year 1778, including 11,829 marines.

2. That a ſum, not exceeding 4l. per man per month, be allowed for maintaining the ſaid 60,000 men, for 13 months, including ordnance for ſea ſervice — 3120000 0 0

FEBRUARY 16, 1778.

1. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the ſea and marine officers, for the year 1778. — 389200 16 0

2. Towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of ſhips of war in his majeſty's yards, and other extra works over and above what are propoſed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year 1778. — 488695 0 0

APRIL 9, 1778.

1. Towards paying off and diſcharging the navy debt. — 1000000 0 0

2. Upon account, to be applied by the commiſſioners of Greenwich hoſpital, for the ſupport and relief of ſuch worn-out ſeamen, as ſhall not be provided for in the ſaid hoſpital, for the year 1778. — 4000 0 0

5001895 16 0

ARMY.

DECEMBER 4, 1777.

1. That a number of land forces, including 3,213 invalids, amounting to 20,057 effective men, commiſſion and non-commiſſioned officers included, be employed for the ſervice of the year 1778.

2. For defraying the charge of 20,734 effective men, for guards, garriſons, and other his Majeſty's land forces in Great Britain, Jerſey and Guernſey — 634240 3 11

3. For the pay of the general, and general ſtaff officers, in Great Britain, for the year 1778	11473	18	6½
4. For maintaining his majeſty's forces and garriſons in the plantations and Africa, including thoſe in garriſon at Minorca and Gibraltar; and for proviſions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the Ceded Iſlands, and Africa, for the year 1778.	960843	18	9
5. For defraying the charge of the difference of pay between the Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment, of one regiment of light dragoons, and ſix regiments of foot, ſerving in North America, for the year 1778	52923	1	6
6. For defraying the charge of five Hanoverian battalions, ſerving in Gibraltar and Minorca, and proviſions for the ſame	56074	19	4½
7. For defraying the charge of 3472 men, the troops of the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the ſubſidy	367203	9	10
8. For defraying the charge of 2 regiments of foot of Hanau, &c.	35441	19	9½
9. For defraying the charge of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, &c.	17370	8	2¾
10. For defraying the charge of 4300 men, the troops of the reigning Duke of Brunſwick	93947	15	8
11. For defraying the charge of 1241 troops of Brandenburg Anſpach	34007	2	11
12. For defraying the charge of proviſions for the foreign troops ſerving in America	47160	13	3
13. For making good a deficiency in the ſum voted laſt ſeſſion, for the Hanau foot	1645	17	1
14. For defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops for the year 1778	27379	10	8

FEBRUARY 5, 1778.

1. For defraying the charge of ſeveral augmentations of his majeſty's forces from their ſeveral commencements to Dec. 24, 1778	286632	14	6
2. Towards defraying the charge of the out-penſioners in Chelſea hoſpital	105431	15	5
3. Upon account of the reduced officers of his majeſty's land forces and marines	90939	15	0
4. For defraying the charge for allowances to the ſeveral officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horſe guards reduced, and to the ſuper-annuated gentlemen of the four troops of horſe guards	712	0	5
5. For paying of penſions to widows of ſuch reduced officers of his majeſty's land forces and ma-			

rines,

fines, as died upon the eſtabliſhment of half-pay in Great Britain, and were married to them before December 25, 1716	238	0	0

MARCH 26.

1. Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majeſty's land-forces, and other ſervices incurred between Jan. 31, 1777, and Feb. 1, 1778	1469923	1	4
2. For defraying the charge of ſeveral augmentations of his majeſty's forces, from their ſeveral commencements to Dec. 24, 1778	18895	5	2

APRIL 16.

For defraying the charge of ſeveral augmentations of his majeſty's forces, from March 25, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778	80319	14	1

MAY 14.

For defraying the charge of a corps of infantry of Anhalt Zerbſt, including the pay of Great Britain, in the year 1778, purſuant to treaty	18071	12	0
	4410876	17	5¼

ORDNANCE.

DECEMBER 4, 1777.

1. For the charge of the office of ordnance for land ſervice, for the year 1778	382816	2	8
2. For defraying the expence of ſervices performed by the office of ordnance for land ſervice, and not provided for by parliament in 1777	300483	13	10
	683299	16	6

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

FEBRUARY 10, 1778.

For defraying the extraordinary expences incurred in calling in and recoining the deficient coin of this kingdom	105227	8	3

MARCH 26.

1. To be paid to Mr. Edward Moore, as a final compenſation for his pains, trouble and expence, during an employment of 13 years, in compiling a general index to the Journals of the Houſe of Commons	6400	0	0
2. To be paid to the Rev. Mr. Forſter, as a final compenſation for his pains, trouble and expence, during an employment of 8 years, in compiling a general index to the Journals of the Houſe of Commons	3000	0	0
3. To be paid to the Rev. Dr. Roger Flaxman, as a final compenſation for his pains, trouble and			

expence, during an employment of 9 years, in compiling a general index to the Journals of the Houſe of Commons	3000	0	0
4. To be paid to Mr. Cunningham, in part of his payment, for his pains, trouble, and expence, in compiling a general index to the Journals of the Houſe of Commons	500	0	0
5. For the expences of the new roads of communication, and building bridges in the Highlands of North Britain, in the year 1776	6998	12	5
APRIL 9.			
To make good the deficiency on 5th of July, 1777, of the fund eſtabliſhed for paying annuities granted, by an act made in the 31ſt year of his late majeſty, towards the ſupply granted for the year 1758	43621	10	0
For defraying the charges of the following civil eſtabliſhments, and other incidental expences attending the ſame, to wit, in America:			
1. His majeſty's iſland of St. John's	3200	0	0
2. His majeſty's colony of Georgia	2866	0	0
3. His majeſty's colony of Nova Scotia	4701	10	8
4. His majeſty's colony of Eaſt Florida	4950	0	0
5. His majeſty's colony of Weſt Florida	4900	0	0
6. In Africa: Senegambia, ſituate between the port of Salee in South Barbary, and Cape Rouge	5550	0	0
7. For defraying expences attending general ſurveys of his majeſty's dominions in North America, for the year 1778	2372	0	0
8. To make good to his majeſty the ſums iſſued by his majeſty's orders, in purſuance of the addreſſes of this houſe	19100	0	0
APRIL 14.			
1. To make good the ſum which has been iſſued by his majeſty's orders to ſundry perſons, to be by them applied for the relief and benefit of ſuch American civil officers, and others, as have ſuffered on account of their attachment to his majeſty's government	56680	2	6
2. To replace the ſum iſſued by his majeſty's orders to Mr. *Duncan Campbell*, for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the River Thames	9075	3	11
3. For repairing and ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements, on the coaſt of Africa	13000	0	0
	295142	7	9

DECEMBER 4, 1777.

Towards paying off and diſcharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act paſſed in

the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intituled, "An act for raiſing a certain ſum of money by loans or exchequer bills for the ſervice of the year 1777, and charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament	1500000	0	0
For paying off and diſcharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled *An Act for enabling his majeſty to raiſe the ſum of one million, for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned, and charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament*	1000000	0	0
MARCH 10, 1778.			
For diſcharging and paying off the prizes of the lottery, of the year 1777	480000	0	0
	2980000	0	0

APRIL 30.

1. For defraying the charge of the embodied militia of the ſeveral counties of South Britain, from March 26, 1778, to the 24th of December following, both incluſive	402622	9	0
2. For defraying the charge of additional cloathing for the embodied militia for the year 1778	37559	7	6
3. For defraying the charge of three regiments of ſencible men, to be forthwith raiſed in North Britain, from April 25th, 1778, to the 24th of Dec. following, both incluſive.	45608	2	0
	485789	18	6

DEFICIENCIES.

APRIL 14, 1778.

1. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the ſervice of the year 1777, to replace to the ſinking fund the like ſum paid out of the ſame	38493	2	7½
2. In the land tax	252000	0	0
3. In the malt tax	200000	0	0
	490493	2	7½
Total of ſupplies	14345497	18	10½

WAYS *and* MEANS *for raiſing the above Supplies, granted to his Majeſty, for the Year* 1778.

NOVEMBER 29, 1777.

1. That the ſum of four ſhillings in the pound, and no more, be raiſed within the ſpace of one year,

from the 25th of March, 1778, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, penſions, offices, and perſonal eſtates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and that a proportionable ceſs, according to the ninth article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland 2000000 0 0

2. That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which by an act of parliament of the 16th year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, have continuance to the 24th of July 1777, ſhall be further continued and charged upon all malt, which ſhall be made, and all mum, which ſhall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry, which ſhall be made for ſale within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the 23d of June, 1777, to the 24th of June, 1778. 750000 0 0

MARCH 16, 1778.

That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, the ſum of 6,000,000l. be raiſed by annuities, and the further ſum of 480,000l. by a lottery, in manner following; that is to ſay,

That every contributor to the ſaid 6,000,000l. ſhall, for every 100l. contributed, be entitled to an annuity, after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. redeemable by parliament; and alſo to a further annuity of 2l. 10s. per cent. per ann. to continue for a certain term of thirty years, and then to ceaſe; the ſaid annuity of 3l. per cent. and of 2l. 10s. per cent. to commence from the 5th day of January 1778, and to be payable and transferrable at the bank of England, and to be paid half yearly on the 5th day of July and the 5th day of January in every year; and ſhall be charged and chargeable upon, and payable out of, a fund, to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the ſinking fund ſhall be a collateral ſecurity.

That every contributor, or his or her repreſentative, who ſhall chuſe to have and receive a life annuity inſtead of the ſaid annuity of 2l. 10s. per cent. per ann. to continue for a term of 30 years as aforeſaid, ſhall, upon completing the whole of his or her contribution money, and ſignifying ſuch his or her intention to the chief caſhier or the governor and company of the bank of England, have a certificate ſigned by him, the ſaid caſhier, expreſſing the ſum ſo paid by ſuch contributor, or his or her repreſentative, and the annuity, after the rate of 2l. 10s. per cent. per ann. to which ſuch perſon is

intitled

intitled in reſpect of the ſame; and ſhall, upon producing ſuch certificate to the auditor of the receipt of his Majeſty's Exchequer, at any time on or before the 22d day of December next, have and be intitled to a like annuity, after the rate of 2l. 10s. per cent. per ann. to be paid at the receipt of the Exchequer, to commence from the 5th day of January 1778, and to be paid and payable half yearly on the 5th day of July and the 5th day of January in every year, during the life of ſuch nominee as he or ſhe ſhall appoint at the time of delivering ſuch certificate to the ſaid auditor of the receipt of the Exchequer, out of the ſaid fund, to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of parliament, and for which the ſinking fund is to be a collateral ſecurity.

That every contributor, towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of 6,000,000l. ſhall, for every 500l. by him or her contributed, be entitled to four tickets in a lottery to conſiſt of 48,000 tickets, amounting to 480,000l. upon payment of the further ſum of 10l. for each ticket; the ſaid 480,000l. to be diſtributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the ſaid lottery, which ſhall be paid in money at the bank of England, to ſuch proprietors, upon demand, as ſoon after the 1ſt day of March 1779, as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatſoever.

That every contributor ſhall, on or before the 17th day of this inſtant March, make a depoſit of 10l. per cent. on ſuch ſum as he or ſhe ſhall chuſe to ſubſcribe, towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of 6,000,000l. with the chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the bank of England; and alſo a depoſit of 15l. per cent. with the ſaid caſhier or caſhiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of 480,000l. by a lottery, as a ſecurity for making the future payments reſpectively, on or before the days or times herein after limited, that is to ſay, on 6,000,000l. for annuities; 10l. per cent. on or before the 14th day of April next; 15l. per cent. on or before the 19th day of May next; 10l. per cent. on or before the 23d day of June next; 15l. per cent. on or before the 4th day of Auguſt next; 10l. per cent. on or before the 15th day of September next; 10l. per cent. on or before the 23d day of October next; 10l. per cent. on or before the 20th day of November next; 10l. per cent. on or before the 18th day of December next: on the lottery, for 480,000l. 20l. per cent.

on

on or before the 28th day of April next; 20l. per cent. on or before the 3d day of July next; 20l. per cent. on or before the 25th day of Auguſt next; 25l. per cent. on or before the 9th day of October next.

That all the monies, ſo to be received by the ſaid chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the bank of England, ſhall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to ſuch ſervices as ſhall then have been voted in this ſeſſion of parliament.

That every contributor, who ſhall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money, towards the ſaid ſum of 6,000,000l. to be contributed for annuities as aforeſaid, at any time before the 17th day of November next, or on account of his or her ſhare in the ſaid lottery, on or before the 21ſt day of Auguſt next, ſhall be allowed an intereſt, by way of diſcount, after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. on the ſums ſo completing his or her contribution-money reſpectively, to be computed from the day of completing the ſame, to the 18th day of December next, in regard to the ſum to be paid for the ſaid annuities, and to the 9th day of October next, in reſpect of the ſum to be paid on account of the ſaid lottery; and that all ſuch perſons as ſhall make their full payments on the ſaid lottery, ſhall have their tickets delivered to them as ſoon as they can conveniently be made out.

That the annuities after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. to be payable in reſpect of the ſaid 6,000,000l. to be contributed as aforeſaid, ſhall, from the time of their commencement, be added to, and made one joint ſtock with the 3l. per cent. annuities conſolidated, per acts 25th, 28th, 29th, 31ſt, 32d, and 33d, Georgii II. and by ſeveral ſubſequent acts, and ſhall be payable and transferrable at the bank of England, and ſubject to redemption in the ſame manner as the ſaid 3l. per cent. conſolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there, and redeemable by parliament. ——— 6480000 0 0

April 9.

That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, the ſum of 1,500,000l. be raiſed, by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament; and ſuch Exchequer bills, if not diſcharged, with

intereſt

intereſt thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1778, to be exchanged and received in payment in ſuch manner as Exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received in payment 1500000 0 0

APRIL 14.

1. That, towards making good the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of 703,790l. 18s. 3½ remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 5th day of April, 1778, for the diſpoſition of parliament, of the monies which had then ariſen of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, and overplus monies, and other revenues, compoſing the fund commonly called the ſinking fund 703790 18 3½

2. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of 2,296,209l. 1s. 8½ out of ſuch monies as ſhall or may ariſe of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, or overplus monies, and other revenues, compoſing the fund commonly called the ſinking fund 2296209 1 8½

3. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be applied the ſum of 4976l. 17s. 1½ remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 5th of April, 1778, ſubject to the diſpoſition of parliament, excluſive of the ſurplus monies then remaining of the ſinking fund 4976 17 1½

4. That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be applied the ſum of 46825l. remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 5th day of April, 1778, of the deductions of ſix-pence in the pound out of all monies paid upon all ſalaries, penſions, and annuities and other payments from the crown, after ſatisfying all annuities and other charges then due, and payable out of the ſame 46825 0 0

5. That the ſum of 31,154l. 17s. 8¼ remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 5th day of April, 1778, of the two ſevenths Exciſe granted by an act of parliament, made in the 5th and 6th years of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, after ſatisfying the ſeveral charges and incumbrances thereupon, for the half year then ended, be carried to, and made part of, the aggregate fund; and that the ſaid fund be made a ſecurity for the diſcharge of ſuch annuities, and other demands, payable out of the ſaid ſum, as the growing produce of the ſaid two ſevenths Exciſe ſhall not be ſufficient to anſwer 31154 17 8¼

6. That ſuch of the monies as ſhall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, after the 5th day of April,

1778,

1778, and on or before the 5th day of April, 1779, of the produce of the duties charged by two acts, made in the 5th and 14th years of his preſent Majeſty's reign, upon the importation and exportation of gum ſenega and gum arabic, be applied towards making good the ſupply granted to his Majeſty.

APRIL 16.

1. That, towards making good the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be applied a ſum, not exceeding 37921l. 3s. 10d. out of the monies, or ſavings, ariſing from the pay of his Majeſty's national troops, in the hands of the Paymaſter General of his Majeſty's land forces — 37921 3 10

2. That, towards making good the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be applied a ſum, not exceeding 27690l. out of the monies, or ſavings, ariſing from the pay of ſundry regiments of foot, in the hands of the Paymaſter General of his Majeſty's land forces — 27690 0 0

MAY 4.

That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, the ſum of 500,000l. be raiſed, by loans, or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament; and ſuch Exchequer bills, if not diſcharged, with intereſt thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1779, to be exchanged and received in payment, in ſuch manner as Exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received in payment 500000 0 0

Total of ways and means	14378567	18	7½
Total of ſupplies	14345497	18	10½
Exceſs of ways and means	33069	19	9½

Note, *the vote of credit of one million granted this ſeſſion, and the* 500,000l. *loan of the 4th of May, are both charged on the next aids.*

The additional publick debt funded and provided for this year, amounts to ſix millions, the intereſt of which at 3 per cent. per ann. is — 180000 0 0

The annuity of 2l. 10s. per cent. per ann. for thirty years, is — 150000 0 0

In all — 330000 0 0

This

This ſum (by acts paſſed in purſuance of the reſolutions of March 9th) is to be raiſed in the following manner.

By a tax on houſes* — — —	264000	0	0
By an additional tax of eight guineas per tun on all French wines, and four guineas per tun on all other wines imported — — —	72558	0	0
	336558	0	0
Exceſs of taxes — — —	6558	0	0

* See the abſtract in the Appendix to the Chronicle.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on Thurſday the 20th Day of November, 1777.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a great ſatisfaction to me, that I can have recourſe to the wiſdom and ſupport of my parliament, in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in North America demands our moſt ſerious attention. The powers, which you have intruſted me with for the ſuppreſſion of this revolt, have been faithfully exerted; and I have a juſt confidence, that the conduct and courage of my officers, and the ſpirit and intrepidity of my forces, both by ſea and land, will, under the bleſſing of divine providence, be attended with important ſucceſs: but as I am perſuaded, that you will ſee the neceſſity of preparing for ſuch further operations, as the contingencies of the war, and the obſtinacy of the rebels may render expedient, I am, for that purpoſe, purſuing the proper meaſures for keeping my land forces compleat to their preſent eſtabliſhment; and if I ſhould have occaſion to increaſe them, by contracting any new engagements, I rely on your zeal and publick ſpirit to enable me to make them good.

I receive repeated aſſurances from foreign powers of their pacifick diſpoſitions. My own cannot be doubted: but, at this time, when the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continue, I have thought it adviſable to make a conſiderable augmentation to my naval force, as well to keep my kingdoms in a reſpectable ſtate of ſecurity, as to provide an adequate protection for the extenſive commerce of my ſubjects; and as, on the one hand, I am determined that the peace of Europe ſhall not be diſturbed by me, ſo, on the other, I will always be a faithful guardian of the honour of the crown of Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you. The various ſervices which I have mentioned to you will unavoidably require large ſupplies: and nothing could relieve my mind from the concern which I feel for the heavy charge which they muſt bring on my faithful people, but the perfect conviction that they are neceſſary for the welfare and the

the eſſential intereſts of my kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I will ſteadily purſue the meaſures in which we are engaged for the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitutional ſubordination, which, with the bleſſing of God, I will maintain through the ſeveral parts of my dominions: but I ſhall ever be watchful for an opportunity of putting a ſtop to the effuſion of the blood of my ſubjects, and the calamities which are inſeparable from a ſtate of war. And I ſtill hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude will return to their allegiance; and that the remembrance of what they once enjoyed, the regret for what they have loſt, and the feelings of what they now ſuffer under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will rekindle in their hearts a ſpirit of loyalty to their Sovereign, and of attachment to their mother country; and that they will enable me, with the concurrence and ſupport of my parliament, to accompliſh, what I ſhall conſider as the greateſt happineſs of my life, and the greateſt glory of my reign, the reſtoration of peace, order and confidence to my American colonies.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

Permit us, Sir, to offer our congratulations to your Majeſty on the increaſe of your domeſtic happineſs by the birth of another Princeſs, and the recovery of your royal conſort; who is moſt highly endeared to this nation, as well by her Majeſty's eminent and amiable virtues, as by every new pledge of ſecurity to our religious and civil liberties.

We are duly ſenſible of your Majeſty's goodneſs in recurring to the advice and ſupport of your parliament in the preſent conjuncture, when the rebellion in North America ſtill continues; and we return your Majeſty our unfeigned thanks for having communicated to us the juſt confidence which your Majeſty repoſes in the zeal, intrepidity, and exertions of your Majeſty's officers and forces both by ſea and land: but at the ſame time that we entertain a well-founded hope of the important ſucceſſes, which, under the bleſſing of providence, may be expected, we cannot but applaud your Majeſty's unwearied vigilance and wiſdom in recommending to us to prepare, at all events, for ſuch further operations as the contingencies of the war and the obſtinacy of the rebels may render expedient: we are therefore gratefully ſenſible of your Majeſty's conſideration in purſuing the meaſures neceſſary to keep your land forces complete to the preſent eſtabliſhment; and we owe it both to your Majeſty and to ourſelves to ſay, that we ſhall chearfully concur in enabling your Majeſty to make

good

good ſuch new engagements with foreign powers, for the augmentation of the auxiliary troops, as the weighty motives your Majeſty has ſtated to us may induce you to contract.

It is with great ſatisfaction we learn that your Majeſty receives repeated aſſurances from foreign powers of their pacific diſpoſitions; and with hearts full of gratitude and admiration, we acknowledge your Majeſty's humane, ſteady, and dignified conduct, which is equally well calculated to demonſtrate to the world, your Majeſty's wiſh to preſerve the general tranquillity of Europe, and your determination to maintain the honour of the crown, the ſecurity of theſe kingdoms, and the commercial intereſts of your ſubjects.

We thankfully receive your Majeſty's declaration of perſeverance in the meaſures now purſuing, for the re-eſtabliſhment of a juſt and conſtitutional ſubordination through the ſeveral parts of your Majeſty's dominions; and we beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that we participate the deſire which at the ſame time animates your royal breaſt, to ſee a proper opportunity for putting an end to the effuſion of blood, and the various calamities inſeparable from a ſtate of war.

The conſtant tenor of your Majeſty's reign has ſhewn, that your whole attention is employed for the ſafety and happineſs of all your people; and whenever our unhappy fellow-ſubjects in North America ſhall duly return to their allegiance, we ſhall readily concur in every wiſe and ſalutary meaſure which can contribute to reſtore confidence and order, and fix the mutual welfare of Great Britain and her colonies on the moſt ſolid and permanent foundations.

PROTEST *of the* LORDS.

Die Jovis, 20° Nov. 1778.

UPON the motion for the above addreſs, the following amendment was moved by the Earl of Chatham, "That this Houſe does moſt humbly adviſe and ſupplicate his Majeſty, to be pleaſed to cauſe the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures to be taken for reſtoring peace in America, and that no time may be loſt, in propoſing an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities there, in order to the opening a treaty for the final ſettlement of the tranquillity of thoſe invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy cauſes of this ruinous civil war, and by a juſt and adequate ſecurity againſt a return of the like calamities in times to come. And this Houſe deſires to offer the moſt dutiful aſſurance to his Majeſty, that they will in due time cheerfully co-operate with the magnanimity and tender goodneſs of his Majeſty, for the preſervation of his people, by ſuch explicit and moſt ſolemn declarations and proviſions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as may be judged neceſſary for aſcertaining and fixing for ever the reſpective rights of Great Britain and her colonies."

When the queſtion being put, the Houſe divided. Contents 28. Non-contents 84.

The queſtion was then put on the addreſs, and carried in the affirmative.

"Diſſen-

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are derived from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to William Cooke, Eſq; by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for Eight Years from the Commencement of the Corn-Regiſter Act, viz.* 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778.

EXPORTED.

1771.	Britiſh Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			
Wheat and Flour	10,089		£. s. d.
Barley and Malt	31,166		
Oats and Oatmeal	23,364	Nil	6170 7 6
Beans	13,345		
Peaſe	3,701		
SCOTLAND.			
Barley and Malt	203		
Oats and Oatmeal	11,869		
Beans	3	Nil	Nil
Peaſe	3		
Barley and Bear	2,829		
Bear and Meal	18		

IMPORTED.

1771.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		
Wheat and Flour	2,509	£. s. d.
Rye	2,179	
Barley and Malt	228	
Oats and Oatmeal	198,072	13,170 2 1
Beans	67	
Peaſe	64	
Indian Corn	3	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat and Flour	2	
Oats and Oatmeal	14,255	547 8 11

EXPORTED.

1772.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat and Flour	6,959	Nil	Nil
Barley and Malt	13,789		
Oats and Oatmeal	23,511		
Beans	13,321		
Peaſe	3,775		
SCOTLAND.			
Oats and Oatmeal	87	Nil	Nil
Barley and Bear	242		

IMPORTED.

1772.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat and Flour	23,134	2,393 6 10
Rye	4,799	
Barley and Malt	2,107	
Oats and Oatmeal	70,542	
Beans	469	
Peaſe	17	
Indian Corn	3	
Buck Wheat	1	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat and Flour	2,340	1,372 14 11
Barley and Malt	961	
Oats and Oatmeal	36,277	
Peaſe	4	
Buck Wheat	1	

N. B. When foreign grain is imported, and not ſold, it is, by act of parliament, ſuffered to be warehouſed, without paying duty; and if exported again, it is here arranged under the title of Foreign to diſtinguiſh it from Britiſh.

EX-

EXPORTED.

1773.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat and Flour	7,637	Nil	Nil
Barley and Malt	2,445		
Oats and Oatmeal	18,671		
Beans	10,733		
Peaſe	4,430		
SCOTLAND.			
Oats and Oatmeal	106	Nil	Nil
Beans	18		
Barley and Bear	30		

IMPORTED.

1773.	Quarters.	
ENGLAND.		
Wheat and Flour	50,312	Duty free.
Rye	9,253	
Barley and Malt	51,221	
Oats and Oatmeal	234,366	
Beans	49,858	
Peaſe	3,254	
Indian Corn	6,322	
Buck Wheat	53	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat and Flour	6,545	Duty free.
Rye	2	
Oats and Oatmeal	95,088	
Beans	4,002	
Peaſe	4,002	
Barley and Bear	12,695	

EXPORTED.

1774.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat and Flour	15,171	757	5961 12 9
Rye	1,434	826	
Barley and Malt	2,416	—	
Oats and Oatmeal	16,286	25	
Beans	9,443	797	
Peaſe	3,211	107	
Indian Corn	—	1,880	
Buck Wheat	—	50	
SCOTLAND.			
Oats and Oatmeal	122		
Beans	9	—	61 11 10
Barley and Bear	495		

IMPORTED.

1774.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat and Flour	269,235	
Rye	41,427	
Barley and Malt	155,148	
Oats and Oatmeal	312,908	12,379 4 3
Beans	16,401	
Peaſe	2,780	
Indian Corn	5,945	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat and Flour	19,914	
Oats and Oatmeal	86,591	
Beans	2,505	
Peaſe	2,705	1,336 11 8
Barley and Bear	16,360	
Buck Wheat	4	

EX-

EXPORTED.

1775.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			
Wheat and Flour	28,348	62,649	£. s. d.
Rye	2,471	251	
Barley and Malt	45,454	5,940	1,798 16 8 Dr.
Oats and Oatmeal	22,593	3,773	
Beans	14,075	343	
Peaſe	4,717	212	7,842 10 11 Bo.
Indian Corn	—	4,323	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat and Flour	40		
Barley and Malt	20	—	Nil
Oats and Oatmeal	119		
Beans	2		

IMPORTED.

1775.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat and Flour	544,641	
Rye	33,574	
Barley and Malt	126,332	
Oats and Oatmeal	283,827	18,442 18 2
Beans	29,862	
Peaſe	11,275	
Indian Corn	9,638	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat and Flour	16,347	
Barley and Malt	13,119	
Oats and Oatmeal	101,115	1,355 1 5
Beans	1,657	
Peaſe	1,658	

EX-

EXPORTED.

1776.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat and Flour	174,940	32,467	
Rye	10,369	630	
Barley and Malt	129,104	2,160	786 8 0 Dr.
Oats and Oatmeal	21,936	8,686	
Beans	33,338	7,006	50,925 7 2 Bo.
Peaſe	6,562	8,043	
Indian Corn	——	1,957	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat and Flour	3,247		
Barley and Malt	422		
Oats and Oatmeal	4,365	——	1,322 13 9 Bo.
Beans	543		
Peaſe	543		
Barley and Bear	4,428		

IMPORTED.

1776.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat and Flour	20,148	
Rye	3,415	
Barley and Malt	8,020	
Oats and Oatmeal	373,707	3,658 5 5
Beans	19,055	
Peaſe	19,776	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat and Flour	430	
Barley and Malt	479	
Oats and Oatmeal	4,859	30 12 7
Peaſe	12	

EX-

EXPORTED.

1777.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			
Wheat and Flour	79,120	5,914	£. s. d.
Rye - - - -	719	227	
Barley and Malt -	132,513	479	102 1 10 Dr.
Oats and Oatmeal	16,874	12,507	
Beans - - - -	22,449	7,492	43,250 0 7 Bo.
Peaſe - - - -	6,629	6,742	
Indian Corn - -	—	8	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat and Flour	2,652		
Barley and Malt -	3,645		
Oats and Oatmeal	7,233		
Beans - - - -	422	—	2,426 15 10 Bo.
Peaſe - - - -	422		
Barley and Bear -	6,088		

IMPORTED.

1777.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		
Wheat and Flour	233,069	£. s. d.
Rye - - - -	18,454	
Barley and Malt -	7,981	
Oats and Oatmeal	366,155	8,835 13 9
Beans - - - -	35,127	
Peaſe - - - -	28,702	
Buck Wheat - -	10	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat and Flour	254	
Oats and Oatmeal	291	0 14 9

EXPORTED.

1778.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat and Flour	124,698	13,077	
Rye - - - -	1,689	17	224 8 6 Dr.
Barley and Malt -	100,810	1,391	
Oats and Oatmeal	20,810	8,043	40,101 16 3 Bo.
Beans - - - -	17,787	3,962	
Peaſe - - - -	9,399	6,221	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat and Flour	3,295		
Barley and Malt -	924		
Oats and Oatmeal	27,690	—	3,704 11 6 Bo.
Beans - - - -	653		
Peaſe - - - -	653		
Barley and Bear -	795		

IMPORTED.

1778.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat and Flour	106,394	
Rye - - - -	9,327	
Barley and Malt -	42,514	4,890 5 7
Oats and Oatmeal	199,680	
Beans - - - -	30,165	
Peaſe - - - -	27,768	
SCOTLAND.		
Barley and Malt -	200	14 3 9
Oats and Oatmeal	1,490	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for eight years, from the commencement of the Corn Regiſter Act in the year 1770.

	Wheat		Rye		Barley		Oats		Beans	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
1771	5	10¾	4	3¾	3	2½	2	1	3	6¼
1772	6	4	4	7	3	2	2	0½	3	9
1773	6	4½	4	2	3	6¼	2	1½	4	1½
1774	6	7	4	3½	3	6¼	2	2½	3	10¼
1775	6	0½	4	1¾	3	3	2	0½	3	7
1776	4	9½	3	4¾	2	6¼	1	10½	3	3½
1777	5	8¼	3	6	2	6¼	1	11½	3	6½
1778	5	3	3	6½	2	10	1	10¼	3	5½
Average of the Eight Years	—	5	10½	3	11¼	3	1	2	0½	3	8

The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

Per Buſhel - - Wheat 6*d.* Rye 3*d.* Barley 3*d.* Oats 3*d.* Beans 6*d.*

"Diſſentient,

"Becauſe this addreſs is a repetition of, or rather an improvement on, the fulſome adulation offered, and of the blind engagements entered into on former occaſions by this Houſe, relative to this unhappy civil war."

EFFINGHAM.
RICHMOND.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty the humble thanks of this Houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

Deeply intereſted in every event which tends to increaſe your Majeſty's domeſtic felicity, and impreſſed with the livelieſt ſentiments of duty and attachment to the Queen; we beg leave to offer to your Majeſty our congratulations on the birth of another Princeſs, and on her Majeſty's happy recovery.

We aſſure your Majeſty, that we take a ſincere part in the confidence which your Majeſty expreſſes, that the conduct and courage of your officers, and the ſpirit and intrepidity of your forces both by ſea and land, will, under the divine providence, be attended with important ſucceſs. But at the ſame time we entirely concur with your Majeſty in thinking, that it is neceſſary to prepare for ſuch further operations as future events, and the contingencies of the war, may render expedient. And we learn with much ſatisfaction, that your Majeſty is for that purpoſe purſuing the proper meaſures for keeping your land forces compleat to their preſent eſtabliſhment. And whenever your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to communicate to us any new engagements, which you may have entered into for increaſing your military force, we will take the ſame into our conſideration. And we truſt your Majeſty will not be diſappointed in the gracious ſentiments which you entertain of the zeal and public ſpirit of your faithful Commons.

We are truly ſenſible, that your Majeſty's conſtant care for the welfare of your people, and your generous concern for the happineſs of mankind, diſpoſe your Majeſty to deſire, that the peace of Europe may not be diſturbed: but we acknowledge with equal gratitude your Majeſty's attention to the ſecurity of your kingdoms, and the protection of the extenſive commerce of your ſubjects, in having made a conſiderable augmentation to your naval force, on which the reputation and importance of this nation muſt ever principally depend. And we hear with the higheſt ſatisfaction, and rely with perfect confidence on your royal declaration, that your Majeſty will always be the faithful guardian of the honour of the Britiſh crown.

We beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that we will without delay enter into the conſideration of the ſupplies for the enſuing year; and that we will chearfully and effectually provide for all ſuch expences as ſhall be found neceſſary for the welfare and eſſential in-

tereſts of theſe kingdoms, and for the vigorous proſecution of the meaſures in which we are engaged, for the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitutional ſubordination, which we truſt, with the bleſſing of God, your Majeſty will be able to maintain through the ſeveral parts of your dominions.

We acknowledge with equal gratitude and admiration your Majeſty's paternal declaration, that you will be ever watchful for an opportunity of putting a ſtop to the effuſion of the blood of your ſubjects, and the calamities of war.

Permit us to aſſure your Majeſty, that we cannot but ſtill entertain a hope, that the diſcernment of their true intereſts, the remembrance of the bleſſings they once enjoyed, and the ſenſe of their preſent ſufferings under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will induce the deluded and unhappy multitude to return to their allegiance, and will reanimate their hearts with a ſpirit of loyalty to their Sovereign, and of attachment to their mother country.

The gracious and condeſcending manner in which your Majeſty expreſſes your deſire, that you may be enabled to reſtore peace, order, and confidence, to your American colonies, cannot fail of endearing your Majeſty to the hearts of all your ſubjects: and we aſſure your Majeſty, that when this great work can be accompliſhed, and ſettled on the true principles of the conſtitution, your Majeſty may depend on the moſt zealous concurrence and ſupport of your faithful Commons.

On Tueſday the 17th day of March, the following Meſſage was ſent to both Houſes of Parliament from the King.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majeſty, having been informed, by order of the French King, that a treaty of amity and commerce has been ſigned between the court of France, and certain perſons employed by his Majeſty's revolted ſubjects in North America, has judged it neceſſary to direct, that a copy of the declaration, delivered by the French ambaſſador to Lord Viſcount Weymouth, be laid before the Houſe of Commons; and at the ſame time to acquaint them, that his Majeſty has thought proper, in conſequence of this offenſive communication on the part of the court of France, to ſend orders to his ambaſſador to withdraw from that court.

His Majeſty is perſuaded, that the juſtice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign powers, and the ſincerity of his wiſhes to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe, will be acknowledged by all the world; and his Majeſty truſts, that he ſhall not ſtand reſponſible for the diſturbance of that tranquillity, if he ſhould find himſelf called upon to reſent ſo unprovoked and ſo unjuſt an aggreſſion on the honour of his crown, and the eſſential intereſts of his kingdoms, contrary to the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, ſubverſive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every ſovereign power in Europe.

His Majeſty, relying with the firmeſt confidence on the zealous and affectionate ſupport of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it ſhall become neceſſary, all the force and reſources of his kingdoms; which he

he-truſts will be found adequate to repel every inſult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country.

G. R.

The Declaration mentioned in the Meſſage was as follows.

'THE under-ſigned Ambaſſador of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has received expreſs orders to make the following declaration to the court of London:

'The United States of North-America, who are in full poſſeſſion of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having propoſed to the King to conſolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be eſtabliſhed between the two nations, the reſpective Plenipotentiaries have ſigned a treaty of friendſhip and commerce, deſigned to ſerve as a foundation for their mutual good correſpondence.

'His Majeſty, being determined to cultivate the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his ſubjects, thinks it neceſſary to make his proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the ſame time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of the French nation; and that the United States have reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the ſame footing of equality and reciprocity.

'In making this communication to the court of London, the King is firmly perſuaded it will find new proofs of his Majeſty's conſtant and ſincere diſpoſition for peace; and that his Britannic Majeſty, animated by the ſame ſentiments, will equally avoid every thing that may alter their good harmony; and that he will particularly take effectual meaſures to prevent the commerce between his Majeſty's ſubjects and the United States of North-America from being interrupted, and to cauſe all the uſages received between commercial nations to be, in this reſpect, obſerved, and all thoſe rules which can be ſaid to ſubſiſt between the two crowns of France and Great Britain.

'In this juſt confidence, the underſigned Ambaſſador thinks it ſuperfluous to acquaint the Britiſh Miniſter, that, the King his maſter being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his ſubjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, his Majeſty has, in conſequence, taken eventual meaſures in concert with the United States of North-America.

Signed,

Le M. De Noailles.'

London, March 13, 1778.

Humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, return our humble thanks to your Majeſty for the communication of the paper preſented to the Lord Viſcount Weymouth by the order of the

French King, and for acquainting us, that in conſequence of this offenſive declaration, your Majeſty has thought proper to order your Ambaſſador to withdraw from the court of France. And we beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that it is with the utmoſt difficulty we can reſtrain the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of the reſentment and indignation which we feel for this unjuſt and unprovoked aggreſſion on the honour of your Majeſty's crown, and the eſſential intereſts of your kingdoms, contrary to the law of nations, and injurious to the rights and poſſeſſions of every ſovereign power in Europe.

The good faith and uprightneſs of your Majeſty's conduct towards foreign powers, and the ſincerity of your intentions to preſerve the general tranquillity, muſt be acknowledged by all the world; and your Majeſty cannot be conſidered as reſponſible for the diſturbance of this tranquillity, if you ſhould find yourſelf called upon to reſiſt the enterpriſes of that reſtleſs and dangerous ſpirit of ambition and aggrandiſement, which has ſo often invaded the rights and threatened the liberties of Europe.

We ſhould be wanting in our duty to your Majeſty and to ourſelves, if we did not give your Majeſty the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of our moſt zealous aſſiſtance and ſupport. Every ſentiment of loyalty to your Majeſty, and of love to our country, will animate us to ſtand forth in the public defence, and to promote every meaſure that ſhall be found neceſſary for enabling your Majeſty to vindicate the honour of your crown, and to protect the juſt rights and eſſential intereſts of theſe kingdoms.

An addreſs in the ſame terms, was preſented by the Commons.

PROTEST OF THE LORDS.

Die Lunæ, Dec. 7, 1778.

Moved,

THAT an humble addreſs be preſented his Majeſty, to expreſs to his Majeſty the diſpleaſure of this Houſe at a certain manifeſto and proclamation, dated the third day of October, 1778, and publiſhed in America under the hands and ſeals of the Earl of Carliſle, Sir Henry Clinton, Knight of the Bath, and William Eden, Eſq. Commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to the colonies, and counterſigned by Adam Ferguſon, Eſq. Secretary to the commiſſion; the ſaid manifeſto containing a declaration of the following tenour:

'If there be any perſons, who, diveſted of miſtaken reſentments, and uninfluenced by ſelfiſh intereſts, really think it is for the benefit of the colonies to ſeparate themſelves from Great Britain, and that ſo ſeparated they will find a conſtitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their proſperity, than that which they heretofore enjoyed, and which we are empowered and diſpoſed to renew and improve; with ſuch perſons we will not diſpute a poſition which ſeems to be ſufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the change which the maintaining ſuch a poſition muſt make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war, more eſpecially when to this

ture

poſition is added the pretended alliance with the court of France. The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to diſtreſs a people, ſtill conſidered as our fellow-ſubjects, and to deſolate a country, ſhortly to become again a ſource of mutual advantage; but, when that country profeſſes the unnatural deſign, not only of eſtranging herſelf from us, but of mortgaging herſelf, and her reſources, to our enemies, the whole conteſt is changed, and the queſtion is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, deſtroy or render uſeleſs a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandiſement of France. Under ſuch circumſtances, the laws of ſelf-preſervation muſt direct the conduct of Great Britain; and, if the Britiſh colonies are to become an acceſſion to France, will direct her to render that acceſſion of as little avail as poſſible to her enemies.'

To acquaint his Majeſty with the ſenſe of this Houſe, that the ſaid Commiſſioners had no authority whatſoever, under the act of parliament in virtue of which they were appointed by his Majeſty, to make the ſaid declaration, or to make any declaration to the ſame, or to the like purport; nor can this Houſe be eaſily brought to believe that the ſaid Commiſſioners derived any ſuch authority from his Majeſty's inſtructions.

Humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that ſo much of the ſaid manifeſto as contains the ſaid declaration be forthwith publicly diſavowed by his Majeſty, as containing matter inconſiſtent with the humanity and generous courage which, at all times, have diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh nation, ſubverſive of the maxims which have been eſtabliſhed among chriſtian and civiliſed communities, derogatory to the dignity of the crown of this realm, tending to debaſe the ſpirit and ſubvert the diſcipline of his Majeſty's armies, and to expoſe his Majeſty's innocent ſubjects, in all parts of his dominions, to cruel and ruinous retaliations.

Which being objected to, after long debate, the queſtion was put thereon,

It was reſolved in the negative.

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Diſſentient,

1ſt. Becauſe the public law of nations, in affirmance of the dictates of nature and the precepts of revealed religion, forbids us to reſort to the extremes of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any caſe to carry on war for the purpoſe of deſolation. We know that the rights of war are odious, and, inſtead of being extended upon looſe conſtructions and ſpeculations of danger, ought to be bound up and limited by all the reſtraints of the moſt rigorous conſtruction. We are ſhocked to ſee the firſt law of nature, ſelf-preſervation, perverted and abuſed into a principle deſtructive of all other laws; and a rule laid down, by which our own ſafety is rendered incompatible with the proſperity of mankind. Thoſe objects of war, which cannot be

compaſſed by fair and honourable hoſtility, ought not to be compaſſed at all. An end that has no means, but ſuch as are unlawful, is an unlawful end. The manifeſto expreſsly founds the change it announces from a qualified and mitigated war to a war of extremity and deſolation, on the certainty that the provinces muſt be independent, and muſt become an acceſſion to the ſtrength of an enemy. In the midſt of the calamities, by which our loſs of empire has been preceded and accompanied; in the midſt of our apprehenſions for the farther calamities which impend over us, it is a matter of freſh grief and accumulated ſhame to ſee, from a commiſſion under the great ſeal of this kingdom, a declaration for deſolating a vaſt continent, ſolely becauſe we had not the wiſdom to retain, or the power to ſubdue it.

2dly. Becauſe the avowal of a deliberate purpoſe of violating the law of nations muſt give an alarm to every ſtate in Europe. All commonwealths have a concern in that law, and are its natural avengers. At this time, ſurrounded by enemies and deſtitute of all allies, it is not neceſſary to ſharpen and embitter the hoſtility of declared foes, or to provoke the enmity of neutral ſtates. We truſt that by the natural ſtrength of this kingdom we are ſecured from a foreign conqueſt, but no nation is ſecured from the invaſion and incurſions of enemies. And it ſeems to us the height of frenzy, as well as wickedneſs, to expoſe this country to cruel depredations, and other outrages too ſhocking to mention (but which are all contained in the idea of the extremes of war and deſolation) by eſtabliſhing a falſe, ſhameful, and pernicious maxim, that, where we have no intereſt to preſerve, we are called upon by neceſſity to deſtroy. This kingdom has long enjoyed a profound internal peace, and has flouriſhed above all others in the arts and enjoyments of that happy ſtate. It has been the admiration of the world for its cultivation and its plenty; for the comforts of the poor, the ſplendor of the rich, and the content and proſperity of all. This ſituation of ſafety may be attributed to the greatneſs of our power. It is more becoming, and more true, that we ought to attribute that ſafety, and the power which procured it, to the ancient juſtice, honour, humanity, and generoſity of this kingdom, which brought down the bleſſing of providence on a people who made their proſperity a benefit to the world, and intereſted all nations in their fortune, whoſe example of mildneſs and benignity at once humaniſed others, and rendered itſelf inviolable. In departing from thoſe ſolid principles, and vainly truſting to the fragility of human force, and to the efficacy of arms, rendered impotent by their perverſion, we lay down principles, and furniſh examples of the moſt atrocious barbarity. We are to dread that all our power, peace, and opulence, ſhould vaniſh like a dream, and that the cruelties which we think ſafe to exerciſe, becauſe their immediate object is remote, may be brought to the coaſts, perhaps to the boſom of this kingdom.

3dly. Becauſe, if the explanation given in debate be expreſſive of the true ſenſe of the article in the

the manifeſto, ſuch explanation ought to be made, and by as high authority as that under which the exceptionable article was originally publiſhed. The natural and obvious ſenſe indicates, that the extremes of war had hitherto been checked: that his Majeſty's Generals had hitherto forborne (upon principles of benignity and policy) to deſolate the country: but that the whole nature, and future conduct of the war, muſt be changed, in order to render the American acceſſion of as little avail to France as poſſible. This, in our apprehenſions, conveys a menace of carrying the war to extremes, and to deſolation, or it means nothing. And, as ſome ſpeeches in the Houſe (however palliated) and as ſome acts of ſingular cruelty, and perfectly conformable to the apparent ideas in the manifeſto, have lately been exerciſed, it becomes the more neceſſary, for the honour and ſafety of this nation, that this explanation ſhould be made. As it is refuſed, we have only to clear ourſelves to our conſciences, to our country, to our neighbours, and to every individual who may ſuffer in conſequence of this atrocious menace, of all part in the guilt, or in the evils that may become its puniſhment. And we chuſe to draw ourſelves out, and to diſtinguiſh ourſelves to poſterity, as not being the firſt to renew, to approve, or to tolerate the return of that ferocity and barbariſm in war, which a beneficent religion, enlightened manners, and true military honour, had for a long time baniſhed from the Chriſtian world.

Camden,
Abingdon,
Rockingham,
Tankerville,
Fitzwilliam,
Forteſcue,
Grafton,
Craven,
J. St. Aſaph,
Richmond,
Bolton,
Radnor,
Egremont,
Abergavenny,
Coventry,
De Ferrars,
Ferrars,
Stanhope,
Ponſonby,
Derby,
Manchester,
Portland,
Beaulieu,
Harcourt,
Effingham,
Wycombe,
Scarborough,
Cholmondeley,
Devonſhire,
Foley,
Spencer.

The King's Speech at proroguing the Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

AFTER ſo long and laborious an application to the public buſineſs, I think it proper at this ſeaſon of the year to give you ſome receſs. I come at the ſame time to return you my particular thanks for the zeal you have ſhewn in ſupporting the honour of my crown, and for your attention to the real intereſts of all my ſubjects, in the wiſe, juſt, and humane laws which have been the reſult of your deliberations, and which, I hope, will be attended with the moſt ſalutary effects in every part of the Britiſh empire.

My deſire to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe has been uniform and ſincere: I reflect with great ſatisfaction, that I have made the faith of treaties and the law of nations the rule of my conduct, and that it has been my conſtant care to give no juſt cauſe of offence to any foreign power; let that power, by whom this tranquillity ſhall be diſturbed, anſwer to their ſubjects and to the world for all the fatal conſequences of war.

The vigour and firmneſs of my parliament have enabled me to be prepared for ſuch events and emergencies as may happen; and I truſt that the experienced valour and diſcipline of my fleets and armies, and the loyal and united ardour of the nation, armed and animated in the defence of every thing that is dear to them, will be able, under the protection of Divine Providence, to defeat all the enterprizes which the enemies of my crown may preſume to undertake, and convince them how dangerous it is to provoke the ſpirit and ſtrength of Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I thank you for the chearfulneſs with which you have granted the large and ample ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year, and for your care in raiſing them in a manner the moſt effectual and the leaſt burthenſome; and my warmeſt acknowledgements are due to you for the proviſion you have enabled me to make for the more honourable ſupport of my family.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your preſence in your reſpective counties may at this time be of great public advantage. It is unneceſſary for me to recommend to you to do your duty in your ſeveral ſtations: on my part, I have no other wiſh or object but to deſerve the confidence of my parliament, and the affections of my people.

And afterwards the Lord Chanceſſor, by his Majeſty's command, ſaid,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tueſday the 14th day of July next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tueſday the 14th day of July next.

The Speech of his Excellency John *Earl of* Buckinghamſhire, *Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of* Ireland, *to both Houſes of Parliament, at* Dublin, *on Friday the 14th Day of Auguſt*, 1778.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE buſineſs of the ſeſſion being concluded, I am happy to have it in my power to releaſe you from a very long and fatiguing attendance. It is time that your reſpective counties, after having ſhared the advantage of your public labours, ſhould avail themſelves of your private virtues, ſhould enjoy the benefit of your preſence, and profit by your more immediate and particular attentions.

The zealous unanimity manifeſted by both Houſes of parliament for the ſupport of his Majeſty's crown and dignity, and the defence of theſe realms, whilſt they evince the loyalty and magnanimity of this kingdom, muſt neceſſarily tend to the diſcouragement of our enemies, and are highly acceptable to his Majeſty, as inconteſtable proofs of an affectionate duty to him, and a ſincere attachment to your country.

Gentle-

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons.

I am to thank you, in his Majeſty's name, for the ſupplies which you have granted, and for the proviſion which you have made for putting and maintaining this kingdom in a ſtate of defence. Thoſe grants ſhall be faithfully applied, and it ſhall be my endeavour, that the welfare and ſecurity of the people may amply compenſate for thoſe charges which the exigency of public affairs has unavoidably occaſioned.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I flatter myſelf, that the regulations, which have taken place this ſeſſion, will prove eſſentially ſerviceable to that valuable branch of commerce, the fiſheries of Ireland. It is with pleaſure that I ſee an act paſſed for eſtabliſhing a militia, which by enabling his Majeſty, when he ſhall think proper to call forth that part of the national ſtrength, may materially contribute to the protection and defence of the kingdom. The law for relieving the Roman Catholics from ſome of thoſe diſabilities, under which they have hitherto laboured, will, I hope, attain the deſireable end of promoting and eſtabliſhing good-will and mutual confidence among his Majeſty's ſubjects, and, by rendering us more united at home, make us more formidable to our enemies abroad. I congratulate with you on the late extenſion of the trade and commerce of this kingdom; it is a circumſtance peculiarly fortunate to me, that an event, which promiſed ſuch advantages to Ireland, ſhould have taken place during my adminiſtration.

While you juſtly enjoy the approbation and gratitude of your country, for having promoted ſo many uſeful laws, I am perſuaded you will not forget what is due to the paternal care of an affectionate Sovereign, and the kind diſpoſition of Great Britain towards this country; and that you will cultivate jointly, as in ſound policy they are inſeparable, the true intereſts of both kingdoms.

Your kind approbation of my conduct affords me a ſatisfaction, which I can the more truly enjoy, becauſe I am conſcious of having endeavoured to deſerve it. In adopting a different line of conduct, I ſhould have been wanting in that truſt repoſed in me by my Sovereign, who wiſhes nothing ſo earneſtly as the proſperity of his people. I am happy in being able to repreſent to his Majeſty, that his royal and beneficent attention meets a full and ſuitable return, in the grateful loyalty and affectionate duty of his ſubjects of this kingdom.

After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Excellency's command, ſaid,

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleaſure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tueſday the 22d day of September next, to be then here held. And this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tueſday the 22d day of September next.'

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons

Commons of the City of London, *in Common Council aſſembled. (Preſented March* 13, 1778.)

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, attached to your Majeſty's royal houſe by principle, to your perſon by the trueſt affection, and to the honour and proſperity of your government by every intereſt, which can be dear to the heart of man; in this preſent deplorable ſtate of the affairs of this once great and flouriſhing country, with moſt profound humility implore leave to lay ourſelves at your Majeſty's feet, to repreſent to your Majeſty the ſentiments and wiſhes of a faithful and afflicted people.

When this civil war was firſt threatened, your loyal city of London, in concurrence with the ſenſe of many other reſpectable public bodies of your kingdom, and many of the wiſeſt and beſt of your ſubjects, did moſt humbly deprecate this evil, forboding but too truly the charges, calamities, and diſgraces of which it has been hitherto productive, and the greater to which it is ſtill likely to ſubject this kingdom.

Your faithful people, on that occaſion, had the misfortune to receive from your Majeſty an anſwer more ſuitable to the imperfect manner in which (they fear) they expreſſed ſentiments full of duty, than to your Majeſty's own moſt gracious diſpoſition, their inviolable reverence to their Sovereign, and their unſhaken zeal for his true glory. They retired in a mournful and reſpectful ſilence, patiently awaiting the diſpoſition of providence, and the return of your Majeſty's favour and countenance, whenever experience ſhould fully diſcloſe, in its true light, the well-founded nature of their apprehenſions, and the fatal tendency of thoſe counſels by which the nation has been miſled.

For miſled and deceived your Majeſty, and many of your ſubjects, have been. No pains have been omitted to hide from both the true nature of the buſineſs in which we are engaged; no arts have been left untried to ſtimulate the paſſions of your ſubjects in this kingdom; and we are confident that infinitely more ſkill and attention have been uſed to engage us in this war, than have been employed to conduct it to honour or advantage, if honour or advantage could be obtained by any conduct in ſuch a war. We have been induſtriouſly taught to ſuſpect the profeſſions and to deſpiſe the reſiſtance of our brethren, (Engliſhmen like ourſelves) whom we had no ſort of reaſon to think deficient in the ſincerity and courage which have ever diſtinguiſhed that name and race. Their inclinations have been miſrepreſented, their natural faculties depreciated, their reſources miſcalculated, their feelings inſulted, until fury and deſpair ſupplied whatever might be defective in force. We have ſeen a whole army, the flower of the trained military ſtrength of Great Britain and her allies, famiſhing in the wilderneſs of America, laying down their arms, and owing their immediate reſcue from death to thoſe very men whom the murders and rapines of the ſavages (unhap-

May this address be seriously

(unhappily employed) had forced from husbandmen into soldiers, and who had been painted in such colours of contempt as to take away all consolation from our calamity.

We have seen another army, equally brave, and equally well commanded, for two years in an almost continued course of victory, by which they have only wasted their own numbers, without decreasing the strength of the resisting power, without leading to any sort of submission, or bringing to your Majesty's obedience even the smallest and weakest of thirteen revolted provinces. The union of those provinces amongst themselves, and their animosity to your Majesty's administration, have only been increased by the injudicious methods taken to break the one, and to subdue the other. Fleets and armies are maintained in numbers almost equal, and at an expence comparatively far superior, to whatever has been employed in the most glorious and successful struggles of this country against a combination of the most ancient and formidable monarchies of Europe. A few inconsiderable detached islands, and one deserted town on the continent, where your Majesty's combined army has a perilous and insecure footing, are the only fruits of an expence exceeding twenty millions, of ninety-three ships of war, and sixty thousand of the best soldiers which could be procured either at home or abroad, and appointed for that special service. Your Majesty's forces, both by sea and land, have (we are told) done all that could be expected from the most accomplished discipline, and the most determined courage; and yet the total defeat of some of these forces, and the ineffectual victories of others, have almost equally conspired to the destruction of your power, and the dismemberment of your empire. We should be unpardonably negligent of our duty to your Majesty, to ourselves, and to our country, if we did not thus solemnly express our feelings upon this dreadful and decisive proof of the madness with which this attempt was originally made, and which, faithfully following it thro' every step of its progress, and every measure for its execution, has completed, by uniform misconduct, the mischiefs which were commenced in total ignorance. We are convinced that not the delusions of artful and designing men, (which, like every thing false, cannot be permanent,) but the general sense of the whole American people is set and determined against the plans of coercion, civil and military, which have been hitherto employed against them; a whole, united, and irritated people cannot be conquered. If the force now employed cannot do it, no force within our abilities will do it.

The wealth of this nation is great, and our disposition would be to pour it out with the most unreserved and chearful liberality, for the support of the honour and dignity of your crown: but domestic peace and domestic œconomy are the only means of supplying expence for war abroad: in this contest our resources are exhausted, whilst those of our rivals are spared, and we are, every year of the continuance of this war, altering the balance of our public

Considered as applicable to the present time
R. Cavendish

lic ſtrength and riches in their favour.

We think ourſelves bound, moſt dread ſovereign, to expreſs our fears and apprehenſions to your Majeſty, that at a time when your Majeſty's gracious ſpeech from the throne has hinted, and your vaſt naval preparations in a ſtyle much more explicit announce to us and the world, the critical ſtate in which we ſtand with regard to the great neighbouring powers, we have not the comfort to learn, from that ſpeech, from any aſſurance of your Majeſty's ſervants, or even from common fame, that any alliance whatever has been made with the other great ſtates of Europe, in order to cover us from the complicated perils ſo manifeſtly imminent over this nation. We have as little reaſon to be certain that alliances of the moſt dangerous kind are not formed againſt us.

In this ſtate of anxious doubt and danger, we have recourſe to the clemency and wiſdom of your Majeſty; the tender parent and vigilant guardian of your people, that you will graciouſly take ſuch meaſures as may reſtore internal peace, and (as far as the miſerable circumſtances into which the late deſtructive courſes have brought us will permit) reunite the Britiſh nation, in ſome happy, honourable, and permanent conjunction; leſt the colonies, exaſperated by rigours of continued war, ſhould become totally alienated from their parent country; leſt every remaining ſpark of their affection ſhould be extinguiſhed in habits of mutual ſlaughter and rapine; and leſt in ſome evil hour, they who have hitherto been the great ſupport of the Britiſh ſtrength, ſhould become the moſt formidable and laſting acceſſion to the conſtant enemies of the power and proſperity of your kingdoms.

We humbly hope and truſt, that your Majeſty will give all due efficacy to the conceſſions (we wiſh thoſe conceſſions may not have come too late) which have been propoſed in parliament; and we have that undoubted reliance on the magnanimity of your Majeſty's enlarged and kingly affections, that we are under no apprehenſions of your Majeſty being biaſſed by private partiality to any ſet of men, in a caſe where the good, where the very being of your people is at ſtake; and with an humble confidence we implore and ſupplicate your Majeſty, that nothing may ſtand in the way of thoſe arrangements, in your councils and executive offices, which may beſt forward the great, neceſſary, and bleſſed work of peace, and which may tend to reſcue your affairs from unwiſe and improvident management, and which may obtain, improve, and ſecure the returning confidence of all your people. In ſuch meaſures and ſuch arrangements, and for ſuch an end, your citizens of London will never fail to give your Majeſty their moſt affectionate and ſteady ſupport.

To which his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer,

"I can never think that the zeal of my ſubjects, the reſources of my kingdoms, and the bravery of my fleets and armies, can have been unwiſely and improvidently exerted, when the object was to maintain the conſtitutional ſubordination

tion which ought to prevail through the ſeveral parts of my dominions, and is eſſential to the proſperity of the whole: but I have always lamented the calamities inſeparable from a ſtate of war; and ſhall moſt earneſtly give all the efficacy in my power to thoſe meaſures which the legiſlature has adopted for the purpoſe of reſtoring, by ſome happy, honourable, and permanent conciliation, the bleſſings of peace, commerce, affection, and confidence between the mother country and the colonies."

Friday, May 1.

The following Addreſs of the Roman Catholic Peers and Commoners of Great Britain was preſented to his Majeſty by the Earl of Surry, and the Right Hon. the Lords Linton and Petre, and was moſt graciouſly received.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Roman Catholic Peers and Commoners of Great Britain.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"WE, your majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Roman Catholic Peers and Commoners of your kingdom of Great Britain, moſt humbly hope, that it cannot be offenſive to the clemency of your majeſty's nature, or to the maxims of your juſt and wiſe government, that any part of your ſubjects ſhould approach your royal preſence, to aſſure your majeſty of the reſpectful affection which they bear to your perſon, and their true attachment to the civil conſtitution of their country; which having been perpetuated through all changes of religious opinions and eſtabliſhments, has been at length perfected by that Revolution which has placed your Majeſty's illuſtrious houſe on the throne of theſe kingdoms, and inſeparably united your title to the crown with the laws and liberties of your people.

"Our excluſion from many of the benefits of that conſtitution, has not diminiſhed our reverence to it. We behold with ſatisfaction the felicity of our fellow-ſubjects; and we partake of the general proſperity which reſults from an inſtitution ſo full of wiſdom. We have patiently ſubmitted to ſuch reſtrictions and diſcouragements as the legiſlature thought expedient. We have thankfully received ſuch relaxations of the rigour of the laws, as the mildneſs of an enlightened age, and the benignity of your majeſty's government, have gradually produced: and we ſubmiſſively wait, without preſuming to ſuggeſt either time or meaſure, for ſuch other indulgence as thoſe happy cauſes cannot fail, in their own ſeaſon, to effect.

"We beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that our diſſent from the legal eſtabliſhment, in matters of religion, is purely conſcientious; that we hold no opinions adverſe to your majeſty's government, or repugnant to the duties of good citizens. And we truſt, that this has been ſhewn more deciſively by our irreproachable conduct for many years paſt, under circumſtances of public diſcountenance and diſpleaſure, than it can be manifeſted by any declaration whatever.

"In a time of public danger, when your Majeſty's ſubjects can

have but one intereſt, and ought to have but one wiſh, and one ſentiment, we humbly hope it will not be deemed improper to aſſure your Majeſty of our unreſerved affection to your government, of our unalterable attachment to the cauſe and welfare of this our common country, and our utter deteſtation of the deſigns and views of any foreign power againſt the dignity of your Majeſty's crown, the ſafety and tranquillity of your Majeſty's ſubjects.

"The delicacy of our ſituation is ſuch, that we do not preſume to point out the particular means by which we may be allowed to teſtify our zeal to your Majeſty, and our wiſhes to ſerve our country; but we intreat leave faithfully to aſſure your Majeſty, that we ſhall be perfectly ready, on every occaſion, to give ſuch proofs of our fidelity, and the purity of our intentions, as your Majeſty's wiſdom, and the ſenſe of the nation, ſhall at any time deem expedient."

The above Addreſs was ſigned by the Duke of Norfolk, the Lords Surry and Shrewſbury, Linton for the Scotch, Stourton, Petre, Arundel, Dormer, Teynham, Clifford, and 163 Commoners.

A Memorial preſented to his Majeſty by his Grace the Duke of Bolton.

To the KING.

WE the ſubſcribing Admirals of your Majeſty's royal navy, having hitherto, on all occaſions, ſerved your Majeſty with zeal and fidelity, and being deſirous of devoting every action of our lives, and our lives themſelves, to your Majeſty's ſervice and the defence of our country, think ourſelves indiſpenſably bound by our duty to that ſervice and that country, with all poſſible humility, to repreſent to your wiſdom and juſtice,

That Sir Hugh Palliſer, Vice-admiral of the Blue, lately ſerving under the command of the honourable Auguſtus Keppel, did prefer certain articles of accuſation, containing ſeveral matters of heinous offence, againſt his ſaid Commander in Chief, to the Lords Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, he the ſaid Sir Hugh Palliſer being himſelf a Commiſſioner in the ſaid commiſſion. This accuſation he the ſaid Sir Hugh Palliſer with-held from the twenty-ſeventh of July laſt, the time of the ſuppoſed offences committed, until the ninth day of this preſent December, and then brought forward for the purpoſe of recrimination againſt charges, conjectured by him the ſaid Sir Hugh Palliſer, but which in fact were never made.

That the commiſſioners of the admiralty, near five months after the pretended offences aforeſaid, did receive from their ſaid colleague in office the charge made by him againſt his ſaid commander, and without taking into conſideration the relative ſituation of the accuſer and the party accuſed, or attending to the avowed motives of the accuſation, or the length of time of withholding, or the occaſion of making the ſame, and without any other deliberation whatſoever, did, on the very ſame day on which the charge was preferred, and without previous notice to the party accuſed of an intention of making a charge againſt him, give notice of their intending

intending that a court martial ſhould be held on the ſaid admiral Keppel, after forty years of meritorious ſervice, and a variety of actions in which he had exerted eminent courage and conduct, by which the honour and power of this nation and the glory of the Britiſh flag had been maintained and encreaſed in various parts of the world.

We beg leave to expreſs to your Majeſty our concern at this proceeding, and to repreſent our apprehenſions of the difficulties and diſcouragements which will inevitably ariſe to your ſervice therefrom; and that it will not be eaſy for men, attentive to their honour, to ſerve your Majeſty, particularly in ſituations of principal command, if the practice now ſtated to your Majeſty be countenanced, or the principles upon which the ſame has been ſupported ſhall prevail with any lord high admiral, or with any commiſſioner for executing that office.

We are humbly of opinion, that a criminal charge againſt an officer (riſing in importance according to the rank and command of that officer) which ſuſpends his ſervice to your Majeſty, perhaps, in the moſt critical exigencies of the public affairs, which calls his reputation into doubt and diſcuſſion, which puts him on trial for his life, profeſſion, and reputation, and which, in its conſequences, may cauſe a fatal ceſſation in the naval exertions of the kingdom, to be a matter of the moſt ſerious nature, and never to be made by authority but on ſolid ground and on mature deliberation. The honour of an officer is his moſt precious poſſeſſion and beſt qualification; the public have an intereſt in it; and whilſt thoſe under whom we ſerve countenance accuſation, it is often impoſſible perfectly to reſtore military fame by the mere acquittal of a court martial. Imputations made by high authority remain long, and affect deeply. The ſphere of action of commanders in chief is large, and their buſineſs intricate, and ſubject to great variety of opinion; and, before they are to be put on the judgment of others for acts done upon their diſcretion, the greateſt diſcretion ought to be employed.

Whether the board of admiralty hath by law any ſuch diſcretion, we, who are not of the profeſſion of the law, cannot poſitively aſſert; but if we had conceived that this board had no legal uſe of their reaſon in a point of ſuch delicacy and importance, we ſhould have known on what terms we ſerved. But we never did imagine it poſſible that we were to receive orders from, and to be accountable to thoſe who, by law, were reduced to become paſſive inſtruments to the poſſible malice, ignorance, or treaſon of any individual who might think fit to diſarm his Majeſty's navy of its beſt and higheſt officers. We conceive it diſreſpectful to the laws of our country to ſuppoſe them capable of ſuch manifeſt injuſtice and abſurdity.

We therefore humbly repreſent, in behalf of public order, as well as of the diſcipline of the navy, to your Majeſty, the dangers of long concealed and afterwards precipitately adopted charges, and of all recriminatory accuſations of ſubordinate officers againſt their commanders in chief; and particularly the miſchief and ſcandal of permitting men, who are at once

in

in high civil office, and in ſubordinate military command, previous to their making ſuch accuſations, to attempt to corrupt the public judgment, by the publication of libels on their officers in a common news-paper, thereby exciting mutiny in your Majeſty's navy, as well as prejudicing the minds of thoſe who are to try the merits of the accuſation againſt the ſaid ſuperior officer.

Hawke,
John Moore,
Bolton,
Samuel Graves,
Hugh Pigot,
Robert Harland,
Briſtol,
James Young,
Matthew Barton,
Francis Geary,
Shuldham,
Clark Gayton.

(Copy.)

Copy of the Petition of the Weſt India Planters and Merchants, preſented to the King, Dec. 16, 1778.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs and Petition of the Planters and Proprietors in your Majeſty's Sugar Colonies, and of the Merchants trading to, and connected with the ſaid Colonies, whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, in behalf of themſelves and others intereſted therein.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the planters and proprietors in your Majeſty's ſugar colonies, and the merchants trading to, and connected with the ſaid colonies, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, in behalf of ourſelves and others intereſted therein, humbly approach your royal preſence, with all aſſurances of fidelity to your perſon and government; and, with the utmoſt humility, repreſent to your Majeſty:

That, on the commencement of the unhappy diviſions between this kingdom and the colonies in North America, your petitioners, impreſſed with a proper ſenſe of duty to your Majeſty, and of the circumſtances of their ſituation, did repreſent to your Majeſty's miniſters their apprehenſions of the dangers and diſtreſſes to which the ſugar iſlands were neceſſarily expoſed.

That the fatal conſequences, thus apprehended by your petitioners, have been in a great meaſure unhappily experienced during the three laſt years, by a general ſcarcity of proviſions in all the iſlands, in ſome of them nearly approaching to famine, and by a want of almoſt every article eſſential to the culture of their plantations; ſo that their eſtates and property have been conſiderably impaired in value, and continue expoſed to further diminution; whilſt their effects have been captured on the high ſeas to a very great amount.

That, although your petitioners had early and anxiouſly repreſented to your Majeſty's miniſters the neceſſity of an adequate protection for the iſlands, they have now to lament, from the loſs of Dominica, and the imminent danger of the other iſlands, that the frequent applications which they have made for protection have not had their deſired effect.

That

That your petitioners are now in the moſt anxious ſtate of ſuſpence, from the delay of the ſuccours ſent from New-York to the Leeward Iſlands, which have been ſo unſeaſonably afforded, as to leave all thoſe iſlands expoſed to the further hoſtile attempts of the enemy. And, though the aſſurances of protection, given to your petitioners by one of your Majeſty's miniſters, in ſome meaſure tend to remove their immediate apprehenſions, yet they appear too general and precarious, to quiet their minds, as to the future ſafety of the Leeward Iſlands;—whilſt the important iſland of Jamaica has been almoſt left to its own efforts; which, from the comparatively ſmall number of white inhabitants, are become particularly ſevere, and, joined to the ſuſpenſion of culture, neceſſarily conſequent on military duty, muſt, in time, prove ruinous: a naval force being the firſt and principal ſecurity of the iſlands in general.

Labouring under the weight of theſe calamities, your petitioners cannot avoid further humbly expreſſing to your Majeſty their melancholy apprehenſions, leſt the deſolating ſyſtem which appears to them to have lately been denounced by your Majeſty's Commiſſioners, in North-America, may be productive of conſequences to your petitioners, at preſent not fully foreſeen, nor ſufficiently attended to, by your Majeſty's ſervants.

Your petitioners would wiſh, Sire, to ſuppreſs thoſe emotions, which the calamities of war, thus aggravated by indiſcriminate and unbounded deſolation, muſt naturally create in their minds; and, confining themſelves to the immediate object of their own preſervation, they humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty's wiſdom, that the late declaration of your Majeſty's Commiſſioners, if carried into effect, may provoke the ſevereſt retaliation from an irritated people, intimately acquainted with the ſituation of the iſlands, their weak and acceſſible parts: and that the ravages, which may be committed, even by a ſmall force, may be ſufficient to reduce any iſland to ſo waſte a condition, as not to admit of its being reſtored to its former ſtate, without an enormous expence and the labour of years.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

We feel ourſelves indiſpenſably called upon to lay this repreſentation before your Majeſty, the conſtitutional guardian of the property of all your ſubjects: that we may not appear to have neglected our duty, by omitting to apprize your Majeſty of theſe important and melancholy truths.

Thus circumſtanced, we reſt our preſent ſecurity on your Majeſty's parental care of the intereſts of your ſubjects at large, for a ſufficient protection againſt the dangers that threaten the property of your petitioners, in the Weſt-India iſlands: and we humbly pray, your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to take into your royal conſideration the unavoidable reſult of theſe calamities, which we apprehend muſt extend themſelves to your Majeſty's revenue, to your maritime power, and to the manufactures, commerce, and wealth of your ſubjects in general.

The following is Lord Suffolk's *Anſwer, by the King's Order, to*

the Repreſentation of Count Welderen, *Envoy Extraordinary from their High Mightineſſes the* States General *of the* United Provinces.

SIR,

I Have had the honour to preſent to the King the memorial which you have addreſſed to his Majeſty, by order of their High Mightineſſes, the 28th paſt; which having been conſidered with all the attention which the importance of the different ſubject-matters in it contained doth merit, the King orders me to inform you, that it is with a very ſenſible pleaſure that his Majeſty hath ſeen the juſtice which their High Mightineſſes render to his deſire of giving unequivocal proofs of his friendſhip and affection for his ancient and faithful allies, the States General of the United Provinces, and that they have placed in the true point of view his Majeſty's orders for the releaſement of the veſſels ſpecified in your memorial. The ſame principles have induced the King to give orders, that all the veſſels, with unexceptionable cargoes, appertaining to the ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes, and brought into the ports of Great Britain by his Majeſty's ſhips, may be releaſed; and that henceforth the King's officers do not give any hindrance or interruption to the *lawful commerce* of the ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes. His Majeſty would wiſh to have it in his power to remove even the ſmalleſt reaſon of complaint of the ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes; but they know too much of the inſeparable events of war to believe it poſſible for him ſo to do, even with all the diſpoſitions to render juſtice, and to pay attention to the intereſts of the ſubjects of his good allies, which his Majeſty poſſeſſes, and which their High Mightineſſes acknowledge in him.

His Majeſty, without any provocation on his part, and by a train of inſidious, unjuſt proceedings on the part of the court of France, finds himſelf actually engaged in hoſtilities againſt the moſt Chriſtian King, who, as all Europe ought to have ſeen with aſtoniſhment and indignation, in the midſt of the moſt formal and often repeated aſſurances of the moſt perfect amity and moſt pacific diſpoſitions, hath violated the public faith and the rights of Sovereigns, by declaring the rebellious ſubjects of another power to be Independent States, merely becauſe thoſe ſubjects have thought proper to call themſelves ſuch, and to invite the powers diſpoſed to profit by their rebellion to join in confederacy with them.

This unjuſt aggreſſion, repreſented by the court of France as being a natural and advantageous advance towards the intereſt of her commerce, hath been followed by hoſtilities ſtill more violent, ſtill more public, namely, by ſending a fleet to America in ſupport of his Majeſty's rebellious ſubjects, and that too before the King of Great Britain had taken any other ſtep but that of calling his Ambaſſador from Paris.

But the King, animated by principles altogether different, and deſiring to give on all occaſions proofs of his moderation, and of the rectitude of his ſentiments and intentions

intentions towards their High Mightineſſes, hath ordered me to declare in his name, at a time when even the principles of ſelf-defence and ſelf-preſervation oblige him to prevent (as much as is poſſible) all proviſions of naval and military ſtores from being tranſported into the French ports; yet his Majeſty will obſerve all poſſible regard for the rights of their High Mightineſſes, and will adhere in the ſtrongeſt manner to the ſtipulations (as far as it ſhall be practicable) and to the ſpirit of the treaties between him and their High Mightineſſes.

After this expoſition of the ſentiments of the invariable amity and affection of his Majeſty for their High Mightineſſes, and of the preſent ſituation of affairs between the King and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, it remains for me to execute the King's orders, by informing you, Sir, that his Majeſty, ſenſible of the extraordinary manner in which he hath been ſuddenly engaged in an *actual war*, and of the ſhort notice which the ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes could have of this event, as it is alledged, is diſpoſed and ready to purchaſe, at a fair valuation, the naval ſtores, which have been captured, and are actually in the different ports of Great Britain, on board veſſels appertaining to the ſubjects of the Republic, to pay the freight of the cargoes, and to indemnify the proprietors in all their juſt expences and damages occaſioned by the detention of their veſſels: and his Majeſty will give inſtructions to his Ambaſſador, to enter upon a negotiation with the Miniſters of the Republic, to the end that an arrangement be made for the future, upon the principles of equity and friendſhip, ſuch as is meet between ſuch good and ancient allies.

His Majeſty always relies upon the aſſurances of amity and attachment which he has received on ſo many occaſions from their High Mightineſſes; and, in making this open and equitable communication of his ſentiments and intentions in the preſent criſis, cannot but recal to the reflections of their High Mightineſſes the reciprocal engagements contracted between the crown of Great-Britain and the Republic, during the continuance of a whole century. The articles of theſe engagements are clear and preciſe: and, although the moderation of his Majeſty, and his ſincere deſire to extend, as little as poſſible, the horrors of war, have hindered him to the preſent hour from demanding the accompliſhment of theſe treaties, yet his Majeſty doth not think theſe engagements leſs obligatory than they formerly were; and he will not ſuffer himſelf either to wiſh, or to admit, any diminution of the reciprocal intereſt which hath united for ſo long a time the two nations, and which his Majeſty deſires on his ſide to perpetuate.

As his Majeſty hath not received any advice of complaints againſt the conduct of the Captains of the King's ſhips towards the territories of their High Mightineſſes in America, and particularly upon the rivers of Eſſequebo and Demerary, before the date of the Memorial which I have had the honour to preſent to his Majeſty; he hath ordered me to procure him the moſt exact informations rela-

tive to what is therein alledged, and to aſſure you that his Majeſty will not fail to puniſh the guilty in an exemplary manner.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) SUFFOLK.

St. James's, Oct. 19, 1778.

Manifeſto, or Declaration of the Motives which engage his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia *to make War againſt the Emperor of* Germany.

HIS Majeſty the King of Pruſſia was in hopes, ever ſince the treaty of peace of Hubertſburgh, to live in conſtant harmony with the court of Vienna, and with that view his Majeſty has employed all poſſible means to cultivate the friendſhip and affection of their Imperial and Royal Majeſties the Emperor, and the Empreſs Queen of Hungary. It is therefore with the greateſt grief and concern, that his Majeſty finds this good harmony diſturbed by the unexpected diſmembering of the Electorate of Bavaria, undertaken by the court of Vienna, after the death of the late Elector of that country. His Majeſty could not help immediately conſidering theſe proceedings as directly oppoſite to all juſtice, and the known rights of the neareſt heirs to the dominions and allodials of Bavaria; but alſo contrary to the ſafety, liberty, laws, and conſtitution of the German empire; and therefore cauſed ſeveral well-grounded, friendly, and repeated repreſentations to be made to their Imperial Majeſties, in order to engage them to deſiſt from their undertaking. From hence have reſulted explications, diſcuſſions, and negociations of long duration, which at laſt have produced nothing but a general armament throughout all the Auſtrian dominions; and things being thus carried to the utmoſt extremity, without any plauſible reaſon offered by the court of Vienna for its proceedings in this affair, his Pruſſian Majeſty cannot deſiſt any longer from offering to the different powers of Europe, to the reſpective ſtates of the German empire, as well as to the public in general, the juſt motives, which have induced him to oppoſe the diſmembering of the electorate of Bavaria, and to aſſiſt, with all poſſible zeal, the parties thereby oppreſſed. To this his Majeſty finds himſelf in duty bound, as a guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, as an Elector and Prince of the Empire, whoſe aſſiſtance has been claimed and required by his friends and allies, the aggrieved Princes, and only legitimate heirs to the Bavarian dominions and allodials; and laſtly as a monarchy eſſentially intereſted in the conſervation of the rights and privileges, as well as the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the reſpective dominions of each member of the German Empire; and conſequently obliged to oppoſe the diſmembering of one of the moſt conſiderable Electorates, the rights and titles to which, in virtue whereof the court of Vienna has taken poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the ſaid electorate, have in the courſe of this long negociation been amply and forcibly proved to be groundleſs, and founded only on the following frivolous pretences, viz.

1. Upon

1. Upon a pretended inveſtiture granted the 10th of March, 1426, to Albert Duke of Auſtria, by the Emperor Sigiſmond, who, according to the conſtitution of the Empire, had neither right nor power to grant it, and who for theſe very reaſons, and with full knowledge of the cauſe, was obliged to revoke it in the moſt ſolemn manner, in an aſſembly of the Princes and Ambaſſadors from the different ſtates of the Empire, holden for that purpoſe at Preſburg in Hungary, on the 26th of April, 1429.

2. Upon an agreement made between the ſaid Emperor Sigiſmond and the ſaid Duke Albert of Auſtria, his ſon-in-law, on the 21ſt of March, 1426, which was alſo rendered void by the revocation of the abovementioned inveſtiture, upon the validity of which only it was grounded.

3. Upon a reverſion of theſe Bavarian dominions, granted to the houſe of Auſtria, in the year 1614, by the Emperor Matthias, who, after the example of the Emperor Sigiſmond, was obliged to revoke and annihilate the ſame in the year 1618.

4. Upon a convention of the third of January, 1778, extorted by force from his Serene Highneſs the preſent Elector Palatine; which, though it had been made with his free conſent would be of no validity notwithſtanding, ſince that Prince has neither the right to violate the laws of the German conſtitution, nor the family compacts of his houſe, nor that of diſpoſing of his hereditary dominions to the prejudice of his heirs and ſucceſſors. In ſhort, a convention which is directly contrary to the capitulation of his preſent Imperial Majeſty; to the guarantee of his own houſe to the treaty of Munſter; to the Golden Bull; to the treaties of Pavia in 1329 and 1529; to that of Oſnabruck in 1620; and to the treaty of Weſtphalia in 1648; as alſo to the different family compacts between the houſes of Bavaria and Palatine made in the years 1425, 1524, 1724, 1746, 1766, 1771, and 1774, all of which were founded upon the treaty of Pavia, and approved and confirmed by the different Emperors and Electors, agreeable to the laws and conſtitution of the empire.

It is conſequently in conſideration of theſe manifeſt contraventions of the court of Vienna, that his Pruſſian Majeſty has done all that lay in his power to engage his Imperial Majeſty peaceably to evacuate the Bavarian dominions, and to ſubmit his claims and pretenſions, conformably to the laws and conſtitution, to a legal deciſion of the Princes and members of the Empire. But all his efforts and reaſonable propoſitions, far from making any impreſſion upon the minds of their Imperial Majeſties, have had no other effect than an offer made by the court of Vienna, that in caſe his Pruſſian Majeſty would not oppoſe their diſmembering the electorate of Bavaria, the houſe of Auſtria, from a ſenſe of gratitude, would make no oppoſition to the re-uniting of the Margraviate of Anſpach-Bareith to the electorate of Brandeburgh, after the deceaſe of the preſent reigning Margrave. This propoſition leads to three different important obſervations: 1. It clearly demonſtrates that the court of Vienna is ſenſible of the illegality

of its taking poſſeſſion of the Bavarian territories, as otherwiſe it would not offer a pretended indemnification to the King of Pruſſia, who, as their Imperial Majeſties pretend, has no right to control them in their projects. 2. It intimates an intention in the court of Vienna, to queſtion the natural rights, univerſally acknowledged as inconteſtible, of the legitimate ſucceſſion of the houſe of Brandeburgh to the Margraviate of Anſpach-Bareith; a doubt, which perſonified injuſtice itſelf would hardly dare to expreſs. 3. That if even the reverſion of Anſpach-Bareith to the houſe of Brandeburgh was manifeſtly unjuſt, their Imperial Majeſties would be, notwithſtanding, ready to acknowledge and ſupport the ſame by force, to the prejudice of the parties that might be intereſted therein, provided they were left uncontrolled in their preſent uſurpation of Bavaria. But this being unjuſt, could not be admitted by the King of Pruſſia, and therefore their Imperial Majeſties declared as their final reſolution: *That they would not abſolutely evacuate any part of the Bavarian territories; that his Pruſſian Majeſty ſhould acknowledge their rights without any further examination, but be ſatisfied with the manner in which they have expoſed the ſame.* The King has thereupon thought proper, after the example of the court of Vienna, to break off all further negociation upon this affair.

It would therefore be againſt all reaſon to ſuppoſe his Pruſſian Majeſty to be the aggreſſor in the war, which he finds himſelf under the neceſſity to undertake, as it has been ſufficiently proved that the court of Vienna has began the aggreſſion, by invading the Bavarian dominions without any right or title, and wreſting from the Palatine houſe the juſt reverſion of its patrimony. His Majeſty therefore hereby declares, that his ſole object in this meaſure is to ſupport the laws and conſtitution of the German Empire, which have been injured in the moſt arbitrary manner by the very Prince, who from his quality as chief of the Empire, ought to have been their moſt ſtrenuous protector; to aſſiſt thoſe Princes, his friends and allies, who are thereby injured and oppreſſed; and that he has no other particular views therein, than his own ſecurity and the obſervation of the ſyſtem of the Empire, having, for this purpoſe, given many repeated and convincing proofs of his diſintereſtedneſs, during the whole courſe of this long negociation. His Pruſſian Majeſty conſequently flatters himſelf, that not only the different ſtates of the Empire, but alſo all the reſpective powers of Europe, and eſpecially thoſe which are guarantees to the treaty of Weſtphalia, or which otherwiſe are intereſted in the integral conſervation of the great and reſpectable Germanic body, on which, in a great meaſure, depends the happineſs of all Europe; that theſe powers and ſtates will acknowledge the *juſtice of the war, which the King finds himſelf obliged hereby to declare againſt the houſe of Auſtria*; and that far from oppoſing him in his undertaking, the ſaid powers and ſtates will rather join and aſſiſt him by ſuch means as their wiſdom ſhall ſuggeſt, to oblige the court of Vienna to deſiſt from its uſurpation of the Bavarian dominions,

nions, to maintain the treaty of Weſtphalia, and to reſtore and preſerve the original ſyſtem and fundamental conſtitution of the German Empire.

Berlin, July 7, 1778.

Publiſhed by order of the KING.

Manifeſto of her Imperial Royal and Apoſtolick Majeſty the Empreſs of Germany, *and Queen of* Hungary *and* Bohemia, *&c. &c. and Declaration to all the reſpective Princes and States of the* Roman Empire, *concerning the illegal and hoſtile Enterprizes of his Majeſty the King of* Pruſſia, *in oppoſition to her natural and legitimate Rights to the Succeſſion of* Lower Bavaria.

HER Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty, the Empreſs Queen, thinks proper, not to heſitate any longer to lay before all the reſpective Princes and ſtates of the Empire, a true and exact expoſition of her rights to the ſucceſſion of Bavaria*, and of the meaſures which have been adopted, on her own part, to prove her pretenſions, and to proſecute the ſame in the moſt legal and peaceable manner poſſible. The publication of this preſent manifeſto would not have been thus delayed, and nothing would have hindred her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty to refute immediately, in a convincing manner, the ſhallow motives by which his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia thinks himſelf obliged to oppoſe the pretended unjuſt diſmembering of the electorate of Bavaria, had not her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty been deſirous firſt to try, and to exhauſt all poſſible means of reconciliation, which her moſt ardent deſire to preſerve the public peace, could ſuggeſt.

The court of Berlin has endeavoured, by all means imaginable, to repreſent her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty's rights and pretenſions, and the meaſures adopted to proſecute the ſame, under the aſpect of invalidity and injuſtice. It has ſucceeded ſo far, as the cleareſt and beſt ſupported proofs and arguments will admit of being embroiled, and rendered odious, by an unavailing contradiction, the only motive whereof is a formed deſign to contradict every thing without the ſhadow of reaſon; but the illuſion will ſoon diſappear, whenever the true ſtate of this affair, which will here be laid open in a few words, is examined without partiality, or prejudice.

Soon after the death of his late Serene Highneſs the Elector of Bavaria, her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty had, in due manner, laid before his Serene Highneſs the Elector Palatine, as next and univerſal heir to the ſaid late Elector, her rights and pretenſions to the ſucceſſion of Bavaria. His ſaid Serene Highneſs has in like manner communicated to her Majeſty his rights and titles; and the validity and juſtice of the claims from both ſides have been reciprocally acknowledged with the

* This manifeſto is accompanied by a number of teſtimonial pieces, conſiſting of genealogical tables, ancient documents, titles, &c.

greateſt friendſhip and confidence imaginable. And in order to ſecure both parties from all unforeſeen events that might happen, they found it conformable to their intereſt, to make a formal convention, by mutual conſent, in order to prevent all further diſcuſſion and altercation upon this point.

Two oppoſers to this convention have ſince aroſe, namely, his Serene Highneſs the Duke of Deux-Ponts, and the Elector of Saxony.

As to the firſt, her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty has publickly invited him to produce in a legal manner, and conformable to the conſtitution of the Empire, the claims which he pretends to have, in order that they may be examined jointly with the pretenſions of her Majeſty, that judgment be pronounced thereupon, and that the Emperor, as well as all the reſpective Princes, and ſtates of the Empire, and even ſome foreign powers, be invited to become guarantees to the execution thereof.

And concerning the claims of the ſecond oppoſer, her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty has formerly declared, during the negociation with the court of Berlin, that her Majeſty conſented to give up her right of regreſs; and that in regard to the allodial pretenſions, her Majeſty was ready and willing to give ample ſatisfaction, for as much as might concern that part of Bavaria, which has fallen to her ſhare. And her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty has farther declared, concerning theſe allodial pretenſions, that for what regards the principal heir to Bavaria, her Majeſty not only offered her good offices to bring about an equitable accommodation, but even her efficacious aſſiſtance to inſure its ſucceſs.

Her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty here appeals to the impartial judgment of all the reſpective Princes and ſtates of the Empire, if any thing contrary to the laws and conſtitution of the Roman Empire can be found in ſuch a conduct, and if ſuch a ſituation of affairs can furniſh the leaſt apparent pretext, to countenance the pretended griefs of their Serene Highneſſes the Duke of Deuxponts, and the Elector of Saxony, and to juſtify the violent meaſure of diſturbing the public peace, and to have recourſe to arms. It is however to ſuch violence that his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia arbitrarily thinks himſelf authoriſed to reſort, as an Elector and Prince of the Empire, as a contracting party, and in that quality, as a guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, of the imperial capitulation, and of all the Germanic conſtitutions; and laſtly, as a friend and ally of their Serene Highneſſes the Elector of Saxony, and the Dukes of Deuxponts, and of Mecklenburg.

But can it be ſuppoſed that the treaty of Weſtphalia, the imperial capitulation, and all the conſtitutions of the German Empire are infringed, becauſe her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty, and his Serene Highneſs the Elector Palatine, have in a legal and friendly manner, and with mutual conſent, ſettled and acknowledged their reciprocal rights and pretenſions, by a formal and amicable convention?

Can his Highneſs the Duke of Deuxponts require any thing more than what has been already offered to him; which is ſtrict juſtice, and which he hath been publickly intreated to accept?

Can his Serene Highneſs the Elector of Saxony have the leaſt ſhadow of any further legitimate ſubject of complaint, after what her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty has formerly declared, during the negociation with the court of Berlin, in regard to the allodial pretenſions?

And as to their Highneſſes the Dukes of Mecklenburgh, have they any thing to claim, or have they ever as yet claimed any thing from her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty.

And further, is not the formal convention entered into with his Serene Highneſs the Elector Palatine, which was founded on a formal avowal and acknowledgment of the rights of the Houſe of Auſtria to the ſucceſſion of Bavaria, ſufficient to juſtify her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolic Majeſty's legitimate poſſeſſion of the ſaid territories; at leaſt during the life of his preſent Serene Highneſs the Elector? And does not the Duke of Deuxponts obtain beforehand an entire ſecurity, by the guarantee of the Emperor, of the reſpective Princes and ſtates of the Empire, and even of ſome foreign powers, which has been offered to him, in caſe that her Imperial Majeſty's rights and pretenſions ſhould, in a legal manner, and conformable to the laws and conſtitutions of the German Empire, be declared void and invalid?

It is upon the examination and impartial judgment of the foregoing ſimple queſtions, that depends the deciſion of the following important one, in which the whole is comprized, viz. could his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, in any of the abovementioned qualities, which he aſcribes to himſelf, be authorized to take up arms againſt her Imperial Majeſty? — And if none of theſe ſaid qualifications can authoriſe him to have recourſe to ſuch violence, has he not made himſelf culpable of repeated perturbation and diſturbance of the public peace in Germany; and has he not himſelf manifeſtly infringed the treaty of Weſtphalia, as well as the laws and conſtitutions of the Empire?

But her Majeſty the Empreſs Queen has not limited her endeavours, to preſerve the public tranquility, to what has been already related; far more has been done on her part than what the ſimple dictates of equity could ſuggeſt, and to give proofs of the full extent of her condeſcenſion, of her real pacific diſpoſition, and of her invariable attention for the welfare of the whole German Empire, her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolic Majeſty has finally and formally declared to his Majeſty, the King of Pruſſia, that her ſaid Majeſty was ready and willing to evacuate all diſtricts and territories in Bavaria, of which her Majeſty has taken poſſeſſion, in virtue of the abovementioned convention of the 3d of January laſt, and to reinſtate his Serene Highneſs the Elector Palatine in the poſſeſſion thereof; as alſo to diſengage his ſaid Serene Highneſs, his heirs and ſucceſſors, from all obligations whatſoever; but on condition only *ſine qua non*, that his Majeſty the

King

King of Prussia will engage and promise on his part, for himself, his heirs and successors, to observe in every respect the regulation and pragmatic sanction established in the House of Brandenburg, and to maintain the order of succession to the two Margravites of Anspach and Bayreuth, in favour of the younger Princes of the House of Brandenburgh; which regulation has been confirmed by the Emperor, and has thus acquired the force of a law of the Empire.

But even this generous, and more than equitable offer has been peremptorily refused by the King of Prussia; and this Prince, notwithstanding, continues, under the most futile pretexts, the most unjust war, and desolation in the Empire of Germany, of which he pretends to be a protector.

Her Majesty the Empress Queen would think herself to be wanting in point of confidence, with which the enlightned sentiments and known equity of the respective Princes and states of the Empire ought to inspire her, if her Majesty was to suppose it necessary to add any further explanations, or proofs to this simple exposition of facts, which is hereby laid before them; and which, upon mature consideration, as her Majesty flatters herself, will sufficiently justify her conduct, and also set that of the court of Berlin in its proper light.

Her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty therefore anxiously intreats all her costates, and respective Princes of the Empire, to consider the present situation of affairs with all the attention which the importance of the object requires. It is here the common cause of the whole German Empire, and its principal object, to preserve the political balance of power, and the actual constitution of the Circle of Franconia, and its neighbouring states; as also to prevent the dangerous consequences of an increase of power at the court of Berlin; which would unavoidably arise, if his present Prussian Majesty should succeed to realize his views, by arbitrarily depriving the younger Princes of the House of Brandenburgh of their legitimate rights, to which they have a just claim, conformable to a pragmatic sanction, formally constituted a law of the Empire.

In order then to obviate these dangerous consequences, as well as many others, which upon cool reflection will present themselves at first sight, her Imperial Majesty has condescended to renounce, and to give up all her rights and pretensions to the succession of Bavaria, and to annul, and to declare void the convention made with his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine. But her Majesty cannot avoid observing at the same time, that as her Majesty is ready to make this sacrifice to the general welfare of Germany, and as her Majesty hereby publickly and solemnly repeats, before the whole German Empire, her declaration made on this point to his Majesty the King of Prussia, her Majesty also thinks herself thereby authorised to request, to exhort, and to invite all the respective Princes and states of the Empire, to unite in one body, and to form and address to his Prussian Majesty such efficacious representations and remonstrances, as may engage his said Majesty immediately to desist from

from his illegal and hoſtile proceedings; and further, that they will join her Imperial and Apoſtolick Majeſty in maintaining a ſtrict obſervation of the inviolable pragmatick ſanction eſtabliſhed in the Houſe of Brandenbourg, and by a ſtrenuous aſſiſtance make a common cauſe with her ſaid Majeſty, to oppoſe the diſturbance of the public peace, and the infringment of the laws and conſtitutions of the German Empire, as well as the treaty of Weſtphalia; and alſo to claim publickly, and in a becoming manner, the aſſiſtance of the two powers which are guarantees to the ſaid treaty of Weſtphalia.

Publiſhed by order of her Imperial, Royal, and Apoſtolick Majeſty.

KAUNITZ RITBERG.

Vienna, Sept. 24. 1778.

Copy of the Commiſſion granted by his Majeſty to the Right Hon. Frederick *Earl of* Carliſle, *the Right Hon.* Richard *Lord Viſcount* Howe, *Sir* William Howe, William Eden, *Eſq. and* George Johnſtone, *Eſq. for the quieting and extinguiſhing of divers Jealouſies and Apprehenſions of Danger in the* Americans.

George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To our truſty and right well beloved Couſin and Counſellor Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Knight of the moſt ancient Order of the Thiſtle; our right truſty and well beloved Couſin and Counſellor, Richard Lord Viſcount Howe, of our kingdom of Ireland; our truſty and well beloved Sir William Howe, Knight of the moſt Honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-General of our forces, General and Commander in Chief of all and ſingular our forces employed, or to be employed, within our Colonies in North America, lying upon the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia on the North to Weſt Florida on the South, both incluſive; William Eden, Eſq. one of our Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations; and George Johnſtone, Eſq. Captain in our royal navy.

Greeting:

WHEREAS, in and by our commiſſion and letters patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date on or about the 6th day of May, in the 16th year of our reign, we did, out of an earneſt deſire to deliver all our ſubjects and every part of the dominions belonging to our crown from the calamities of war, and to reſtore them to our protection and peace, nominate and appoint our right truſty and well beloved couſin and counſellor Richard Lord Viſcount Howe, of our kingdom of Ireland, and our truſty and well beloved William Howe, Eſq. now Sir William Howe, Knight of of the Bath, Lieutenant-General of our forces in North America only, and each of them jointly and ſeverely, to be our Commiſſioner and Commiſſioners on that behalf, to ſo perform and execute all the powers and authorities in and by the ſaid commiſſion and letters patent entruſted and committed to them, and each of them, according

according to the tenor of ſuch letters patent, and of ſuch further inſtructions as they ſhould from time to time receive under our ſignet or ſign manual, to have, hold, execute, and enjoy the ſaid office and place, offices and places of our Commiſſioner and Commiſſioners as therein mentioned, with all rights, members, and appurtenances thereunto belonging, together with all and ſingular the powers and authorities thereby granted unto them, the ſaid Lord Viſcount Howe, and General Sir William Howe, and each of them, for and during our will and pleaſure, and no longer, in ſuch manner and form, as in and by our ſaid recited commiſſion and letters patent, relation being thereunto had, may, among divers other things therein contained, more fully, and at large appear. And whereas for the quieting and extinguiſhing of divers jealouſies and apprehenſions of danger to their liberties and rights, which have alarmed many of our ſubjects in the Colonies, Provinces, and Plantations of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, with the three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, and for a fuller manifeſtation of our juſt and gracious purpoſes, and thoſe of our parliament, to maintain and ſecure all our ſubjects in the clear and perfect enjoyment of their liberties, and rights, it is in and by a certain act made and paſſed in this preſent ſeſſions of parliament, intitled, "An Act to enable his Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners, with ſufficient powers to treat, conſult, and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces in North America," among other things enacted, that it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, from time to time, by letters patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, to authorize and empower five able and ſufficient perſons, or any three of them, to do and perform ſuch acts and things, and to uſe and execute ſuch authorities and powers as in the ſaid act are for that purpoſe mentioned, provided, and created. And whereas we are earneſtly deſirous to carry into full and perfect execution the ſeveral juſt and gracious purpoſes abovementioned: Now know ye, that we have revoked and determined, and by theſe preſents do revoke and determine our ſaid recited commiſſion and letters patent, and all and every power, authority, clauſe, article, and thing therein contained. And further know ye, that we, repoſing eſpecial truſt and confidence in your wiſdom, loyalty, diligence and circumſpection in the management of the affairs to be hereby committed to your charge, have nominated and appointed, conſtituted and aſſigned, and by theſe preſents we do nominate, appoint, conſtitute and aſſign you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, to be our Commiſſioners in that behalf, to uſe and exerciſe all and every the powers and authorities hereby entruſted and committed to you, the ſaid Frederick Earl

Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnſtone, or any three of you, and to ſo perform and execute all other matters and things hereby enjoined and committed to your care, during our will and pleaſure, and no longer, according to the tenor of theſe our letters patent, and of ſuch further inſtructions as you ſhall from time to time receive under our ſignet or ſign manual. And it is our royal will and pleaſure, and we do hereby authoriſe, empower, and require you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnſtone, or any three of you, to treat, conſult and agree with ſuch body or bodies politic and corporate, or with ſuch aſſembly or aſſemblies of men, or with ſuch perſon or perſons as you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnſtone, or any three of you ſhall think meet and ſufficient for that purpoſe, of and concerning any grievances, or complaints of grievances, exiſting, or ſuppoſed to exiſt, in the government of any of the Colonies, Provinces or Plantations abovementioned reſpectively, or in the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, reſpecting them or any of them, or of and concerning any aids or contributions to be furniſhed by any of the ſaid Colonies, Provinces, or Plantations reſpectively, for the common defence of this realm, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and of and concerning any other regulations, proviſions, matters and things, neceſſary or convenient for the honour of us and our parliament, and for the common good of all our ſubjects. And it is our further will and pleaſure, That every regulation, proviſion, matter, or thing, which ſhall have been agreed upon between you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnſtone, or any three of you, and ſuch perſons or bodies politic as aforeſaid, whom you or any three of you have judged meet and ſufficient to enter into ſuch agreement, ſhall be fully and diſtinctly ſet forth in writing, and authenticated by the hands and ſeals of you or any three of you on one ſide, and by ſuch ſeals and other ſignature on the other as the occaſion may require, and as may be ſuitable to the character and authority of the body politic or other perſon ſo agreeing; and ſuch inſtruments ſo authenticated ſhall be by you or any three of you tranſmitted to one of our principal Secretaries of State, in order to be laid before our parliament for the further and more perfect ratification thereof; and until ſuch ratification, no ſuch regulation, proviſion, matter or thing, ſhall have any other force or effect, or be carried further into execution than is hereafter mentioned. And we do hereby further authoriſe and empower you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, from time to time, as you or any three of you ſhall judge convenient, to order and proclaim a ceſſation of hoſtilities on the part of our forces by ſea or land, for ſuch time, and under ſuch conditions,

tions, reſtrictions, or other qualifications, as in your diſcretions ſhall be thought requiſite, and ſuch order and proclamation to revoke and annul in the ſame manner and form.—And it is our further will and pleaſure, and we do hereby require and command all our officers and miniſters, civil and military, and all other our loving ſubjects whatſoever, to obſerve and obey all ſuch proclamations reſpectively. And we do hereby, in further purſuance of the ſaid act of parliament, and of the proviſions therein contained, authoriſe and empower you the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, by proclamation under your reſpective hands and ſeals, from time to time, as you ſhall ſee convenient, to ſuſpend the operation and effect of a certain act of parliament, made and paſſed in the 16th year of our reign, for prohibiting all trade and intercourſe with certain Colonies and Plantations therein named, and for the other purpoſes therein alſo mentioned, or any of the proviſions or reſtrictions therein contained, and therein to ſpecify at what time and places reſpectively, and with what exceptions and reſtrictions, and under what paſſes and clearances, in lieu of thoſe heretofore directed by any act or acts of parliament for regulating the trade of the Colonies and Plantations, the ſaid ſuſpenſion ſhall take effect, and the ſaid ſuſpenſion and proclamation in the ſame manner and form to annul and revoke. And we do hereby further authoriſe and empower you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, from time to time, as you ſhall judge convenient, to ſuſpend in any places, and for any time during the continuance of the ſaid firſt recited act, the operation and effect of any act or acts of parliament which have paſſed ſince the 10th day of February, 1763, and which relate to any of our Colonies, Provinces, or Plantations abovementioned in North America, ſo far as the ſame relate to them, or any of them, or the operation and effect of any clauſe, or any proviſion or other matter in ſuch acts contained, ſo far as ſuch clauſes, proviſions, or matters, relate to any of the ſaid Colonies, Provinces, or Plantations. And we do hereby further authorize and impower you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, to grant a pardon, or pardons, to any number or deſcription of perſons within the ſaid Colonies, Provinces, or Plantations. And we do hereby further authorize and empower you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, in any of our Colonies, Provinces, and Plantations aforeſaid reſpectively, wherein we have uſually heretofore nominated and appointed a Governor, to nominate and appoint, from time to time, by any inſtrument under your hands and ſeals, or the hands and ſeals of any three of you, a proper perſon, to be the Governor and Commander in Chief in

in and for ſuch Colony, Province, or Plantation reſpectively, to have, hold, and exerciſe the ſaid office of Governor and Commander in Chief in and for ſuch Colony, Province, or Plantation reſpectively, with all ſuch powers and authorities any Governor of ſuch Province, heretofore appointed by us, might or could have exerciſed, in as full and ample manner and form as if ſuch Governor and Commander in Chief had been nominated and appointed by our letters patent heretofore granted for appointing any ſuch Governor and Commander in Chief. Whereas, by certain letters patent under our great ſeal, bearing date on the 29th day of April, in the ſixteenth year of our reign, we have conſtituted and appointed you, the ſaid Sir William Howe, to be General and Commander in Chief of all and ſingular our forces employed, or to be employed, within our Colonies of North America, lying upon the Atlantic ocean, from Nova-Scotia on the North, to Weſt-Florida on the South, both incluſive, to have, hold, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſaid office during our will and pleaſure; and in caſe you, the ſaid Sir William Howe, ſhould, by death, or any other manner, be diſabled from exerciſing the ſaid command, it was our will and pleaſure, therein expreſſed, that the ſame, with all authorities, rights, and privileges, contained in that our ſaid commiſſion, ſhould devolve upon the perſon who ſhould be next in rank to the ſaid Sir William Howe. And whereas our truſty and well beloved Sir Henry Clinton, Knight of the moſt honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-General of our forces, and General of our forces in our army in America only, now actually bears our commiſſion, and is next in rank to you, the ſaid Sir William Howe: know it it is our will and pleaſure, and we do hereby order and appoint, that whenever the ſaid command in the ſaid letters patent mentioned ſhall, in purſuance thereof, devolve upon the ſaid Sir Henry Clinton, all and every the powers and authorities hereby entruſted and committed to you the ſaid Sir William Howe, ſhall forthwith ceaſe and determine, and the ſaid powers and authorities, and every of them, ſhall from thenceforth be entruſted and committed, and are hereby entruſted and committed, to the ſaid Sir Henry Clinton, to uſe and exerciſe the ſame powers and authorities, and to perform and execute all other the matters and things as aforeſaid, in as full and ample extent and form, and no other, as you, the ſaid Sir William Howe, are hereby authoriſed to uſe and exerciſe, do, perform, and execute the ſame. And we do hereby require and command all our officers, civil and military, and all other our loving ſubjects whatſoever, to be aiding and aſſiſting unto you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnſtone, in the execution of this our commiſſion, and of the powers and authorities therein contained. Provided always, and we do hereby declare and ordain, that the ſeveral offices, powers, and authorities hereby granted, ſhall ceaſe, determine, and become utterly null and void, on the 1ſt day of June, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord

1779, although we ſhall not otherwiſe in the mean time have revoked and determined the ſame. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters to be made patent. Witneſs ourſelf, at Weſtminſter, the 13th day of April, in the 18th year of our reign.

By the King himſelf,

YORK.

Manifeſto and Proclamation by his Majeſty's American Commiſſioners.

HAVING amply and repeatedly made known to the Congreſs, and having alſo proclaimed to the inhabitants of North America in general, the benevolent overtures of Great Britain towards a re-union and coalition with her colonies, we do not think it conſiſtent either with the duty we owe to our country, or with a juſt regard to the characters we bear, to perſiſt in holding out offers which in our eſtimation required only to be known to be moſt gratefully accepted; and we have accordingly, excepting only the commander in chief, who will be detained by military duties, reſolved to return to England a few weeks after the date of this manifeſto and proclamation.

Previous however to this deciſive ſtep, we are led by a juſt anxiety for the great objects of our miſſion, to enlarge on ſome points which may not have been ſufficiently underſtood, to recapitulate to our fellow-ſubjects the bleſſings which we are empowered to confer, and to warn them of the continued evils to which they are at preſent blindly and obſtinately expoſing themſelves.

To the members of the congreſs then we again declare that we are ready to concur in all ſatisfactory and juſt arrangements for ſecuring to them and their reſpective conſtituents the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, with the exemption from any impoſition of taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, and the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege conſiſtent with that union of intereſts and force on which our mutual proſperity, and the ſafety of our common religion and liberties depend. We again aſſert that the members of the congreſs were not authoriſed by their conſtituents, either to reject our offers without the previous conſideration and conſent of the ſeveral aſſemblies and conventions, their conſtituents, or to refer us to pretended foreign treaties, which they know were deluſively framed in the firſt inſtance, and which have never yet been ratified by the people of this continent. And we once more remind the members of the congreſs, that they are reſponſible to their countrymen, to the world, and to God, for the continuance of this war, and for all the miſeries with which it muſt be attended.

To the general aſſemblies and conventions of the different colonies, plantations, and provinces abovementioned, we now ſeparately make the offers which we originally tranſmitted to the congreſs; and we hereby call upon and urge them to meet expreſsly for the purpoſe of conſidering whether every motive, political as well as moral, ſhould not decide their reſolution to embrace the occaſion of cementing

ing a free and firm coalition with Great Britain. It has not been, nor is it our wiſh, to ſeek the objects which we are commiſſioned to purſue by fomenting popular diviſions and partial cabals; we think ſuch conduct would be ill ſuited to the generous nature of the offers made, and unbecoming the dignity of the king and the ſtate which make them. But it is both our wiſh and our duty to encourage and ſupport any men or bodies of men, in their return of loyalty to our ſovereign, and affection to our fellow-ſubjects.

To all others, free inhabitants of this once happy empire, we alſo addreſs ourſelves. Such of them as are actually in arms, of whatſoever rank or deſcription, will do well to recollect, that the grievances, whether real or ſuppoſed, which led them into this rebellion, have been for ever removed, and that the juſt occaſion is arrived for their returning to the claſs of peaceful citizens. But if the honours of a military life are become their object, let them ſeek thoſe honours under the banners of their rightful ſovereign, and in fighting the battles of the united Britiſh empire, againſt our late mutual and natural enemies.

To thoſe whoſe profeſſion it is to exerciſe the functions of religion on this continent, it cannot ſurely be unknown, that the ſovereign power with which the congreſs is endeavouring to connect them, has ever been averſe to toleration, and inveterately oppoſed to the intereſt and freedom of the places of worſhip which they ſerve; and that Great Britain, from whom they are for the preſent ſeparated, muſt, both from the principles of her conſtitution and of proteſtantiſm, be at all times the beſt guardian of religious liberty, and moſt diſpoſed to promote and extend it.

To all thoſe who can eſtimate the bleſſings of peace and its influence over agriculture, arts, and commerce, who can feel a due anxiety for the education and eſtabliſhment of their children, or who can place a juſt value on domeſtic ſecurity, we think it ſufficient to obſerve, that they are made by their leaders to continue involved in all the calamities of war, without having either a juſt object to purſue, or a ſubſiſting grievance which may not inſtantly be redreſſed.

But if there be any perſons who, diveſted of miſtaken reſentments, and uninfluenced by ſelfiſh intereſts, really think that it is for the benefit of the colonies to ſeparate themſelves from Great Britain, and that ſo ſeparated they will find a conſtitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their proſperity than that which they heretofore enjoyed, and which we are impowered and diſpoſed to renew and improve; with ſuch perſons we will not diſpute a poſition which ſeems to be ſufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the change, which the maintaining of ſuch a poſition muſt make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war, more eſpecially when to this poſition is added the pretended alliance with the court of France. "The policy as well as the benevolence of Great Britain have thus far checked the extremes of war when they tended to diſtreſs a people ſtill conſidered as our fellow-ſubjects, and to deſolate a

country ſhortly to become again a ſource of mutual advantage; but when that country profeſſes the unnatural deſign not only of eſtranging herſelf from us, but of mortgaging herſelf and her reſources to our enemies, the whole conteſt is changed; and the queſtion is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, deſtroy or render uſeleſs a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under ſuch circumſtances the laws of ſelf-preſervation muſt direct the conduct of Great Britain, and if the Britiſh colonies are to become an acceſſion to France, will direct her to render that acceſſion of as little avail as poſſible to her enemy."

If however there are any who think that notwithſtanding theſe reaſonings the independence of the colonies will in the reſult be acknowledged by Great Britain, to them we anſwer, without reſerve, that we neither poſſeſs nor expect powers for that purpoſe; and that if Great Britain could ever have ſunk ſo low as to adopt ſuch a meaſure, we ſhould not have thought ourſelves compellable to be the inſtruments in making a conceſſion which would, in our opinion, be calamitous to the colonies, for whom it was made, and diſgraceful, as well as calamitous to the country from which it is required. And we think proper to declare, that in this ſpirit and ſentiment we have regularly written from the continent to Great Britain.

It will now become the colonies in general to call to mind their own ſolemn appeals to heaven in the beginning of this conteſt, that they took arms only for the redreſs of grievances, and that it would be their wiſh, as well as their intereſt, to remain for ever connected with Great Britain. We again aſk them, whether all their grievances, real or ſuppoſed, have not been amply and fully redreſſed; and we inſiſt that the offers we have made leave nothing to be wiſhed in point either of immediate liberty or permanent ſecurity; if thoſe offers are now rejected, we withdraw from the exerciſe of a commiſſion with which we have in vain been honoured; the ſame liberality will no longer be due from Great Britain, nor can it either in juſtice or policy be expected from her.

In fine, and for the fuller manifeſtation as well of the diſpoſition we bear, as of the gracious and generous purpoſes of the commiſſion under which we act, we hereby declare, that whereas his majeſty, in purſuance of an act, made and paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intituled, "An act to enable his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners with ſufficient powers to treat, conſult, and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces in North America," having been pleaſed to authoriſe and impower us to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or deſcription of perſons within the colonies, plantations, and provinces of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's Bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. And whereas the good effects of the ſaid authorities and powers towards the people at large, would have long ſince taken place, if a due uſe had been made of

of our firſt communications and overtures; and have thus far been fruſtrated only by the precipitate reſolution of the members of the congreſs not to treat with us, and by their declining to conſult with their conſtituents, we now, in making our appeal to thoſe conſtituents, and to the free inhabitants of this continent in general, have determined to give them what in our opinion ſhould have been the firſt object of thoſe who appeared to have taken the management of their intereſts, and adopt this mode of carrying the ſaid authorities and powers into execution. We accordingly hereby grant and proclaim a pardon or pardons of all, and all manner of treaſons or miſpriſions of treaſons, by any perſon or perſons, or by any number or deſcription of perſons within the ſaid colonies, plantations or provinces, counſelled, commanded, acted, or done, on or before the date of this manifeſto and proclamation.

And we further declare and proclaim, that if any perſon or perſons, or any number or deſcription of perſons within the ſaid colonies, plantations and provinces, now actually ſerving either in a military or civil capacity in this rebellion, ſhall, at any time during the continuance of this manifeſto and proclamation, withdraw himſelf or themſelves from ſuch civil or military ſervice, and ſhall continue thenceforth peaceably as a good and faithful ſubject or ſubjects to his Majeſty to demean himſelf or themſelves, ſuch perſon or perſons, or ſuch number and deſcription of perſons, ſhall become, and be fully entitled to, and hereby obtain, all the benefits of the pardon or pardons hereby granted; excepting only from the ſaid pardon or pardons every perſon, and every number or deſcription of perſons, who, after the date of this manifeſto and proclamation, ſhall, under the pretext of authority, as judges, jurymen, miniſters, or officers of civil juſtice, be inſtrumental in executing and putting to death any of his Majeſty's ſubjects within the ſaid colonies, plantations and provinces.

And we think proper further to declare, that nothing herein contained is meant, or ſhall be conſtrued, to ſet at liberty any perſon or perſons now being priſoner or priſoners, or who during the continuance of this rebellion ſhall become a priſoner or priſoners.

And we offer to the colonies at large, or ſeparately, a general or ſeparate peace, with the revival of their ancient government, ſecured againſt any future infringements, and protected for ever from taxation by Great Britain. And with reſpect to ſuch further regulations, whether civil, military, or commercial, as they may wiſh to be framed and eſtabliſhed, we promiſe all the concurrence and aſſiſtance that his majeſty's commiſſion authoriſes and enables us to give.

And we further declare that this manifeſto and proclamation ſhall continue and be in force FORTY DAYS from the date hereof; that is to ſay, from the third day of October to the eleventh day of November, both incluſive.

And in order that the whole contents of this manifeſto and proclamation may be more fully known, we ſhall direct copies thereof, both in the Engliſh and German language, to be tranſmitted by flags of truce to the congreſs, the general aſſemblies or conventions of the colonies, plantations and provinces,

and to ſeveral perſons both in civil and military capacities within the ſaid colonies, plantations and provinces. And for the further ſecurity in times to come of the ſeveral perſons, or numbers or deſcriptions of perſons, who are or may be the objects of this manifeſto and proclamation, we have ſet our hands and ſeals to thirteen copies thereof, and have tranſmitted the ſame to the thirteen colonies, plantations and provinces abovementioned, and we are willing to hope that the whole of this manifeſto and proclamation will be fairly and freely publiſhed and circulated for the immediate, general, and moſt ſerious conſideration and benefit of all his majeſty's ſubjects on this continent. And we earneſtly exhort all perſons who by this inſtrument forthwith receive the benefit of the king's pardon, at the ſame time that they entertain a becoming ſenſe of thoſe lenient and affectionate meaſures whereby they are now freed from many grievous charges which might have riſen in judgment, or have been brought in queſtion againſt them, to make a wiſe improvement of the ſituation in which this manifeſto and proclamation places them, and not only to recollect that a perſeverance in the preſent rebellion, or any adherence to the treaſonable connexion attempted to be framed with a foreign power, will, after the preſent grace extended, be conſidered as crimes of the moſt aggravated kind; but to vie with each other in eager and cordial endeavours to ſecure their own peace, and promote and eſtabliſh the proſperity of their countrymen, and the general weal of the empire.

And purſuant to his majeſty's commiſſion we hereby require all officers civil and military, and all others his majeſty's loving ſubjects whatſoever, to be aiding and aſſiſting unto us in the execution of this our manifeſto and proclamation, and of all the matters herein contained.

Given at New York, this third day of October, 1778.

CARLISLE (L. S.)
H. CLINTON (L. S.)
WM. EDEN (L. S.)

By their Excellency's Command,
ADAM FERGUSON, Secretary.

The following is an authentic Copy of the Inſtructions given by Congreſs to the American Plenipotentiaries ſent to the ſeveral Courts of Europe.

In CONGRESS, Dec. 30, 1776.

Reſolved,

THAT commiſſioners be ſent to the courts of Vienna, France, Spain, Pruſſia, and the Grand Duke of Tuſcany.

That the ſeveral Commiſſioners of the United States be inſtructed to aſſure the reſpective courts, that notwithſtanding the artful and inſidious endeavours of the court of Great Britain to repreſent the congreſs and inhabitants of theſe ſtates to the European powers, as having a diſpoſition again to ſubmit to the ſovereignty of the crown of Great Britain, it is their determination, at all events, to maintain their independence.

That the commiſſioners be reſpectively directed to uſe every means in their power, to procure the aſſiſtance of the emperor of Germany, and of their moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and Pruſſian Majeſties, for preventing Ruſſian, German, and other foreign troops, from

ſtom being ſent to North America for hoſtile purpoſes againſt the United States, and for obtaining a recall of thoſe already ſent.

That his moſt chriſtian majeſty be induced, if poſſible, to aſſiſt the United States in the preſent war with Great Britain, by attacking the Electorate of Hanover, or any part of the dominions of Great Britain in Europe, the Eaſt or Weſt Indies.

That the Commiſſioners be further empowered to ſtipulate with the court of France, that all the trade between the United States, and the Weſt India Iſlands, ſhall be carried on by veſſels either belonging to the ſubjects of his moſt chriſtian majeſty or theſe ſtates, each having liberty to carry on ſuch trade.

That the commiſſioners be likewiſe inſtructed to aſſure his moſt chriſtian majeſty, that ſhould his forces be employed, in conjunction with the united ſtates, to exclude his Britannic majeſty from any ſhare in the cod fiſhery of America, by reducing the iſlands of Newfoundland and Cape Breton; and that ſhips of war be furniſhed, when required, by the united ſtates to reduce Nova Scotia, the fiſhery ſhall be enjoyed equally, and in common, by the ſubjects of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, provided the province of Nova Scotia, iſland of Cape Breton, and the remaining part of Newfoundland, be annexed to the territory and government of the united ſtates.

That ſhould the propoſals, made as above, be inſufficient to produce the propoſed declaration of war, and the commiſſioners are convinced that it cannot otherwiſe be accompliſhed, they muſt aſſure his moſt chriſtian majeſty, that ſuch of the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands, as in the courſe of the war ſhall be reduced by the united force of France and theſe ſtates, ſhall be yielded an abſolute property to his moſt chriſtian majeſty. The united ſtates engage, on timely notice, to furniſh at the expence of the ſaid ſtates, and deliver at ſome convenient port or ports, in the ſaid ſtates, proviſions for carrying an expedition againſt the ſaid iſlands, to the amount of two millions of dollars, and ſix frigates, mounting not leſs than twenty-four guns each, manned and fitted for ſea; and to render any other aſſiſtance which may be in their power, as becomes good allies.

That the commiſſioners for the courts of France and Spain conſult together, and prepare a treaty of commerce and alliance, as nearly as may be, ſimilar to the firſt propoſed to the court of France, and not inconſiſtent therewith, nor diſagreeable to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, to be propoſed to the court of Spain; adding thereto,

That if his catholic majeſty will join with the united ſtates in a war with Great Britain, they will aſſiſt in reducing to the poſſeſſion of Spain, the town and harbour of Penſacola, provided the citizens and inhabitants of the united ſtates ſhall have the free and uninterrupted navigation of the Miſſiſippi and the uſe of the harbour of Penſacola; and will, provided it ſhall be true that his Portugueſe majeſty has inſultingly expelled the veſſels of theſe ſtates from his ports, or has confiſcated ſuch veſſels, declare war againſt the ſaid king, if that meaſure ſhall be agreeable to, and ſupported by the courts of France and Spain.

That the commiſſioners for the court of Berlin conſult with the

commiſſioners at the court of France, and prepare ſuch treaty or treaties of friendſhip and commerce to be propoſed to the king of Pruſſia, as ſhall not be diſagreeable to their moſt chriſtian and catholic majeſties.

Extract of the Minutes,

CHARLES THOMPSON,

Secretary of the Congreſs.

By Order of the Congreſs,

JOHN HANCOCK, Preſident.

In General Aſſembly of Penſylvania, May 25, 1778.

The houſe reſumed the conſideration of the reſolves reſpecting the draughts of the two bills propoſed in the Britiſh parliament, and, after conſiderable debates thereupon, they were unanimouſly adopted as follows, viz.

THE houſe having taken into conſideration the ſpeech of Lord North, in the Britiſh houſe of commons, on the 19th of February laſt, and the two bills ordered to be brought in by him, &c. in conſequence thereof; the one intituled, "A bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes within his majeſty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America;" the other intituled, "A Bill to enable his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, with ſufficient power to treat, conſult, and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces in North America;" together with the proceedings of congreſs thereupon on the 22d day of April laſt, as publiſhed in the Pennſylvania Gazette of the 24th day of the ſame month; and having maturely conſidered the ſame, came to the following reſolutions; to wit,

1. Reſolved unanimouſly, That the delegates or deputies of the united ſtates of America, in congreſs aſſembled, are inveſted with excluſive authority to treat with the king of Great Britain, or commiſſioners by him duly appointed, reſpecting a peace between the two countries.

2. Reſolved unanimouſly, That any man, or body of men, who ſhall preſume to make any ſeparate or partial convention, or agreement with the king of Great Britain, or with any commiſſioner or commiſſioners under the crown of Great Britain, ought to be conſidered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the united ſtates of America.

3. Reſolved unanimouſly, That this houſe highly approved of the declaration of congreſs, "That theſe united ſtates cannot, with propriety, hold any conference or treaty with any commiſſioners on the part of Great Britain, unleſs they ſhall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or elſe in poſitive and expreſs terms acknowledge the independence of the ſaid ſtates."

4. Reſolved unanimouſly, That the congreſs have no power, authority, or right, to do any act, matter, or thing whatſoever, that may have a tendency to yield up or abridge the ſovereignty and independence of this ſtate without its conſent previouſly obtained.

5. Reſolved unanimouſly, That this houſe will maintain, ſupport, and defend the ſovereignty and independence

dependence of this ſtate with their lives and fortunes.

6. Reſolved unanimouſly, That it be recommended to the ſupreme executive council of this ſtate, forthwith to order the militia to hold themſelves in readineſs to act as occaſion may require.

Extract from the minutes,

JOHN MORRIS, jun.
Clerk of the General Aſſembly.

In CONGRESS.

June 13, 1778.

AN expreſs arrived with a letter of the 11th, from General Waſhington, which was read, and a packet in which it was incloſed, together with other papers, a letter ſigned 'Carliſle, William Eden, G. Johnſtone,' dated 'Philadelphia, June 9, 1778,' and directed 'to his excellency, Henry Laurens, the preſident, and other members of the congreſs;' which letter was read to the words, 'inſidious interpoſition of a power, which has from the firſt ſettlement of theſe colonies been actuated with enmity to us both; and notwithſtanding the pretended date or form of the French offers,' incluſive; whereupon the reading was interrupted, and a motion was made not to proceed farther, becauſe of the offenſive language againſt his moſt chriſtian majeſty. Debates ariſing thereon,

Ordered, that the conſideration of the motion be poſtponed, and congreſs adjourned till ten o'clock on Monday June 16.

Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the motion reſpecting the letter from the commiſſioners of the king of Great Britain, which being poſtponed,

A motion was made, 'That the letter from the commiſſioners of the king of Great Britain lie on the table.' Paſſed in the negative.

On the motion—Reſolved, 'That the letter and the papers accompanying it be read.' Whereupon a letter of the 9th, and one dated June, 1778, both ſigned, 'Carliſle, William Eden, G. Johnſtone,' and a paper indorſed, 'Copy of the commiſſion for reſtoring peace, &c. to the Earl of Carliſle, Lord Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, or in his abſence Sir Henry Clinton, William Eden, and George Johnſtone,' were read, and alſo three acts of the Britiſh parliament, one intitled, 'An act for repealing an act paſſed in the 14th year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, intitled, an act for the better regulating the government of the province of Maſſachuſett's-bay, in New-England,' the other two the ſame as the bills already publiſhed. The letters are as follow:

To his excellency Henry Laurens, the Preſident, and other Members of Congreſs.

Gentlemen, With an earneſt deſire to ſtop the further effuſion of blood and the calamities of war, we communicate to you, with the leaſt poſſible delay after our arrival in this city, a copy of the commiſſion with which his Majeſty is pleaſed to honour us, as alſo the acts of parliament on which it is founded; and at the ſame time that we aſſure you of our moſt earneſt deſire to re-eſtabliſh, on the baſis of equal freedom and mutual ſafety, the tranquillity of this once happy empire, you will obſerve, that we are veſted with powers equal to the purpoſe, and ſuch as are even un-

precedented in the annals of our history.

In the preſent ſtate of our affairs, though fraught with ſubjects of mutual regret, all parties may draw ſome degree of conſolation, and even an auſpicious hope from the recollection that cordial reconciliation and affection have, in our own and other empires, ſucceeded to the contentions and temporary diviſions not leſs violent than thoſe we now experience.

We wiſh not to recall ſubjects which are now no longer in controverſy, and will reſerve to a proper time of diſcuſſion both the hopes of mutual benefit, and the conſideration of evils that may naturally contribute to determine your reſolutions as well as our own on this important occaſion.

The acts of parliament which we tranſmit to you, having paſſed with ſingular unanimity, will ſufficiently evince the diſpoſition of Great Britain, and ſhew that the terms of agreement, in contemplation with his majeſty and with his parliament, are ſuch as come up to every wiſh that North America, either in the hour of temperate deliberation, or of the utmoſt apprehenſion of danger to liberty, has expreſſed.

More effectually to demonſtrate our good intentions, we think proper to declare, even in this our firſt communication, that we are diſpoſed to concur in every ſatisfactory and juſt arrangement towards the following among other purpoſes:

'To conſent to a ceſſation of hoſtilities, both by ſea and land. To reſtore free intercourſe, to revive mutual affection, and reſtore the common benefits of naturaliſation through the ſeveral parts of this empire. To extend every freedom to trade that our reſpective intereſts can require. To agree that no military force ſhall be kept up in the different ſtates of North America, without the conſent of the general congreſs, or particular aſſemblies. To concur in meaſures calculated to diſcharge the debts of America, and raiſe the value and credit of the paper circulation.

'To perpetuate our union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different ſtates, who ſhall have the privilege of a ſeat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or, if ſent from Britain, to have in that caſe a ſeat and voice in the aſſemblies of the different ſtates to which they may be deputed reſpectively, in order to attend to the ſeveral intereſts of thoſe by whom they are deputed.

'In ſhort, to eſtabliſh the power of the reſpective legiſlatures in each particular ſtate, to ſettle its revenue, its civil and military eſtabliſhment, and to exerciſe a perfect freedom of legiſlation and internal government, ſo that the Britiſh ſtates throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war, under our common ſovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is ſhort of a total ſeparation of intereſt, or conſiſtent with that union of force, on which the ſafety of our common religion and liberty depends.

'In our anxiety for preſerving thoſe ſacred and eſſential intereſts, we cannot help taking notice of the inſidious interpoſition of a power, which has from the firſt ſettlement of theſe colonies been actuated with enmity to us both. And notwithſtanding the pretended date, or preſent form, of the French offers to America,

America, yet it is notorious, that these were made in consequence of the plans of accommodation previously concerted in Great Britain, and with a view to prevent our reconciliation, and to prolong this destructive war.

'But we trust that the inhabitants of North-America, connected with us by the nearest ties of consanguinity, speaking the same language, interested in the preservation of similar institutions, remembering the former happy intercourse of good offices, and forgetting recent animosities, will shrink from the thought of becoming an accession of force to our late mutual enemy, and will prefer a firm, free, and perpetual coalition with the parent state to an insincere and unnatural foreign alliance.

'This dispatch will be delivered to you by Dr. Ferguson, the secretary to his majesty's commission; and, for further explanation and discussion of every subject of difference, we desire to meet with you either collectively or by deputation, at New-York, Philadelphia, York-Town, or such other place as you may propose. We think it right, however, to apprize you, that his majesty's instructions, as well as our own desire, to remove from the immediate seat of war, in the active operations of which we cannot take any part, may induce us speedily to remove to New-York; but the commander in chief of his majesty's land-forces, who is joined with us in this commission, will, if it should become eligible, either concur with us in a suspension of hostilities, or will furnish all necessary passports and safe conduct, to facilitate our meeting, and we shall of course expect the same of you.

'If after the time that may be necessary to consider of this communication, and transmit your answer, the horrors and devastations of war should continue, we call God and the world to witness, that the evils which must follow are not to be imputed to Great Britain; and we cannot without the most real sorrow anticipate the prospect of calamities which we feel the most ardent desire to prevent. We are, with perfect respect, Gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servants,

Carlisle, W. Eden, G. Johnstone.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens, President, and other Members of Congress.

Gentlemen, The dispatch inclosed with this, was carried this morning to the nearest post of General Washington's army by Dr. Ferguson, Secretary to his Majesty's commission for restoring peace, &c. but he, not finding a passport, has returned to this place. In order to avoid every unnecessary delay, we now again send it by the ordinary conveyance of your military posts; as soon as the passport arrives, Dr. Ferguson shall wait upon you according to our first arrangement. We are, with perfect respect, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servants,

Carlisle, W. Eden, G. Johnstone.

Ordered, that they be referred to a committee of five.

Eodem Die, P. M. The committee to whom were referred the letters and papers from the Earl of Carlisle, &c. Commissioners from the King of Great Britain, reported the draft of a letter, which was read.

Resolved,

Resolved, that the consideration thereof be postponed till to-morrow.

June 17th, 1778. Congress resumed the consideration of the draft of the letter, in answer to the letter and papers received from the Earl of Carlisle, &c. Commissioners from the King of Great Britain, which was unanimously agreed to, and is as follows:

To their Excellencies the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle, William Eden, and George Johnstone, Esqrs. Commissioners from his Britannic Majesty, Philadelphia.

'I have received the letter from your Excellencies of the 9th instant, with the inclosures, and laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper, containing expressions so disrespectful to his Most Christian Majesty, the good and great ally of these states, or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

'The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your Sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these states to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on an idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissible.

'I am further directed to inform your Excellencies, that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted; they will therefore be contented to enter upon a consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgement of the independence of these states, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies. I have the honour to be, your Excellencies most obedient and humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS, President.

York-Town, July 17, 1778.

Resolved unanimously, that Congress approve the conduct of General Washington, in refusing a passport to Dr. Ferguson. Published by order of Congress.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

In CONGRESS, June 17, 1778.

Whereas many letters, addressed to individuals of these United States, have been lately received from England, through the conveyance of the enemy, and some of them which have been under the inspection of members of Congress, are found to contain ideas insidiously calculated to divide and delude the good people of these states:

Resolved, that it be, and is hereby earnestly recommended to the legislative and executive authorities of the several states, to exercise the utmost care and vigilance, and take the most effectual measures to put a stop to so dangerous and criminal a correspondence.

Resolved, that the Commander in Chief, and the Commander in each and every military department be,

be, and he and they are hereby directed to carry the measures recommended in the above resolution into the most effectual execution.

Extract from the minutes.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec.

Private Letter from Governor Johnstone to Henry Laurens, Esq.

Philadelphia, June 10, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I beg to transfer to my friend Doctor Ferguson the private civilities which my friends Mr. Manning and Mr. Oswald request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmost probity, and of the highest esteem in the republic of letters.

If you should follow the example of Britain in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope from private friendship that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request, in any way you may point out. I am, with great regard, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

GEORGE JOHNSTONE.

To his Excellency,
HENRY LAURENCE, Congress.

ANSWER.

York-Town, June 14, 1778.

Dear Sir,

Yesterday I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning. Had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shewn that gentleman every degree of respect and attention that times and circumstances admit of.

It is, Sir, for Great Britain to determine, whether her Commissioners shall return unheard by the Representatives of these United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms, upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end; terms from which, although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts; and that, from the rage of war, the good people of these states shall be driven to commence a treaty westward of yonder mountain. And permit me to add, Sir, on my humble opinion, the true interest of Great Britain, in the present advance of our contest, will be found in confirming our independence.

Congress in no hour have been haughty; but to suppose, that their minds are less firm in the present, than they were, when destitute of all foreign aid, even without expectation of an alliance; when, upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation, in their house of worship, and in the presence of God, they resolved 'to hold no conference or treaty with any Commissioners on the part of Great Britain; unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of these states,' would be irrational.

At a proper time, Sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a personal

perſonal attention, and by contributing to render every part of theſe ſtates agreeable to you; but, until the baſis of mutual confidence ſhall be eſtabliſhed, I believe, Sir, neither former private friendſhip, nor any other conſideration, can influence Congreſs to conſent, that even Governor Johnſtone, a gentlemen who has been ſo deſervedly eſteemed in America, ſhall ſee the country. I have but one voice, and that ſhall be againſt it. But let me inſtruct you, my dear Sir; do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whoſe kindneſs I have obtained the honour of the preſent correſpondence, or that I am not, with very great perſonal reſpect and eſteem, Sir,

Your moſt obedient
And moſt humble ſervant,
HENRY LAURENS.

The Hon. Governor JOHNSTONE, Eſq. Philadelphia.

Treaty of Alliance, Eventual and Defenſive, between his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty Louis *the Sixteenth, King of* France *and* Navarre, *and the Thirteen United States of* America, *concluded at* Paris, *6th February*, 1778.

THE Moſt Chriſtian King, and the United States of North-America, to wit, New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-Bay, Rhode iſland, Connecticut, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, having this day concluded a treaty of amity and commerce, for the reciprocal advantage of their ſubjects and citizens, have thought it neceſſary to take into conſideration the means of ſtrengthening thoſe engagements, and of rendering them uſeful to the ſafety and tranquillity of the two parties; particularly in caſe Great Britain, in reſentment of that connection, and of the good correſpondence which is the object of the ſaid treaty, ſhould break the peace with France, either by direct hoſtilities, or by hindering her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the rights of nations, and the peace ſubſiſting between the two crowns.—And his Majeſty and the ſaid United States having reſolved in that caſe to join their councils and efforts againſt the enterprizes of their common enemy—

The reſpective Plenipotentiaries, impowered to concert the clauſes and conditions proper to fulfil the ſaid intentions, have, after the moſt mature deliberation, concluded and determined on the following articles.

Art. I. If war ſhould break out between France and Great Britain, during the continuance of the preſent war between the United States and England, his Majeſty and the ſaid United States ſhall make it a common cauſe, and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their councils, and their forces, according to the exigency of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies.

Art. II. The eſſential and direct end of the preſent defenſive alliance is, to maintain effectually the liberty, ſovereignty, and independence, abſolute and unlimited, of the ſaid United States, as well

in

in matters of government as of commerce.

Art. III. The two contracting parties ſhall each on its own part, and in the manner it may judge moſt proper, make all the efforts in its power againſt their common enemy, in order to attain the end propoſed.

Art. IV. The contracting parties agree, that in caſe either of them ſhould form a particular enterprize in which the concurrence of the other may be deſired, the party whoſe concurrence is deſired, ſhall readily and with good faith join to act in concert for that purpoſe, as far as circumſtances and its own particular ſituation will permit; and in that caſe, they ſhall regulate by a particular convention the quantity and kind of ſuccour to be furniſhed, and the time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its compenſation.

Art. V. If the United States ſhould think fit to attempt the reduction of the Britiſh power, remaining in the Northern parts of America, or the iſlands of Bermudas, thoſe countries or iſlands, in caſe of ſucceſs, ſhall be confederated with, or dependent upon, the ſaid United States.

Art. VI. The Moſt Chriſtian King renounces for ever the poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Bermudas, as well as of any part of the continent of America, which before the treaty of Paris, in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the crown of Great Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called Britiſh Colonies, or which are at this time, or have lately been, under the power of the King and crown of Great Britain.

Art. VII. If his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall think proper to attack any of the iſlands ſituated in the Gulph of Mexico, or near that Gulph, which are at preſent under the power of Great Britain, all the ſaid iſles, in caſe of ſucceſs, ſhall appertain to the crown of France.

Art. VIII. Neither of the two parties ſhall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal conſent of the other firſt obtained; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States ſhall have been formally or tacitly aſſured by the treaty or treaties that ſhall terminate the war.

Art. IX. The contracting parties declare, that, being reſolved to fulfil, each on its own part, the clauſes and conditions of the preſent treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumſtances, there ſhall be no after-claims of compenſation, on one ſide or the other, whatever may be the event of the war.

Art. X. The Moſt Chriſtian King and the United States agree, to invite or admit other powers, who may have received injuries from England, to make a common cauſe with them, and to accede to the preſent alliance, under ſuch conditions as ſhall be freely agreed to, and ſettled between all the parties.

Art. XI. The two parties guarantee mutually from the preſent time, and for ever, againſt all other powers, to wit—The United States to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the preſent poſſeſſions of the crown of France in America, as well as thoſe which it may acquire by

by the future treaty of peace; and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty guarantees on his part to the United States, their liberty, ſovereignty, and independence, abſolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and alſo their poſſeſſions, and the additions or conqueſts that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions now or heretofore poſſeſſed by Great Britain in North America; conformable to the fifth and ſixth articles above written, the whole as their poſſeſſions ſhall be fixed and aſſured to the ſaid States, at the moment of the ceſſation of their preſent war with England.

Art. XII. In order to fix more preciſely the ſenſe and application of the preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that in caſe of a rupture between France and England, the reciprocal guarantee declared in the ſaid article ſhall have its full force and effect the moment ſuch war ſhall break out; and if ſuch rupture ſhall not take place, the mutual obligations of the ſaid guarantees ſhall not commence until the moment of the ceſſation of the preſent war between the United States and England, ſhall have aſcertained their poſſeſſions.

Art. XIII. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified on both ſides, and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged in the ſpace of ſix months, or ſooner if poſſible.

In faith whereof the reſpective Plenipotentiaries, to wit, on the part of the Moſt Chriſtian King, Conrad Alexander Gerard, Royal Syndic of the city of Straſbourg, and Secretary of his Majeſty's Council of State—And on the part of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, deputy to the General Congreſs, from the State of Penſylvania, and Preſident of the convention of ſaid State; Silas Deane, heretofore deputy from the State of Connecticut; and Arthur Lee, Counſellor at Law, have ſigned the above articles both in the French and Engliſh languages; declaring, nevertheleſs, that the preſent treaty was originally compoſed and concluded in the French language, and they have hereunto affixed their ſeals.

Done at Paris, the ſixth day of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight.

(L. S.) C. A. GERARD,
(L. S.) B. FRANKLIN,
(L. S.) SILAS DEANE,
(L. S.) ARTHUR LEE.

CHA-

CHARACTERS.

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERS

CHARACTERS.

Anecdotes of M. Voltaire's *Reception at* Paris, *and of his Death.*

WE have already brought down the hiſtory of this celebrated author, to the period of his retirement at Ferney. His laſt journey to Paris, was as extraordinary as it was unexpected. He arrived at the capital on the 10th of February, in the afternoon, after an abſence of 27 years. It is remarkable, that he left this city in the year in which the Sieur Kain was received on the French theatre, and returned to it the very day when that great actor was buried. At the Barriers his carriage was ſtopped by the cuſtom-houſe officers, and he was aſked if he had any thing that paid duty: "No, gentlemen," ſaid he, "there is nothing here contraband—but myſelf."

Two days after his arrival, M. de Voltaire paſſed the whole night in ſtudy; which, with the numerous viſits that were paid him, was more than ſufficient to hurt his health. He was expected, on the 16th, at the repreſentation of Cinna, for the benefit of a great nephew of Corneille; but Dr. Tronchin thought it imprudent for his old patient to quit his chamber ſo ſoon. He ſaw company, however, all the afternoon; he left them indeed at an early hour. "I am ſmothered," ſaid he, "but it is by roſes."

The French academy, at one of their meetings, determined to ſend three of their members to compliment him, inſtead of one, as had been uſual on like occaſions. The Prince de Beaveau was at the head of this deputation, which was joined by ſeveral other academicians. M. de Voltaire received his brethren with a cordiality and pleaſantry difficult to expreſs.

Next day the comedians waited on him in a body, to pay their reſpects. The Sieur Bellecourt, who was their ſpokeſman, artfully hinted at the loſs they had juſt ſuffered, in theſe few words: "Behold the remains of the comedians;" adding, "We are come to beg you, Sir, to breathe upon us." M. de Voltaire replied with his uſual grace and preciſion (and the actors had reaſon to be flattered by his ſaying) "I only live for you, and by you." He ſpoke afterwards in the moſt obliging manner, to every one in particular, and as he had paſſed the night before in correcting the tragedy of Irene*, he ſaid to Madame Veſtris, "I have devoted a whole

* Or *Alexis Comnènus*, a new tragedy by Voltaire.——One of the principal perſonages is a monk of St. Baſil.——Voltaire has alſo lately written another

whole night to your ſervice, as if I were only twenty."

Having a great deſire to be acquainted with Dr. Franklin, this celebrated American was introduced to him. Voltaire accoſted and converſed with him ſome time in Engliſh, till Mad. Denis interrupted him by ſaying, that Dr. Franklin underſtood French, and the reſt of the company wiſhed to know the ſubject of their diſcourſe. "Excuſe me, my dear," replied Voltaire, "I have the vanity to ſhew, that I am not unacquainted with the language of a Franklin."

On preſenting the Marchioneſs de Villette to ſeveral ladies of the court, who came to ſee him, he ſaid, "ſee, ladies, the fair and the good*! ſhe has taken pity on my age: to her I am indebted for the happineſs of ſeeing you, and for the little exiſtence that I have left."

This young lady, whoſe maiden name was Varicourt, is of a good family in the country of Gex, and was deſtined to a convent; but about four years ago was adopted by Voltaire, and educated ever ſince by his niece, Madam Denis. She was married, at Ferney, to the Marquis de Villette.

Voltaire alſo wrote their epithalamium, and entitled it, *A Tranſlation of an Epiſtle from Propertius to Tibullus, on his Marriage with Delia*.

To the numerous panegyrical verſes that ſwarmed at his arrival, his enemies oppoſed ſeveral epigrams and other ſatires, no leſs witty than malicious. Many of theſe came to his hands, which occaſioned his ſaying, "I receive ſuch filth at Ferney every week, and I pay the poſtage of it: here it is ſent me every day, and coſts me nothing. By this I am a gainer." Flattered, but not elated, with the attention that was ſhewn him, he often repeated, "I am, like Spartacus, amazed at my glory."

On the morning of the 25th, being deſirous of reading his tragedy of Irene to the players, he had ſuch a violent flux of blood, that Dr. Tronchin was obliged to order a vein to be opened. In the evening he was quite eaſy, and a few days reſt entirely recovered him. But as if the continual exertion of his genius was become neceſſary to him, though he very readily followed the preſcription of his phyſician in not talking, yet he could by no means be prevented reading the whole evening.

On March 16th, M. Voltaire's new tragedy of Irene, or Alexis Comnêmus, was acted at Paris for the firſt time to a moſt ſplendid and crowded audience. All the royal family were preſent, and never were more applauſes heard.

tragedy entitled *Agathocles*, that tyrant of Syracuſe, who from being the ſon of a potter, roſe to the throne, and reigned with ſo much ſplendor. It is wonderful that this extraordinary man, at the age of 83, ſhould retain that ſtrength of pencil, and freſhneſs of colouring, which diſtinguiſh the productions of his youth.

* *Belle et bonne* was a name which Voltaire had given to her.

Enlivened, as it were, and recovered by the ſucceſs of his play, M. de Voltaire went abroad a few days after, and walked in the *Elyſian Fields*. On this ſucceſs he was complimented by a deputation from the French Academy, and his buſt has been placed in the theatre by the ſide of that of the great Corneille; a compliment which, though never before paid to any living bard, can be authoriſed only by the great age and talents of this writer.

On March 30th, M. de Voltaire went to a private meeting of the French Academy, which was very numerous. The Academy went to meet and receive him. He was conducted to the ſeat of the Director, which that officer and the Academy intreated him to take. Afterwards the Academy, with acclamations, nominated him Director for the April quarter, without drawing lots as uſual. The meeting was crowded on account of the reading the elogium of Deſpreaux by M. d'Alembert, which that celebrated academician had before read, in a public meeting, with the greateſt ſucceſs.

The ſame day M. de Voltaire went to the theatre, and was preſent at the ſixth repreſentation of his tragedy of Irene. As ſoon as the people ſaw his coach, they ran in crowds to meet him, and nothing but their regard for him could have moderated a curioſity, which might otherwiſe, perhaps, have been fatal to him. The audience impatiently expected him in the houſe, and by repeated ſhouts and applauſes, ſhewed their ſatisfaction on ſeeing at laſt a writer, who has contributed ſo much to their amuſement, and whom they have ſo long idolized. As ſoon as he was ſeated in his box, the Sieur Brizard appeared, holding a crown, which he placed on his head. M. de Voltaire ſtretched out his hand, and perceiving the honours that were intended him, removed it, ſaying, with an affecting tone, "Ah! my God, you are reſolved to kill me." The new tragedy was played with more ſpirit and accuracy than it had ever been before. As ſoon as it was over, an unexpected and (if poſſible) ſtill more intereſting ſcene ſucceeded. The curtain was drawn up, and all the actors and actreſſes were ſeen ſurrounding the buſt of M. de Voltaire, and placing by turns ſome crowns of laurel on his head. This homage was attended with univerſal applauſes, and in about a quarter of an hour, Mad. Veſtris advancing with a paper in her hand, had much difficulty to obtain a moment's ſilence: at length ſhe read theſe verſes, which were juſt compoſed by the Marquis de St. Marc:

"Aux yeux de Paris enchanté,
Reçois en ce jour un hommage
Que confirmera d'âge en âge
La ſévere poſtérité.
Non, tu n'a pas beſoin d'atteindre au noir rivage
Pour jouir de l'honneur d'immortalité;
Voltaire, reçois la couronne
Que l'on vient de te préſenter,
Il eſt beau de la mériter,
Quand c'eſt la France qui la donne."

The public confirmed by freſh applauſes theſe extraordinary honours, and encored the verſes. Numerous as have been the triumphs of M. de Voltaire for above ſixty years, this day, no doubt, was the moſt glorious of his life.

Next day M. de Voltaire ſent the Marquis de St. Marc the following reply:

Vous daignez couronner, aux jeux de Melpomene,
D'un vieillard affoibli les efforts impuiſſants.
Ces lauriers, dont vos mains couvroient nos cheveux blancs,
Etoient nés dans votre domain.
On ſait que de ſon bien tout mortel eſt jaloux,
Chacun garde pour ſoi ce que le ciel lui donne.
Le Parnaſſe n'a vu que vous
Qui ſût partager ſa couronne.

There are various accounts given of the cauſes of his death: it is probable, that a decay of nature, owing to old age, and his being hurried into a variety of amuſements, to which he had not latterly been accuſtomed, were amongſt the principal. Other accounts add, that he had conceived a plan of reforming and correcting the French language, on which he laboured from ſix to nine hours in a day for ſome weeks before his death, taking no other ſuſtenance but coffee, which had been a favourite refreſhment with him many years. —Complaining one day to the Duke de Richelieu that he found himſelf deprived of ſleep, that nobleman recommended him to take ſome opium, and ſaid, he took a certain quantity every day. Voltaire, however, thought he could take a larger doſe, which he did without conſulting any of the Faculty, and thereby certainly haſtened his death.

The Marquis de Villette, with whom Voltaire reſided in Paris, when he perceived his viſitor's death approaching, ſent for Monſ. Bonnet, Curé of St. Sulpice, to perſuade him, if poſſible, to comply with the uſual cuſtoms of their religion, in order that the proper honours might be paid to his remains. — The Curé began by queſtioning Voltaire, 'if he believed in the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt,' but was haſtily ſtopped by the wit's ſaying, 'Ah! M. le Curé, if I paſs that article to you, you will demand if I do not alſo believe in the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo on, until you finiſh by the *Bull Unigenitus*.'—The Curé departed; but in a few hours after a great change appearing, he came a ſecond time, and began with putting his hand on the dying man's head as he lay in bed; upon which Voltaire raiſed his own hand to the Curate's head, and puſhed him away, ſaying, 'I came into the world without a *Bonnet*, and will go out without one, therefore let me die in peace!' He accordingly turn'd his back toward the Curé, and died in a few minutes, without ſpeaking another word, on the 30th of May. The Archbiſhop of Paris refuſed every application that was made to him for the rites of Chriſtian burial. — The Marquis de Vilette and Voltaire's nephew conteſted the matter with the Archbiſhop ſome days, and the reſult was that Voltaire ſhould be taken in a coach, *as if living*, to his nephew's abbey at Sellières, in Champagne, accompanied by himſelf and the Marquis, where he was interred with the utmoſt privacy. — The Marquis de Villette demanded his heart to be given to him, which he has cauſed to be put into a vaſe of gold fixed on a pyramid, on which is wrote the following verſe by the Marquis himſelf:

'Son Eſprit eſt par-tout, mais ſon cœur eſt ici.'

Voltaire

Voltaire was a man ſomewhat above the middle ſize, of an arid bodily conſtitution, a meagre countenance, and a ſlender form. His eye was ardent, quick, and penetrating; an air of pleaſantry, tinged with malignity, reigned in his features; the quickneſs and vivacity of his animal ſpirits were ſingular beyond expreſſion, and the predominant force of his intellectual powers was always verging towards pleaſantry. It was this ſpirit of pleaſantry that rendered him ſo extremely ſociable; he frequented the great, to ſtudy their follies and their vices, and to collect anecdotes, either of an agreeable or malignant nature, to embelliſh his writings, and enable him to take the lead in converſation. In diſcourſe, and in his manners, he united the eaſe of Ariſtippus with the cynical ſpirit of Diogenes. He was inconſtant in his friendſhips, if any of his connections ever deſerved that name: and he carried even into the ſolitude of his philoſophical retirement, the ſpirit of a courtier and a ſycophant. He was reſtleſs and inconſtant in all his ways—had no fixed tenor of character or conduct—had fits of reaſon and principle, as well as of caprice and paſſion. His head was clear, his imagination was lively, but his heart, it is to be feared, was exceedingly corrupt. He treated every thing connected with religion with conſtant deriſion. His pretenſions to humanity and benevolence were great; he undertook and performed noble things in behalf of the moſt eſſential rights, privileges, and intereſts of mankind; but theſe ſplendid virtues, were tarniſhed by an exceſſive vanity and boundleſs avarice.

He was ambitious of adding to his well deſerved fame, as a poet, the reputation of a profound philoſopher and an eminent hiſtorian. The opinions of the learned have been greatly divided about the degree of merit due to him in theſe three characters. As a poet, he had certainly more wit than genius; and, generally ſpeaking, he was more pleaſing and affecting than arduous and ſublime. His verſification is eaſy and melodious; his deſcriptions lively and touching. His tragedies, in general, are excellent; his *Henriade* is a fine poem—his *Pucelle*, or *Maid of Orleans*, ought to be hid in a privy on the ſummit of Parnaſſus; but it is very ſingular, that with ſuch an abundant and rich vein of pleaſantry and humour as he poſſeſſed, he was incapable of making any figure in comedy. He was not a profound philoſopher, and yet he was far from being ignorant in the Sciences;—he was a tolerable Metaphyſician of the ſecond claſs;—and he had, in the earlier parts of his life, made ſome proficiency in natural philoſophy.—We muſt not look upon him as a mean hiſtorian, becauſe he diſfigured the Life and Reign of Peter the Great, and compoſed a ſlovenly Hiſtory of Ruſſia: for his *Age of Lewis XIV.* and his *Eſſay on Univerſal Hiſtory*, will give him a very conſiderable and permanent reputation among the hiſtorians of the preſent age. His knowledge was extenſive, his reading prodigious, and his attainments in polite and elegant literature were very great. Notwithſtanding all this, he is ſaid to have

been ſuperficial; and this may be more or leſs true; for though his application to ſtudy was keen and aſſiduous, yet his reſtleſſneſs and inconſtancy of mind were ſuch as rendered him incapable of dwelling long enough upon any ſubject to underſtand it thoroughly.

His proſe is highly and deſervedly eſteemed; few of the French writers equal him in purity, elegance, facility, and attic ſalt; ſimplicity reigns even in thoſe phraſes, where his wit is moſt lively, and his expreſſion is moſt ingenious. It muſt be confeſſed, and the circumſtance is ſingular, that though his imagination was active, verſatile, and lively, he had little invention.—His repetitions are ſhameful—he is ever melting old thoughts into new forms—nay, often he is not even at the pains of varying the forms.

We would caſt a ſhade over his vices, which were ſtriking;—let that deſpotic jealouſy which could bear no rival in literary fame—let that malignant irritability that made him impatient of all contradiction and criticiſm—let that ungenerous bigotry which made him perſevere in, and even repeat his errors when they had been palpably expoſed—let all theſe be contemplated with compaſſion, if they cannot be entirely buried in oblivion.—He now reſts from his labours of animoſity and contention; and we can only hope that his *Works*, in this part of his career, *may not follow him!*—We ſhall not enter into a circumſtantial detail of his character and conduct with reſpect to religion and morals. We ſhall only obſerve, that his oppoſition to chriſtianity was not only indecent and diſingenuous, but was, moreover, carried on with a degree of acrimony, ſpite, bitterneſs, and bigotry, which has not been perceivable in the writings of any Deiſt, known to us, in the preſent age. In natural religion, though he ſeemed ſometimes wavering, undetermined, and inconſiſtent, yet he never appears to have contracted the ſtupid frenzy of atheiſm.

Dr. George Abbot, *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

The following Character was drawn by the late Mr. Onſlow, *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, on peruſing Lord* Clarendon's *unfavourable Repreſentation of* Abbot, *in his Lordſhip's Hiſtory of the Rebellion.*

THAT worthy Prelate did ſurely deſerve a better repreſentation to poſterity. He was a very wiſe and prudent man, knew well the temper and diſpoſition of the kingdom with reſpect to the ceremonies and power of the church, and did therefore uſe a moderation in the point of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which if it had been followed by his ſucceſſor, the ruin that ſoon after fell on the church might very likely have been prevented. His being without any credit at court from the latter end of King James's reign will bring no diſhonour on his memory, if it be conſidered that his diſgrace aroſe from his diſlike of, and oppoſition to the imprudent and corrupt meaſures of the court at that time, and from an honeſt zeal for the laws and liberties of his country, which

ſeemed

ſeemed then to be in no ſmall danger: and it was a part truly becoming the high ſtation he then bore. His advice upon the affair of the Palatinate and the Spaniſh match ſhewed his knowledge of the true intereſt of England, and how much it was at his heart; and his behaviour and ſufferings in the next reign about the loan and Sibthorp's ſermon, as they were the reaſons of his diſgrace at that time, ſo ought they to render his memory valuable to all who wiſh not to ſee the fatal counſels and the oppreſſion of thoſe times revived in this nation. The Duke of Buckingham was his enemy becauſe the Archbiſhop would not be his creature, and the church perhaps might have been thought to have been better governed, if he had ſtooped to the Duke, and given in to the wantonneſſes of his power: but he knew the dignity of his character, and loved his country too well to ſubmit to ſuch a meanneſs, though very few of his brethren had the courage or honeſty to join with him in this; and if the Archbiſhop himſelf is to be credited, his ſucceſſor's riſe was by the practice of thoſe arts this good man could not bend to. As to his learning we need no better teſtimony of it than his promotion by King James, who had too much affectation that way to prefer any one to ſuch a ſtation who had not borne the reputation of a ſcholar; but there are other proofs of his ſufficiency in this, even for the high place he held in the church. If he had ſome narrow notions in divinity, they were rather the faults of the age he had his education in, than his; and the ſame imputation may be laid on the beſt and moſt learned of the reformers. His warmth againſt popery became the office of a proteſtant Biſhop; though even towards papiſts there is a remarkable inſtance of his mildneſs and charity, which ſhewed that his zeal againſt their perſons went no farther than the ſafety of the ſtate required. His parts ſeem to have been ſtrong and maſterly, his preaching grave and eloquent, and his ſtyle equal to any of that time. He was eminent for piety and a care for the poor, and his hoſpitality fully anſwered the injunction King James laid on him, which was to carry his houſe nobly, and to live like an Archbiſhop. He had no thoughts of heaping up riches; what he did ſave was laid out by him in the erecting and endowing of an handſome hoſpital for decayed tradeſmen, and the widows of ſuch, in the town of Guildford, in the county of Surrey, where he was born and had his firſt education; and here I cannot omit taking notice that the body of Statutes drawn by himſelf for the government of that houſe, is one of the moſt judicious works of that kind I ever ſaw, and under which, for near one hundred years, that hoſpital has maintained the beſt credit of any that I know in England. He was void of all pomp and oſtentation, and thought the nearer the church and churchmen came to the ſimplicity of the firſt Chriſtians, the better would the true ends of religion be ſerved, and that the purity of the heart was to be preferred to, and ought rather to be the care of a ſpiritual governor, than the devotion of the hands only. If under this notion ſome niceties in diſcipline were given up to goodneſs of life, and

when the peace of the church as well as of the kingdom was preserved by it, it was surely no ill piece of prudence, nor is his memory therefore deserving of those slanders it has undergone upon that account.

It is easy to see that much of this treatment has been owing to a belief in the admirers and followers of Archbishop Laud, that the reputation of the latter was increased by depreciating that of the former. They were indeed men of very different frames, and the parts they took in the affairs both of church and state as disagreeing. In the church, moderation and the ways of peace guided the behaviour of the first, rigour and severity that of the last. In the state they severally carried the like principles and temper. The one made the liberty of the people and the laws of the land the measure of his actions, when the other, to speak softly of it, had the power of the Prince and the exalting the prerogative only, for the foundation of his. They were indeed both of them men of courage and resolution; but it was sedate and temperate in Abbot, passionate and unruly in Laud. It is not however to be denied that many rare and excellent virtues were possessed by the latter; but it must be owned too, he seems rather made for the hierarchy of another church, and to be the Minister of an arbitrary Prince, and the other to have had the qualifications of a protestant Bishop and the guardian of a free state. Thus much I thought was due to the character of this good man, not only for the sake of justice, but as an offering of gratitude to his memory for the great and lasting obligations the town of Guildford (to which I have some relation) lies under to him. And what I have here said of him I am amply justified in, from several accounts delivered down of him, from letters and other pieces of his own in Rushworth's Collections, and from the statutes of his hospital before mentioned, and other memorials of his worth which are there preserved.

July the 10th, 1723. A. O.

Original Letter of Thomas Leigh (*one of the Visiters of the Monasteries*) *to* Thomas Crumwell, *Lord Privy Seal. Dated from the Monastery of* Vale Royal, *the 22d of* August, 1536.

[From Hardwicke State Papers.]

[This is a curious but authentic picture of country manners about the time of the Reformation: it is no wonder that Visiters, making such reports, were unpopular.]

IN my most humble manner I commend me unto your good Lordship, evermore thanking you of your munificency, and great goodness, at all times shewed unto me. Advertising your Lordship, that whereas I have hitherto, according to your commandment, visited the archdeaconries of Coventry, Stafford, Derby, and part of Cheshire; for that I can perceive accordingly, as I heretofore have written unto you, there laketh nothing but good and godly instruction of the rude and poor people, and reformation of the heads, in these parts. For certain of the knights and gentlemen, and most commonly

commonly all, liveth ſo incontinently, having their concubines openly in their houſes, with five or ſix of their children, and putting from them their wives, that all the country therewith be not a little offended, and taketh evil example of them. Wherefore hitherto I have given and ſent commandment to them (foraſmuch as I could not ſpeak with them all, by reaſon they were at the aſſizes), to put from them immediately ſuch concubines, as they have hitherto notoriouſly and manifeſtly occupied and kept, and to take again their wives; or elſe to appear before your Lordſhip, to ſhew a cauſe why they ſhould not be compelled; and if your Lordſhip will command any other thing to be done in the premiſes, I ſhall be ready to accompliſh the ſame. And ſeeing my Lord of Norfolk is come to the court, I ſhall moſt humbly deſire you to have me in remembrance. And thus God preſerve you, and have you in his moſt firm tuition, with much increaſe of honour, according to the contentation of your Lordſhip's moſt noble good heart's deſire.

From the monaſtery of Vale Royal, the 22d of Auguſt.

Your Lordſhip's humble at commandment,

THOMAS LEIGH.

Mr. Jones *to Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton, *Ambaſſador in* France.

[This is an extremely curious letter, and, together with the others, in which the Queen's marriage with Lord Robert Dudley is mentioned, plainly ſhews the general opinion, both at home and abroad, of her inclination that way. Indeed Elizabeth herſelf does not diſclaim it.]

SIR,

WITH all the diligence I could make, I arrived not at the court here till Monday at night, the 25th of November, at what time I delivered my letters to Mr. Secretary, and attending all the next day upon him, I ſpake not with the Queen's Majeſty till Wedneſday at night at Greenwich, whither ſhe came to bed from Eltham, when ſhe dined and hunted all that day with divers of my Lords.

I had declared unto Mr. Secretary, before I ſpake with her, the day after my arrival, the diſcourſe of the Lord of St. John's, and your Lordſhip's opinion, touching the declaration in French, which he willed me to put in writing, as I did; Mr. Secretary ſhewed both the ſame to the Queen's Majeſty, as her Highneſs in my talk with her told me, and a third perſon knew the ſame, but how, I know not. I will tell your Lordſhip the ſtory, and then you may gueſs at it. There was occaſion, as your Lordſhip knoweth, in the diſcourſe, to ſpeak of the delivery of the letters to the French King and Queen in the favour of the Earl of Arran, and of that the French Queen ſaid, the Queen's Majeſty would marry the maſter of her horſes. The 26th of November all my Lords of the council dined at the Scotch Ambaſſador's lodging, where they were very highly feaſted. I repaired thither to ſhew myſelf to my Lords, where, after I had attended half dinner

dinner time, my Lord Robert roſe up, and went to the court, and in the way ſent a gentleman back to will me to repair thither after him, as I did, after I had declared the meſſage to Mr. Secretary. Being come unto him, he aſked me, whether the French Queen had ſaid that the Queen's Majeſty would marry her horſe-keeper, and told me he had ſeen all the diſcourſe of your Lordſhip's proceedings, together with the intelligence, and that Mr. Secretary told him, that the French Queen had ſaid ſo. I anſwered, that I ſaid no ſuch matter. He laid the matter upon me ſo ſtrong, as the author thereof being avowed, I would not deny, that the French Queen had ſaid, that the Queen would marry the maſter of her horſes. This was all he ſaid to me, and he willed me, that I ſhould in no caſe let it be known to Mr. Secretary, that he had told me thus much, as I have not indeed, nor mean not to do; whereby I judge, that Mr. Secretary did declare it only to the Queen, at whoſe hands my Lord Robert had it. The ſame night I ſpake to Mr. Killigrew, and having delivered your Lordſhip's letter and told him of the intelligence; he ſaid in the end unto me, with, as it were, a ſad look, I think verily, that my Lord Robert ſhall run away with the hare, and have the Queen; to whom I anſwered nothing. Thus much I thought good to write before I came to ſpeak of my proceeding with the Queen's Majeſty.

The 27th, I ſpake with her Majeſty at Greenwich, at ſix o'clock at night, and declared unto her the talk of the Ambaſſadors of Spain and Venice, and the Marquis*, and your advice, touching the general council †. When I had done with the firſt point of my firſt tale, By my troth, ſaid ſhe, I thought it was ſuch a matter, and he need not have ſent you hither, for it had been more meet to have kept you there ſtill. I ſaid, that if it had been written in cypher, it muſt have come to the knowledge of ſome others. Of nobody, ſaid ſhe, but of my Secretary; or elſe he might have written it in my own cypher. When I came to touch nearer the quick, I have heard of this before, quoth ſhe, and he need not to have ſent you withal: I ſaid, that the care you had was ſo great, as you could not but adverti ſe her Majeſty of ſuch things ‡ as might touch her, and that you took this to be no matter to be opened, but to herſelf. When I came to the point that touched his race §, which I ſet forth in as vehement terms as the caſe required, and that the Duke's ‖ hatred was rather to her than to the Queen her ſiſter; ſhe laughed, and forthwith turned herſelf to the one ſide and to the other, and ſet her hand upon her face. She thereupon told me, that the matter ¶ had been tried in the country **, and found to be con-

* Of Northampton.
† That the Queen ſhould ſend thither.
‡ Of the talk in France of her marriage.
§ Lord Robert Dudley's.
‖ Of Northumberland.
¶ This relates to the report of Lord Robert's having his wife privately murdered.
** Probably coroner's inqueſt.

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trary to that which was reported, saying that he was then in the court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife's house; and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her honour. Quoth she, my Ambassador knoweth somewhat of my mind in these matters. She heard me very patiently, I think the rather because I made, before I spake unto her Majesty, a long protestation, as methought I had need to do, considering that my Lord Robert knew thereof as much as he did. Her Majesty promised me *fidem, taciturnitatem, & favorem*, the last whereof I found towards myself; but as for your Lordship, she not once made mention of you unto me, unless that once or twice she asked, whether your Lordship willed me to declare this matter unto her, as I affirmed you did. Thus much have I thought good to write, touching the Ambassador of Spain's talk. For * the Venetian Ambassador's talk, she protested, that she never to any Ambassador or other, disclosed any and nobody but Mr. Secretary knew of these matters; who was, she said, wise enough. When I rehearsed the terms of *veneficii & maleficii reus*; she caused me to repeat the same twice or thrice, which methought did move her more than that I said touching the Ambassador of Spain's talk. For the Marquis, she believed the first part, touching his affection towards her; and for the last of that he reported, touching her Majesty's discourse with him for the not marrying of any other subjects, she affirmed unto me, that it was never spoken unto him, touching any such matter.

Letters from the Queen of Scots *to the Duke of* Norfolk.

[These political love-letters (for they can pass under no other denomination), from a very artful woman to a very weak man, are, from the characters of the parties, and the consequences of their intimacy, thought to deserve publication. It is singular, that, with all the commendation bestowed on the beauty of Mary Queen of Scots, there are no two portraits of her which resemble each other; that by Isaac Oliver, in the King's possession, and that in the Duke of Devonshire's at Chiswick, by Zuccero, are undoubtedly more advantageous to her than any others we know of. Brantome commends her person and her wit; and Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, says of her to Secretary Cecil, "She hath an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch speech, and a searching wit clouded with mildness. Then, joy is a lively infective passion, and carrieth many persuasions to the heart, which ruleth all the rest; mine own affections, by seeing the Queen's Majesty are doubled, and therefore I guess what sight might work in others. But, if I might give advice, there should very few subjects of this land have ac-

* It should seem, that all these talks related to Lord Robert.

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cess to, or have conference with this lady." Hatfield Papers, Vol. I. p. 510.]

From the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

Mine own Lord,

I Wrote to you before, to know your pleasure if I should seek to make any enterprize; if it please you, I recke not for my danger; but I would wish you would seek to do the like; for if you and I could escape both, we should find friends enough; and for your lands, I hope they should not be lost; for, being free and honourably bound together, you might make such good offers for the countries, and the Queen of England, as they should not refuse. Our fault were not shameful; you have promised to be myne, and I yours; I believe the Queen of England and country should like of it. By meane of friends, therefore, you have sought your liberty, and satisfaction of your conscience, meaning that you promised me you could not leave me. If you think the danger great, do as you think best, and let me know what you please that I do; for I will ever be, for your sake, perpetual prisoner, or put my life in peril for your weal and myne. As you please command me, for I will, for all the world, follow your commands, so that you be not in danger for me in so doing. I will, either if I were out by humble submission, and all my friends were against it, or by other ways, work for our liberties so long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you are, seeing that I do hear no news from you. I pray God preserve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends. This last of January.

Your own, faithful to death,
Queen of Scots, my Norfolk.

From the Same to the Same.

Myne own good Lord,

I Have forborn this long time to write to you, in respect of the dangers of writing, which you seemed to fear; but I must remember you of your own at tymes, as occasion serveth, and let you know the continuance of my truth to you, which I see by this last look much detested. But, if you mind not to shrink at the matter, I will die and live with you. Your fortune shall be mine; therefore, let me know, in all things, your mind. The Bishop of Ross writes to me, that I should make the offers to the Queen of England now in my letter, which I write generally; because I would enter into nothing till I know your pleasure, which I shall now follow. I have heard that God hath taken your dear friend Pembroke, whereof I am heartily sorry; albeit that, nor other matter, trouble you to your heart; for else you leave all your friends and me, for whose cause you have done so much already, that I trust you will preserve you to a happyer meeting in dispite of all such raylers; wherein I suspect Huntingdon, for such like talk. But, for all their sayings, I trust in God you shall be satisfied with my conditions and behaviour, and faithful

faithful duty to you, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God I be with you, as I hope for my part the maker ſhall never have the pleaſure to ſee, or hear my repentance or miſcontentment therein. I have prayed God to preſerve you, and grant us both his grace; and then let them, like blaſphemers, feel. So I end with the humble and heartieſt recommendations to you of your own faithful to death. This 19th of March.

From the Same to the Same.

I Have received, my own good conſtant Lord, your comfortable writings, which are to me as welcome as ever thing was, for the hopes I ſee you are in to have ſome better fortune than you had yet, through all your friends favour. And albeit my friends caſe in Scotland be of heavy diſpleaſure unto me, yet nothing to the fear I had of my ſon's delivery up to Queen Elizabeth, and thoſe that I thought might be cauſe of longer delaying your affairs. And, therefore, I took greater diſpleaſure than I have done ſince, and that diminiſheth my health a little. For the Earl of Shrewſbury came one night ſo merry to me, ſhewing that the Earl of Northumberland had been in rebellion, and was rendered to the Earl of Suſſex, Lord Lieutenant of the North; which, ſince, I have found falſe; but, at the ſudden, ſuch fear for friends combring me, I wept ſo till I was all ſwollen three days after. But ſince I have heard from you, I have gone abroad and ſought all means to avoid diſpleaſure for fear of you; but I have need to care for my health, ſince the Earl of Shrewſbury looks me to, and the peſtylence was in other places. The Earl of Shrewſbury looks for Bateman to be inſtructed how to deal with me, becauſe he is ableſt and clean turned from the Earl of Leyceſter; this I aſſure you, and pray keep that quiet. I have no long leiſure, for I truſt to write by one of my gentlemen ſhortly more ſurely. I pray you think and hold me in your grace as your own, who daily ſhall pray to God to ſend you happy and haſty deliverance of all troubles, not doubting but you would not then enjoy alone all your felicities, not remembering your own faithful to death, who ſhall not have any advancement or reſt without you. And ſo I leave to trouble you, but commend you to God. This 17th day of May.

Your own Queen.

Two Letters from Sir Dudley Carleton (*afterwards Viſcount* Dorcheſter) *concerning Sir* W. Raleigh's *Plot.*

Sir Dudley Carleton, *to Mr.* John Chamberlain.

SIR,

I Was taking care how to ſend unto you, and little looked for ſo good a means as your man, who came to me this morning; and though he would in all haſte be gone, I have ſtayed him this night, to have time to diſcourſe unto you theſe tragical proceedings.

I was not preſent at the firſt or ſecond arraignment, wherein Brooke, Markham, Brookeſby, Copley,

Copley, and the two priests were condemned, for practising the surprise of the King's person, the taking of the Tower, the deposing of counsellors, and proclaiming liberty of religion. They were all condemned upon their own confessions, which were set down under their own hands, as declarations; and compiled with such labour and care, to make the matter they undertook seem very feasible, as if they had feared they should not say enough to hang themselves. Parra was acquitted, being only drawn in by the priests as an assistant, without knowing the purpose; yet had he gone the same way as the rest (as it is thought), save for a word the Lord Cecil cast in the way as his cause was in handling, that the King's glory consisted as much in freeing the innocent, as condemning the guilty.

The commissioners for this trial were, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord of Devon, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Cecil, Lord Wotton, the Vice Chamberlain, the two Chief Justices, Justice Gawdy, and Warburton. Of the King's council, none were employed in that, or the arraignment, but the attorney*, Heale, and Philips; and in effect, none but the attorney. Sir Walter Raleigh served for a whole act, and played all the parts himself. His cause was disjoined from the priests, as being a practice only between himself and the Lord Cobham, to have brought in the Spaniard, to have raised rebellion in the realm, by fastening money upon discontents, to have set up the Lady Arabella, and to have tied her to certain conditions; as to have a perpetual peace with Spain; not to have bestowed herself in marriage but at the direction of the Spaniard; and to have granted liberty of religion. The evidence against him, was only Cobham's confession, which was judged sufficient to condemn him; and a letter was produced, written by Cobham the day before, by which he accused Raleigh as the first practiser of the treason betwixt them; which served to turn against him; though he shewed, to countervail this, a letter written by Cobham, and delivered to him in the Tower, by which he was clearly acquitted. After sentence given, his request was, to have his answers related to the King, and pardon begged; of which, if there were no hope, then that Cobham might die first. He answered with that temper, wit, learning, courage and judgment, that save that it went with the hazard of his life, it was the happiest day that ever he spent. And so well he shifted all advantages that were taken against him, that were not *fama malum gravius quam res*, and an ill name half hanged, in the opinion of all men, he had been acquitted.

The two first that brought the news to the King, were Roger Ashton and a Scotchman; whereof one affirmed, that never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would do in the world to come; and the other said, that whereas when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life.

* Coke.

In

In one word, never was man ſo hated, and ſo popular, in ſo ſhort a time. It was thought the lords ſhould have been arraigned on Tueſday laſt, but they were put off till Friday and Saturday; and had their trials apart before the Lord Chancellor † (as Lord Steward for both thoſe days), eleven earls, nineteen barons. The Duke ‡, the Earl of Marr, and many Scottiſh lords, ſtood as ſpectators; and of our ladies, the greateſt part, as the Lady Nottingham, the Lady Suffolk, and the Lady Arabella, who heard herſelf much ſpoken of theſe days. But, the arraignment before, ſhe was more particularly remembered, as by Sir Walter Raleigh, for a woman, with whom he had no acquaintance, and one, whom, of all that he ever ſaw, he never liked; and by Serjeant Hale, as one that had no more right to the crown than himſelf; and for any claim that he had to it, he utterly diſavowed it. Cobham led the way on Friday, and made ſuch a faſting day's piece of work of it, that he diſcredited the place to which he was called; never was ſeen ſo poor and abject a ſpirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would ſometimes interrupt it, by forſwearing what he thought to be wrongly inſerted; ſo as, by his faſhion, it was known ere he ſpake, what he would confeſs or deny. In his firſt anſwer, he ſaid, he had changed his mind ſince he came to the bar; for whereas he came with an intention to have made his confeſſion, without denying any thing, now ſeeing many things inſerted in this indictment with which he could not be charged, being not able in one word to make diſtinction of many parts, he muſt plead to all *not guilty*. For any thing that belonged to the Lady Arabella, he denied the whole accuſation; only ſaid, ſhe had ſought his friendſhip, and his brother Brooke had ſought her's. For the other purpoſes, he ſaid, he had hammered in his brains ſome ſuch imaginations; but never had purpoſe to bring them to effect. Upon Raleigh, he exclaimed as one who had ſtirred him up to diſcontent, and thereby overthrown his fortunes. Againſt him he ſaid, that he had once propounded to him a means for the Spaniard to invade England, which was, to bring down an army to the Groyne, under pretence to ſend them into the Low Countries, and land them at Milford Haven: that he had made himſelf a penſioner to Spain for 1500 crowns by the year, to give intelligence; and, for an earneſt of his diligence, had already related to the Count D'Aremberg, the particularities of what paſſed in the ſtates audiences at Greenwich. His brother's confeſſion was read againſt him, wherein he accuſed him of a contract made with Aremberg for 500,000 crowns to beſtow amongſt diſcontents, whereof Raleigh was to have had 10,000, Grey as much, and Brooke 1000; the reſt, as they ſhould find fit men to beſtow it on. He excepted againſt his brother as an incompetent accuſer, baptizing him with the name of a viper; and laid to his charge (though far from the purpoſe) the getting of his wife's ſiſter with

† Elleſmere. ‡ Of Lenox, then the only one of that degree.

child;

child; in which it is thought he did young Coppinger ſome wrong.

A letter was produced which he wrote to Aremberg for ſo much money; and Aremberg's anſwer, conſenting for the furniſhing of that ſum. He then flew to his former retreat, that in this likewiſe he had no ill meaning, and excuſed Aremberg as one that meant only thereby to further the peace. When particularities were farther urged, that, in his intended travel, he meant to have gone into the low countries to the Archduke; from thence into Savoy; ſo into Spain; then have returned by Jerſey; and there to have met Raleigh, and to have brought ſome money from the Well Spring, where it was to be had, he confeſſed imaginations, but no purpoſes; and ſtill laid the fault upon his own weakneſſes, in that he ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by Raleigh. Being aſked of his two letters to different purpoſes, the one excuſing, the other condemning Raleigh; he ſaid, the laſt was true, but the other was drawn from him by device in the Tower, by young Harvey the Lieutenant's ſon, whom Raleigh had corrupted, and carried intelligence betwixt them (for which he is there committed, and is likely to be arraigned at the King's Bench). Having thus accuſed all his friends, and ſo little excuſed himſelf, the Peers were not long in deliberation what to judge; and after ſentence of condemnation given, he begged a great while for life and favour, alleging his confeſſion as a meritorious act. Grey, quite in another key, began with great aſſurances and alacrity; ſpake a long and eloquent ſpeech, firſt to the lords, and then to the judges, and laſtly to the King's council; and told them well of their charges, and ſpake effectually for himſelf. He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in ſubtle traverſes and ſcapes; but the evidence was too perſpicuous, both by Brooke's and Markham's confeſſions, that he was acquainted with the ſurprize*; yet the lords were long ere they could all agree, and loth to come out with ſo hard a cenſure againſt him. For though he had ſome heavy enemies, as his old antagoniſt, who was mute before his face, but ſpake within very unnobly againſt him; yet moſt of them ſtrove with themſelves, and would fain (as it ſeemed) have diſpenſed with their conſciences to have ſhewed him favour. At the pronouncing of the opinion of the lords, and the demand whether he had any thing to ſay why ſentence of death ſhould not be given againſt him, theſe only were his words, "I have nothing to ſay;" there he paused long: "and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind, *Non eadem omnibus decora:* the houſe of the Wiltons had ſpent many lives in their prince's ſervice, and Grey cannot beg his. God ſend the King a long and proſperous reign, and to your lordſhips all honour."

After ſentence given, he only deſired to have one Travers†, a divine, ſent for to come to him, if he might live two days. If he were to die before that, then he might have one Field, whom he thought to be near. There was

* Of the court. † A Puritan, the antagoniſt of Hooker.

great

great compassion, and of this gallant young lord; for so clear and fiery a spirit had not been seen by any that had been present at like trials. Yet the Lord Steward condemned his manner much, terming it Lucifer's pride, and preached much humiliation; and the judges liked him as little, because he disputed with them against their laws. We cannot yet judge what will become of him or the rest; for all are not like to go one way. Cobham is of the surest side, for he is thought least dangerous, and the Lord Cecil undertakes to be his friend. They say the priests shall lead the dance to-morrow; and Brooke next after; for he proves to be the knot that tied together the three conspiracies; the rest hang indifferent betwixt mercy and justice, wherein the King hath now subject to practise himself. The lords are most of them returned to the court. The Lord Chancellor and Treasurer remain here till Tuesday, to shut up the term. My lord goeth hence to Petworth; but I take quarrel to stay behind, to see an end of these matters. The court is like to christmas at Windsor; and many plays and shews are bespoken, to give entertainment to our ambassadors.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

I KNOW not when or how to send to you; yet here happening an accident worth your knowledge, I cannot but put it in record, whilst the memory of it is fresh; and for the rest, stand to the venture. But because I have taken a time of good leisure, and it is likely that letter will take his leisure, ere it come at you; I may as well leap in where I left, when I wrote to you by your man, and proceed in an order by narration; since this was a part of the same play, and that other acts came betwixt, to make up a tragical comedy.

The two priests that led the way to the execution, were very bloodily handled; for they were both cut down alive; and Clarke, to whom more favour was intended, had the worse luck; for he both strove to help himself, and spake after he was cut down. They died boldly, both; and Watson (as he would have it seem) willing; wishing he had more lives to spend, and one to lose, for every man he had by his treachery drawn into this treason. Clarke stood somewhat upon his justification, and thought he had hard measure; but imputed it to his function, and therefore thought his death meritorious, as a kind of martyrdom. Their quarters were set on Winchester gates, and their heads on the first tower of the castle. Brooke was beheaded in the Castle-yard, on Monday last; and to double his grief, had St. Crostes in his sight, from the scaffold, which drove him first to discontent*. There was no greater assembly than I have seen at ordinary executions; nor no man of quality more than the Lord of Arundel and young Somerset; only the Bishop of Chichester, who was sent

* Missing, I suppose, the Mastership.

from the court two days before, to prepare him to his end, could not get those from him; but, by Brooke's earnest entreaty was fain to accompany him to the scaffold, and serve for his ghostly father. He died constantly (and, to seeming, religiously); spake not much; but what he said was well and assured. He did somewhat extenuate his offences, both in the treasons, and the course of his life; naming these rather errors than capital crimes; and his former faults, sins; but not so heinous as they were traduced; which he referred to the God of truth and time to discover; and so left it, as if somewhat lay yet hid, which would one day appear for his justification. The Bishop went from him to the Lord Cobham; and, at the same time, the Bishop of Winchester was with Raleigh; both by express order from the King; as well to prepare them for their ends, as likewise to bring them to liberal confessions, and by that means reconcile the contradictions of the one's open accusation, and the other's peremptory denial. The Bishop of Chichester had soon done what he came for, finding in Cobham a willingness to die, and readiness to die well; with purpose at his death to affirm as much as he had said against Raleigh; but the other Bishop had more to do with his charge; for though, for his conscience, he found him well settled, and resolved to die a Christian, and a good protestant, for the point of confession, he found him so strait-laced, that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accusation; only, the pension, he said, was once mentioned, but never proceeded in. Grey, in the mean time, with his minister Field, having had the like summons for death, spent his time in great devotions; but with that careless regard of that, with which he was threatened, that he was observed neither to eat or sleep the worse, or be any ways distracted from his accustomed fashions. Markham was told he should likewise die; but by secret message from some friends at court, had still such hope given him, that he would not believe the worst news till the last day; and though he could be content to talk with the preacher which was assigned him, it was rather to pass time, than for any good purpose; for he was catholickly disposed; to think of death no way disposed. While these men were so occupied at Winchester, there was no small doings about them at court, for life or death; some pushing at the wheel one way, some another. The Lords of the council joined in opinion and advice to the King, now in the beginning of his reign, to shew as well examples of mercy as severity, and to gain the title of *Clement*, as well as *Justus*; but some others, led by their private spleen and passions, drew as hard the other way; and Patrick Galloway, in his sermon on Tuesday, preached so hotly against remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice, as if it were one of the seven deadly sins. The King held himself upright betwixt two waters; and first, let the lords know, that since the law had passed upon the prisoners, and that they themselves had been their judges, it became not them to be petitioners for that, but rather to press for execution of their own ordinances;

and

and to others, gave as good reasons, let them know that he would go no whit the faster for their driving; but would be led as his own judgment and affections would move him; but seemed rather to lean to this side than the other, by the care he took to have the law take his course, and the execution hasted.

Warrants were signed, and sent to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, on Wednesday last at night, for Markham, Grey, and Cobham, who in this order were to take their turns, as yesterday, being Friday, about ten of the clock. A fouler day could hardly have been picked out, or fitter for such a tragedy. Markham being brought to the scaffold, was much dismayed, and complained much of his hard hap, to be deluded with hopes, and brought to that place unprepared. One might see in his face the very picture of sorrow; but he seemed not to want resolution; for a napkin being offered by a friend that stood by, to cover his face, he threw it away, saying, he could look upon death without blushing. He took leave of some friends that stood near, and betook himself to his devotions, after his manner; and those ended, prepared himself to the block. The Sheriff, in the mean time, was secretly withdrawn, by one John Gib, a Scotch groom of the bedchamber; whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left upon the scaffold to entertain his own thoughts, which, no doubt, were as melancholy as his countenance, sad and heavy. The Sheriff, at his return, told him, that since he was so ill prepared, he should yet have two hours respit, so led him from the scaffold, without giving him any more comfort, and locked him into the great hall, to walk with Prince Arthur. The Lord Grey, whose turn was next, was led to the scaffold by a troop of the young courtiers, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends; and coming in this equipage, had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom. At his first coming on the scaffold, he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the present purpose, which he seconded himself with one of his own making, which, for the phrase, was somewhat affected, and suited to his other speeches; but, for the fashion, expressed the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit. In his confession, he said, though God knew this fault of his was far from the greatest, yet he knew, and could but acknowledge his heart to be faulty; for which he asked pardon of the King; and thereupon entered into a long prayer for the King's good estate, which held us in the rain more than half an hour; but being come to a full point, the sheriff stayed him, and said, he had received orders from the King, to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him; whereupon he was likewise led to Prince Arthur's hall, and his going away seemed more strange unto him, than his coming thither; for he had no more hope given him, than of an hour's respite; neither could any man yet dive into the mystery of this strange proceeding.

The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and by his former actions promised nothing

but *saving your viz*, did much cozen the world; for he came to the ſcaffold with good aſſurance, and contempt of death. He ſaid *Some ſhort prayers after his confeſſion*, and ſo compoſed the company that helped to pray with him, that a ſtander-by ſaid, *he had a good mouth to a cry, but never nothing ſingle.* Some few words he uſed, to expreſs his ſorrow for his offence to the King, and craved pardon of him and the world; for Sir Walter Raleigh, he took it, upon the hope of his ſoul's reſurrection, that what he had ſaid of him was true; and with thoſe words would have taken a ſhort farewel of the world, with that conſtancy and boldneſs, that we might ſee by him, it is an eaſier matter to die well than live well.

He was ſtayed by the ſheriff, and told, that there reſteth yet ſomewhat elſe to be done; for that he was to be confronted with ſome other of the priſoners, but named none. So as Grey and Markham being brought back to the ſcaffold, as they then were, but nothing acquainted with what had paſſed, no more than the lookers-on with what ſhould follow, looked ſtrange one upon the other, like men beheaded, and met again in the other world. Now all the actors being together on the ſtage (as uſe is at the end of a play), the ſheriff made a ſhort ſpeech unto them, by way of the interrogatory of the heinouſneſs of their offences, the juſtneſs of their trials, their lawful condemnation, and due execution there to be performed; to all which they aſſented; then, ſaith the ſheriff, ſee the mercy of your prince, who, of himſelf, hath ſent hither a countermand, and given you your lives. There was then no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with ſuch hoos and cries, that it went from the caſtle into the town, and there began afreſh, as if there had been ſome ſuch like accident. And this experience was made of the difference of examples of juſtice and mercy; that in this laſt, no man could cry loud enough, *God ſave the King*; and at the holding up of Brookes's head, when the executioner began the ſame cry, he was not ſeconded by the voice of any one man, but the ſheriff. You muſt think, if the ſpectators were ſo glad, the actors were not ſorry; for even thoſe that went beſt reſolved to death, were glad of life. Cobham vowed openly, if ever he proved traitor again, never ſo much as to beg his life; and Grey, that ſince he had his life, without begging, he would deſerve it. Markham returned with a merrier countenance than he came to the ſcaffold. Raleigh, you muſt think (who had a window opened that way), had hammers working in his head, to beat out the meaning of this ſtratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next; but the King has pardoned him with the reſt, and confined him with the two lords to the Tower of London, there to remain during pleaſure. Markham, Brookſby and Copley, are to be baniſhed the realm. This reſolution was taken by the King without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praiſe of yeſterday's action; for the lords knew no other, but that execution was to go forward, till the very hour it ſhould be performed; and then, calling them before him, he told them, how much he had been troubled

bled to resolve in this business; for to execute Grey, who was a noble, young, spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a manner of injustice. To save Grey, who was of a proud insolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had shewed great tokens of humility and repentance, were as grosse solecism; and so went on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, still travelling in contrarieties, but holding the conclusion in so indifferent balance, that the lords knew not what to look for till the end came out, *and therefore I have served them all.* The miracle was as great there, as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect; for the applause that began about the King, went from thence into the presence, and so round about the court.

I send you a copy of the King's letter, which was privately written the Wednesday night, and the messenger dispatched the Thursday about noon. But one thing had like to have marred the play; for the letter was closed, and delivered him unsigned; which the King remembered himself and called for him back again. And at Winchester, there was another cross adventure; for John Gib could not get so near the scaffold, that he could speak to the sheriff, but was thrust out amongst the boys, and was force to call out to Sir James Hayes, or else Markham might have lost his neck. There were other bye passages, if I could readily call them to mind; but here is enough already for *un petit mot de lettre*, and therefore, I bid you heartily farewel. From Salisbury, Dec. 11, 1603. Yours, &c.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

Of CHAUCER *and* LYDGATE; *from* Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry.

I CONSIDER Chaucer as a genial day in an English spring. A brilliant sun enlivens the face of nature with an unusual lustre: the sudden appearance of cloudless skies, and the unexpected warmth of a tepid atmosphere, after the gloom and the inclemencies of a tedious winter, fill our hearts with the visionary prospect of a speedy summer: and we fondly anticipate a long continuance of gentle gales and vernal serenity. But winter returns with redoubled horrors: the clouds condense more formidably than before; and those tender buds, and early blossoms, which were called forth by the transient gleam of a temporary sunshine, are nipped by frosts, and torn by tempests.

Most of the poets that immediately succeeded Chaucer, seem rather relapsing into barbarism, than availing themselves of those striking ornaments which his judgment and imagination had disclosed. They appear to have been insensible to his vigour of versification, and his flights of fancy. It was not indeed likely that a poet should soon arise equal to Chaucer: and it must be remembered, that the national distractions which ensued, had no small share in obstructing the exercise of those studies which delight in peace and repose. His successors, however, approach him in no degree of proportion. Among these, John Lydgate is the poet who follows him at the shortest interval.

I have placed Lydgate in the reign of Henry the sixth, and he seems to have arrived at his highest

point of eminence about the year 1430. Many of his poems, however, appeared before. He was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Bury in Suffolk, and an uncommon ornament of his profession. Yet his genius was so lively, and his accomplishments so numerous, that I suspect the holy father saint Benedict would hardly have acknowledged him for a genuine disciple. After a short education at Oxford, he travelled into France and Italy; and returned a complete master of the language and the literature of both countries. He chiefly studied the Italian and French poets, particularly Dante, Boccacio, and Alain Chartier; and became so distinguished a proficient in polite learning, that he opened a school in his monastery, for teaching the sons of the nobility the arts of versification, and the elegancies of composition. Yet although philology was his object, he was not unfamiliar with the fashionable philosophy: he was not only a poet and a rhetorician, but a geometrician, an astronomer, a theologist, and a disputant. On the whole I am of opinion, that Lydgate made considerable additions to those amplifications of our language, in which Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve led the way: and that he is the first of our writers whose style is cloathed with that perspicuity, in which the English phraseology appears at this day to an English reader.

To enumerate Lydgate's pieces, would be to write the catalogue of a little library. No poet seems to have possessed a greater versatility of talents. He moves with equal ease in every mode of composition. His hymns, and his ballads, have the same degree of merit: and whether his subject be the life of a hermit or a hero, of saint Austin or Guy earl of Warwick, ludicrous or legendary, religious or romantic, a history or an allegory, he writes with facility. His transitions were rapid from works of the most serious and laborious kind to sallies of levity and pieces of popular entertainment. His muse was of universal access; and he was not only the poet of his monastery, but of the world in general. If a disguising was intended by the company of goldsmiths, a mask before his majesty at Eltham, a may-game for the sheriffs and aldermen of London, a mumming before the lord-mayor, a procession of pageants from the creation for the festival of Corpus Christi, or a carol for the coronation, Lydgate was consulted and gave the poetry.

Lydgate's manner is naturally verbose and diffuse. This circumstance contributed in no small degree to give a clearness and a fluency to his phraseology. For the same reason he is often tedious and languid. His chief excellence is in description, especially where the subject admits a flowery diction. He is seldom pathetic, or animated.

We are surprised to find verses of so modern a cast as the following at such an early period; which in this sagacious age we should judge to be a forgery, was not their genuineness authenticated, and their antiquity confirmed, by the venerable types of Caxton, and a multitude of unquestionable manuscripts.

Like as the dewe discendeth on the rose
With sylver drops. — — —

Our

Our Saviour's crucifixion is expreſſed by this remarkable metaphor.

Whan he of purple did his baner ſprede
On Calvarye abrood upon the rode,
To ſave mankynde. — — —

Our author, in the courſe of his panegyric on the Virgin Mary, affirms, that ſhe exceeded Heſter in meekneſs, and Judith in wiſdom; and in beauty, Helen, Polyxena, Lucretia, Dido, Bathſheba, and Rachel. It is amazing, that in an age of the moſt ſuperſtitious devotion ſo little diſcrimination ſhould have been made between ſacred and profane characters and incidents. But the common ſenſe of mankind had not yet attained a juſt eſtimate of things. Lydgate, in another piece, has verſified the rubrics of the miſſal, which he applies to the god Cupid: and declares, with how much delight he frequently meditated on the holy legend of thoſe conſtant martyrs, who were not afraid to ſuffer death for the faith of that omnipotent divinity. There are inſtances, in which religion was even made the inſtrument of love. Arnaud Daniel, a celebrated troubadour of the thirteenth century, in a fit of amorous deſpair, promiſes to found a multitude of annual maſſes, and to dedicate perpetual tapers to the ſhrines of ſaints, for the important purpoſe of obtaining the affections of an obdurate miſtreſs.

I cloſe this ſection with an apology for Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve; who are ſuppoſed, by the ſeverer etymologiſts, to have corrupted the purity of the Engliſh language, by affecting to introduce ſo many foreign words and phraſes. But if we attend only to the politics of the times, we ſhall find theſe poets, as alſo ſome of their ſucceſſors, much leſs blameable in this reſpect, than the critics imagine. Our wars with France, which began in the reign of Edward the Third, were of long continuance. The principal nobility of England, at this period, reſided in France, with their families, for many years. John, King of France, kept his court in England; to which, excluſive of thoſe French lords who were his fellow-priſoners, or neceſſary attendants, the chief nobles of his kingdom muſt have occaſionally reſorted. Edward the black prince made an expedition into Spain. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, and his brother the Duke of York, were matched with the daughters of Don Pedro, King of Caſtile. All theſe circumſtances muſt have concurred to produce a perceptible change in the language of the court. It is rational therefore, and it is equitable to ſuppoſe, that inſtead of coining new words, they only complied with the common and faſhionable modes of ſpeech. Would Chaucer's poems have been the delight of thoſe courts in which he lived, had they been filled with unintelligible pedantries? The cotemporaries of theſe poets never complained of their obſcurity. But whether defenſible on theſe principles or not, they much improved the vernacular ſtyle by the uſe of this exotic phraſeology. It was thus that our primitive diction was enlarged and enriched. The Engliſh language owes its copiouſneſs, elegance, and harmony, to theſe innovations.

Skelton, from the same.

MOST of the poems of John Skelton, were written in the reign of Henry the VIII. But as he was laureated at Oxford, about the year 1489, I consider him as belonging to the 15th century.

Skelton having studied in both our universities, was promoted to the rectory of Dis in Norfolk, but for his buffooneries in the pulpit, and his satyrical ballads against the mendicants, he was severely censured, and perhaps suspended by Nykke his diocesan, a rigid bishop of Norwich, from exercising the duties of the sacerdotal function. But these persecutions only served to quicken his ludicrous disposition, and to exasperate the acrimony of his satire. As his sermons could be no longer a vehicle for his abuse, he vented his ridicule in rhyming libels. At length, daring to attack the dignity of cardinal Wolsey, he was closely pursued by the officers of that powerful minister; and, taking shelter in the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey, was kindly entertained and protected by Abbot Islip, to the day of his death. He died, and was buried in the neighbouring church of Saint Margaret, in the year 1529.

Skelton was patronised by Henry Algernoon Percy, the fifth Earl of Northumberland, who deserves particular notice here; as he loved literature at a time when many of the nobility of England could hardly read or write their names, and was the general patron of such genius as his age produced. He encouraged Skelton, almost the only professed poet of the reign of Henry the VII. to write an elegy on the death of his father, which is yet extant. But still stronger proofs of his literary turn, especially of his singular passion for poetry, may be collected from a very splendid manuscript, which formerly belonged to this very distinguished peer, and is at present preserved in the British Museum. It contains a large collection of English poems, elegantly engrossed on vellum, and superbly illuminated, which had been thus sumptuously transcribed for his use. The pieces are chiefly those of Lydgate, after which follow the aforesaid Elegy of Skelton, and some smaller compositions. Among the latter are a metrical history of the family of Percy, presented to him by one of his own chaplains; and a prolix series of poetical inscriptions, which he caused to be written on the walls and ceilings of the principal apartments of his castles of Lekinfield and Wressil. His cultivation of the arts of external elegance appears, from the stately sepulchral monuments which he erected in the minster, or collegiate church, of Beverly in Yorkshire, to the memory of his father and mother; which are executed in the richest style of the florid Gothic architecture, and remain to this day, the conspicuous and striking evidences of his taste and magnificence. In the year 1520, he founded an annual stipend of ten marcs for three years, for a preceptor, or professor, to teach grammar and philosophy in the monastery of Alnewick, contiguous to another of his magnificent castles. A further instance of his attention to letters and studious

dious employments, occurs in his HOUSHOLD-BOOK, dated 1512, yet remaining; in which the LIBRARIES of this earl and of his lady are specified; and in the same curious monument of antient manners it is ordered, that one of his chaplains should be a MAKER OF INTERLUDES. With so much boldness did this liberal nobleman abandon the example of his brother peers, whose principal occupations were hawking and tilting; and who despised learning, as an ignoble and petty accomplishment, fit only for the purposes of laborious and indigent ecclesiastics. Nor was he totally given up to the pursuits of leisure and peace: he was, in the year 1497, one of the leaders who commanded at the battle of Blackheath against Lord Audley and his partisans; and was often engaged, from his early years, in other public services of trust and honour. But Skelton hardly deserved such a patronage.

It is in vain to apologise for the coarseness, obscenity, and scurrility of Skelton, by saying that his poetry is tinctured with the manners of his age. Skelton would have been a writer without decorum at any period. The manners of Chaucer's age were undoubtedly more rough and unpolished than those of the reign of Henry the VIIth. Yet Chaucer, a poet abounding in humour, and often employed in describing the vices and follies of the world, writes with a degree of delicacy, when compared with Skelton. That Skelton's manner is gross and illiberal, was the opinion of his contemporaries; at least of those critics who lived but a few years afterwards, and while his poems yet continued in vogue. Puttenham, the author of the ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, published in the year 1589, speaking of the species of short metre used in the minstrel-romances, for the convenience of being sung to the harp at feasts, and in CAROLS and ROUNDS, "and such other light or lascivious poems which are commonly more commodiously uttered by those buffoons or vices in playes than by any other person," and in which the sudden return of the rhyme fatigues the ear, immediately subjoins: "Such were the rimes of Skelton, being indeed but a rude rayling rimer, and all his doings ridiculous; he used both short distaunces and short measures, pleasing only the popular eare." And Meres, in his PALLADIS TAMIA, or WIT'S TREASURY, published in 1598. "Skelton applied his wit to skurilities and ridiculous matters: such among the Greekes were called *pantomimi*, with us buffoons."

Skelton's characteristic vein of humour is capricious and grotesque. If his whimsical extravagancies ever move our laughter, at the same time they shock our sensibility. His festive levities are not only vulgar and indelicate, but frequently want truth and propriety. His subjects are often as ridiculous as his metre: but he sometimes debases his matter by his versification. On the whole, his genius seems better suited to low burlesque, than to liberal and manly satire. It is supposed by Caxton, that he improved our language; but he sometimes affects obscurity, and sometimes adopts the most familiar phraseology of the common people.

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Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; from the same.

DUKE Humphrey, at the dawn of science, was a singular promoter of literature, and, however unqualified for political intrigues, the common patron of the scholars of the times. A sketch of his character in that view, is therefore too closely connected with our subject to be censured as an unnecessary digression. About the year 1440, he gave to the university of Oxford a library containing six hundred volumes, only one hundred and twenty of which were valued at more than one thousand pounds. These books are called *Nova Tractatus*, or New Treatises, in the university register, and said to be *admirandi apparatus*. They were the most splendid and costly copies that could be procured, finely written on vellum, and elegantly embellished with miniatures and illuminations. Among the rest was a translation into French of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Only a single specimen of these valuable volumes was suffered to remain: it is a beautiful manuscript in folio of Valerius Maximus, enriched with the most elegant decorations, and written in Duke Humphrey's age, evidently with a design of being placed in this sumptuous collection. All the rest of the books, which, like this, being highly ornamented, looked like missals, and conveyed ideas of popish superstition, were destroyed or removed by the pious visitors of the university in the reign of Edward the VIth, whose zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice. A great number of classics, in this grand work of reformation, were condemned as antichristian. — John Whethamstede, a learned abbot of St. Alban's, and a lover of scholars, but accused by his monks for neglecting their affairs, while he was too deeply engaged in studious employments and in procuring transcripts of useful books, notwithstanding his unwearied assiduity in beautifying and enriching their monastery, was in high favour with this munificent prince. The Duke was fond of visiting this monastery, and employed Abbot Whethamstede to collect valuable books for him. Some of Whethamstede's tracts, manuscript copies of which often occur in our libraries, are dedicated to the Duke: who presented many of them, particularly a fine copy of Whethamstede's GRANARIUM, an immense work, which Leland calls *ingens volumen*, to the new library. The copy of Valerius Maximus, which I mentioned before, has a curious table or index made by Whethamstede. Many other abbots paid their court to the Duke by sending him presents of books, whose margins were adorned with the most exquisite paintings. Gilbert Kymer, physician to King Henry the VIth, among other ecclesiastic promotions, Dean of Salisbury, and Chancellor of the university of Oxford, inscribed to Duke Humphrey his famous medical system *Dietarium de sanitatis custodia*, in the year 1424. Lydgate translated Boccacio's book de CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIUM at the recommendation and command, and under the protection and superintendence, of Duke Humphrey: whose condescension in conversing with learned ecclesiastics,

ſtaſtics, and diligence in ſtudy, the tranſlator diſplays at large, and in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of panegyric. He compares the Duke to Julius Ceſar, who amidſt the weightieſt cares of ſtate, was not aſhamed to enter the rhetorical ſchool of Cicero at Rome. Nor was his patronage confined only to Engliſh ſcholars. His favour was ſolicited by the moſt celebrated writers of France and Italy, many of whom he bountifully rewarded. Leonard Aretine, one of the firſt reſtorers of the Greek tongue in Italy, which he learned of Emanuel Chryſoloras, and of polite literature in general, dedicates to this univerſal patron his elegant Latin tranſlation of Ariſtotle's POLITICS. The copy preſented to the Duke by the tranſlator, moſt elegantly illuminated, is now in the Bodleian library at Oxford. To the ſame noble encourager of learning, Petrus Candidus, the friend of Laurentius Valla, and ſecretary to the great Coſmo Duke of Milan, inſcribed by the advice of the Archbiſhop of Milan, a Latin verſion of Plato's REPUBLIC. An illuminated manuſcript of this tranſlation is in the Britiſh Muſeum, perhaps the copy preſented, with two epiſtles prefixed, from the Duke to Petrus Candidus. Petrus de Monte, another learned Italian, of Venice, in the dedication of his treatiſe DE VIRTUTUM ET VITIORUM DIFFERENTIA to the Duke of Glouceſter, mentions the latter's ardent attachment to books of all kinds, and the ſingular avidity with which he purſued every ſpecies of literature. A tract, entitled COMPARATIO STUDIORUM ET REI MILITARIS, written by Lapus de Caſtelliono, a Florentine civilian, and a great tranſlator into Latin of the Greek claſſics, is alſo inſcribed to the Duke, at the deſire of Zeno, Archbiſhop of Bayeux. I muſt not forget, that our illuſtrious Duke invited into England the learned Italian, Tito Livio of Foro-Juli, whom he naturaliſed, and conſtituted his poet and orator. Humphrey alſo retained learned foreigners in his ſervice, for the purpoſe of tranſcribing, and of tranſlating from Greek into Latin. One of theſe was Antonio de Beccaria, a Veroneſe, a tranſlator into Latin proſe of the Greek poem of Dionyſius Afer DE SITU ORBIS: whom the Duke employed to tranſlate into Latin ſix tracts of Athanaſius. This tranſlation, inſcribed to the Duke, is now among the royal manuſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum, and at the end, in his own hand-writing, is the following inſertion: "*C'eſt livre eſt a moi Homphrey Duc le Glouceſtre: le quel je fis tranſlater de Grec en Latin par un de mes ſecretaires Antoyne de Beccara, nè de Verone.*"

An aſtronomical tract, entitled by Leland TABULÆ DIRECTIONUM, is falſely ſuppoſed to have been written by Duke Humphrey. But it was compiled at the Duke's inſtance, and according to tables which himſelf had conſtructed, called by the anonymous author in his preface, *Tabulas illuſtriſſimi principis et nobiliſſimi domini mei Humfredi*, &c. In the library of Greſham College, however, there is a ſcheme of calculations in aſtronomy, which bears his name. Aſtronomy was then a favourite ſcience: nor is it to be doubted, that he was intimately acquainted with

with the politer branches of knowledge, which now began to acquire attention, and which his liberal and judicious attention greatly contributed to reform.

Gustavus the Third, King of Sweden; from Sheridan's History of the late Revolution.

GUSTAVUS the Third was about five-and-twenty when he was proclaimed King of Sweden. From his mother, the present Queen Dowager, sister to the King of Prussia, he seems to inherit the spirit and abilities of his uncle; from his father, that benevolence of heart, which still renders the memory of Frederic Adolphus dear to the Swedes.

Born with talents that would have reflected lustre on any rank, but peculiarly suited to the exalted one he was destined to hold; his natural endowments were cultivated to the highest pitch, by an education the most finished, and most nicely adapted to a situation, which would probably one day require their fullest exertion.

By a graceful and commanding oratory, the most captivating manner and insinuating address, he caught the hearts of those who beheld him only in public; by an extent of knowledge and depth of judgment, he excited the admiration of such as had an opportunity of being nearer his person. But neither of these could as yet suspect him of that genius for intrigue, of that bold and enterprizing spirit which have since distinguished him; neither could hope that such a genius, whilst it was exerted to promote the particular interests of the prince who possessed it, should yet never lose sight of the happiness of the people; that such a spirit should be under the direction of prudence, and in its course be marked by a moderation as amiable as it is rare.

Neglectful of pleasures, yet not averse to them, without being dissipated, he tasted the amusements of a court; and in the midst of the closest application to study, retained all that graceful ease which qualifies to shine in a circle. He cultivated with equal success the arts of governing, and of pleasing; and knew alike how to gain the respect, and win upon the affections of his future subjects.

Under the appearance of the most disinterested patriotism, an ambition great as his talents, lay concealed: and covered by a zeal for the welfare of his subjects, his designs upon their liberties might have escaped the penetration of the most sagacious.

Such were the talents, such the ambition of a prince destined to wield a sceptre, that could afford no scope for the one, no gratification to the other. Who, master of every popular art, was in a popular government, to submit to the caprice of a senate, or the dictates of a foreign minister: who, fully equal to the task of governing others, was to be himself allowed no will of his own; and who, possessed of the hearts of his people, was to be their king only in name; was to content himself with the gaudy trappings of royalty, which he despised; and was to refrain from grasping at that power which formed

formed the firſt object of his wiſhes.

Nothing could exceed the demonſtrations of joy teſtified by the people at the arrival of the King at Stockholm, but the amiable affability with which he received all who approached him. No conduct could be better calculated to extend his popularity to the remoteſt parts of his dominions, than that which he adopted.

Three times a week he regularly gave audience to all who preſented themſelves. It required neither rank, fortune, or intereſt to obtain acceſs to him; it was ſufficient to have been injured, and to have a legal cauſe of complaint to lay before him. He liſtened to the meaneſt of his ſubjects with the dignity of a ſovereign indeed, but at the ſame time with the tenderneſs of a parent. He entered into the minuteſt details that concerned them; he informed himſelf of their private affairs; and ſeemed to take all that intereſt in their happineſs which is ſo grateful to the unfortunate, and ſo rarely to be met with in perſons, whoſe elevated ſtation place them in a manner beyond the reach, or even the knowledge of the ſufferings of the lower claſſes of mankind.

When a ſovereign condeſcended to cares like theſe, he could not fail to be conſidered as the father of his people. In the warmth of their gratitude, they forgot that motives of ambition might have had ſome ſhare in forming a conduct which to them appeared to proceed wholly from the pureſt benevolence; a conduct, in which the tenor of his majeſty's actions has indeed proved he conſulted his feelings, but which has likewiſe been ſince proved by the event, to have been the wiſeſt he could have choſen for the purpoſe of carrying the deſign he meditated into execution.

If his Swediſh Majeſty aimed thus ſucceſsfully at popularity, he likewiſe endeavoured to perſuade the leading men of the kingdom into an opinion of his ſincere and inviolable attachment to the conſtitution of his country; of his being perfectly ſatisfied with the ſhare of power that conſtitution had allotted to him; and took every opportunity to declare that he conſidered it as his greateſt glory to be the firſt citizen of a free people.

He ſeemed intent only on baniſhing corruption, and promoting union; he declared he would be of no party but that of the nation; and that he would ever pay the moſt implicit obedience to whatever the Diet ſhould enact.

Theſe profeſſions created ſuſpicions among a few, but they lulled the many into a fatal ſecurity. Thoſe however who poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of penetration, thought his Majeſty promiſed too much to be in earneſt; and notwithſtanding he maintained an outward appearance of impartiality, they could not help obſerving that all his favourites were of the French party, as well as that the whole adminiſtration was at the beck of the court of Verſailles.

Of the manner in which the revolution was effected, the ſame author gives the following account:

His Swediſh Majeſty, in the morning of the 19th of Auguſt, determined to throw off the maſk, and ſeize by force upon that power which the ſtates had ſo long abuſed, or periſh in the attempt.

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As he was preparing to quit his apartment, some agitation appeared in his countenance; but it did not seem to proceed from any apprehensions for his own fate. Great as this Prince's ambition is, his humanity is not inferior to it. He dreaded lest the blood of some of his subjects might be spilt in consequence of an enterprize, which he could not deem himself secured in without having recourse to violence.

His whole conduct during that day, as well as after the revolution had taken place, justifies this conjecture.

A considerable number of officers, as well as other persons, known to be attached to the royal cause, had been summoned to attend his Majesty on that morning. Before ten he was on horseback and visited the regiment of artillery. As he passed through the streets he was more than usually courteous to all he met, bowing familiarly to the lowest of the people. On the King's return to his palace, the detachment which was to mount guard that day being drawn up together with that which was to be relieved, his Majesty retired with the officers into the guard-room. He then addressed them with all that eloquence of which he is so perfect a master; and after insinuating to them that his life was in danger, he exposed to them in the strongest colours, the wretched state of the kingdom; the shackles in which it was held by means of foreign gold, and the dissensions and troubles arising from the same cause, which had distracted the diet during the course of fourteen months. He assured them that his only design was to put an end to these disorders; to banish corruption, restore true liberty, and revive the ancient lustre of the Swedish name, which had been long tarnished by a venality as notorious as it was disgraceful. Then assuring them in the strongest terms that he disclaimed for ever all absolute power, or what the Swedes call sovereignty, he concluded with these words; "I am obliged to defend my own liberty, and that of the kingdom, against the aristocracy which reigns. Will you be faithful to me as your forefathers were to Gustavus Vasa, and Gustavus Adolphus? I will then risk my life for your welfare, and that of my country."

The officers, most of them young men, of whose attachment the King had been long secure, who did not thoroughly perhaps see into the nature of the request his Majesty made them, and were allowed no time to reflect upon it, immediately consented to every thing, and took an oath of fidelity to him.

Three only refused. One of these, Frederic Cederstrom, captain of a company of the guards, alledged he had already and very lately taken an oath to be faithful to the states, and consequently could not take that which his Majesty then exacted of him. The King, looking at him sternly, answered, "Think of what you are doing." "I do," replied Cederstrom, "and what I think to-day I shall think to-morrow; and were I capable of breaking the oath by which I am already bound to the states, I should be likewise capable of breaking that your Majesty now requests me to take."

The King then ordered Cederstrom to deliver up his sword, and put him in arrest.

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His Majeſty however, apprehenſive of the impreſſion which the proper and reſolute conduct of Cederſtrom might make upon the minds of the other officers, ſhortly afterwards ſoftened his tone of voice, and again addreſſing himſelf to Cederſtrom, told him, that as a proof of the opinion he entertained of him, and the confidence he placed in him, he would return him his ſword without inſiſting upon his taking the oath, and would only deſire his attendance that day. Cederſtrom continued firm; he anſwered, that his Majeſty could place no confidence in him that day, and that he begged to be excuſed from the ſervice.

While the King was ſhut up with the officers, Senator Ralling, to whom the command of the troops in the town had been given two days before, came to the door of the guard-room, and was told that he could not be admitted. The Senator inſiſted upon being preſent at the diſtribution of the orders, and ſent in to the King to deſire it; but was anſwered, he muſt go to the ſenate, where his Majeſty would ſpeak to him.

The officers then received their orders from the King; the firſt of which was, that the two regiments of guards and of artillery ſhould be immediately aſſembled, and that a detachment of thirty-ſix grenadiers ſhould be poſted at the door of the council-chamber, to prevent any of the ſenators from coming out.

But before theſe orders could be carried into execution, it was neceſſary that the King ſhould take another ſtep; a ſtep upon which the whole ſucceſs of his enterprize was to depend. This was to addreſs himſelf to the ſoldiers; men wholly unacquainted with his deſigns, and accuſtomed to pay obedience only to the orders of the ſenate, whom they had been taught to hold in the higheſt reverence.

As his Majeſty, followed by the officers, was advancing from the guard-room to the parade for this purpoſe, ſome of them more cautious, or perhaps more timid than the reſt, became, on a ſhort reflection, apprehenſive of the conſequences of the meaſure in which they were engaged: they began to expreſs their fears to the King, that unleſs ſome perſons of greater weight and influence than themſelves were to take a part in the ſame cauſe, he could hardly hope to ſucceed in his enterprize. The King ſtopped a while, and appeared to heſitate—the fate of the revolution hung upon that moment. A ſerjeant of the guards overheard their diſcourſe, and cried aloud—"It ſhall ſucceed—long live Guſtavus." His Majeſty immediately ſaid, "then I will venture"—and ſtepping forward to the ſoldiers, he addreſſed them in terms nearly ſimilar to thoſe he had made uſe of to the officers, and with the ſame ſucceſs. They anſwered him with loud acclamations; one voice only ſaid, no; but it was not attended to.

In the mean time ſome of the King's emiſſaries had ſpread a report about the town that the King was arreſted. This drew the populace to the palace in great numbers, where they arrived as his Majeſty had concluded his harangue to the guards. They teſtified by reiterated ſhouts their joy at ſeeing

him

him safe; a joy which promised the happiest conclusion to the business of the day.

The senators were now immediately secured. They had from the window of the council-chamber beheld what was going forward on the parade before the palace; and at a loss to know the meaning of the shouts they heard, were coming down to enquire into the cause of them, when thirty grenadiers with their bayonets fixed, informed them it was his Majesty's pleasure they should continue where they were. They began to talk in a high tone, but were answered only by having the door shut and locked upon them.

The moment the secret committee heard that the senate was secured, they separated of themselves, each individual providing for his own safety. The King then mounting his horse, followed by his officers with their swords drawn, a large body of soldiers, and numbers of the populace, went to the other quarters of the town where the soldiers he had ordered to be assembled were posted. He found them all equally willing to support his cause, and take an oath of fidelity to him. As he passed through the streets, he declared to the people, That he only meant to defend them, and save his country; and that if they would not confide in him, he would lay down his sceptre, and surrender up his kingdom. So much was the King beloved, that the people (some of whom even fell down upon their knees) with tears in their eyes implored his Majesty not to abandon them.

The King proceeded in his course, and in less than an hour made himself master of all the military force in Stockholm.

Account of the Kingdom of Thibet, *in a Letter from* John Stewart, *Esq; F. R. S. to Sir* John Pringle, *Bart. P. R. S. From the Philosophical Transactions.*

THE kingdom of Thibet, although known by name ever since the days of Marco Paolo and other travellers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had never been properly explored by any Europeans till the period of which I am now to speak. It is true, some straggling missionaries of the begging orders had, at different times, penetrated into different parts of the country; but their observations, directed by ignorance and superstition, placed in a narrow sphere, could give no ideas but what were false and imperfect. Since them, the Jesuits have given the world, in Duhalde's History of China, a short account of this country, collected, with their usual pains and judgment, from Tartar relations, which, as far it goes, seems to be pretty just.

This country commonly passes in Bengal under the name of Boutan. It lies to the northward of Hindostan, and is all along separated from it by a range of high and steep mountains, properly a continuation of the great Caucasus, which stretches from the ancient Media and the shores of the Caspian sea, round the north-east frontiers of Persia, to Candahar and Cassimire, and thence, continuing its course more easterly, forms the great northern barrier to the various provinces

province of the Mogul empire, and ends, as we have reason to believe, in Assam or China. This stupendous Tartar bulwark had ever been held impassable by the Mogols, and all other conquerors of India; and, although in the vallies lying between the lower mountains, which run perpendicular to the main ridge, there reside various Indian people, whom they had occasionally made tributary to their power, they never had attempted a solid or permanent dominion over them. It was on occasion of a disputed succession between the heirs of one of the rajah's or petty sovereigns of those people, that the Bootaners were called down from their mountains to the assistance of one of the parties; and our government engaged on the opposite side. The party assisted by us did not fail in the end to prevail; and, in the course of this little war, two people became acquainted who, although near neighbours, were equally strangers to each other. As the attack of a town called Cooch Behar, our troops and the Bootaners first met; and nothing could exceed their mutual surprise in the rencounter. The Bootaners, who had never met in the plains any other than the timid Hindoos flying naked before them, saw, for the first time, a body of men, uniformly cloathed and accoutred, moving in regular order, and led on by men of complexion, dress, and features, such as they had never beheld before: and then the management of the artillery, and incessant fire of the musquetry, was beyond any idea which they could have conceived of it. On the other hand, our people found themselves on a sudden engaged with a race of men, unlike all their former opponents in India, uncouth in their appearance, and fierce in their assault, wrapped up in furs, and armed with bows and arrows, and other weapons peculiar to them.

The place was carried by our troops, and a great many things taken in the spoil, such as arms, cloathing, and utensils of various sorts. Images in clay, in gold, in silver, and in enamel, were sent down to Calcutta; all which appeared perfectly Tartar, as we have them represented in the relations and drawings of travellers; and there were besides several pieces of Chinese paintings and manufactures. While those things continued to be the subject of much conversation and curiosity to us in Bengal, the fame of our exploits in the war had reached the court of Thibet, and awakened the attention of Taytoo Lama, who (the Delai Lama being a minor) was then at the head of the state. The Dah Terriah, or Deb Rajah as he is called in Bengal (who rules immediately over the Bootaners, and had engaged them in the war) being a feudatory of Thibet, the Lama thought it proper to interpose his good offices, and in consequence sent a person of rank to Bengal, with a letter and presents to the Governor, to solicit a peace for the Dah, as his vassal and dependant.

Mr. Hastings, the Governor, did not hesitate a moment to grant a peace at the mediation of the Lama, on the most moderate and equitable terms; and, eager to seize every opportunity which could promote the interest and glory of

have already remarked. It is a country of steep and inaccessible mountains, whose summits are covered with eternal snow; they are interspersed with deep vallies, through which numberless rivers force their course, and, after fertilizing the plains, fall into the great rivers of Bengal. These mountains are covered with forests of various sorts; fruits (such as grapes, &c.) which are known in Europe; others such as are peculiar to the country and climate. The vallies and sides of the hills, which admit of cultivation, are not unfruitful, but produce crops of wheat, barley, and rice. The inhabitants are a stout and warlike people, of a copper complexion, in size rather above the middle European stature, hasty and quarrelsome in their temper, and addicted to the use of spirituous liquors; but honest in their dealings, robbery by violence being almost unknown among them. The chief city is Taffey Seddein, situated on the Pruchoo. Thibet begins properly from the top of the great ridge of the Caucasus, and extends from thence in breadth to the confines of Great Tartary, and perhaps to some of the dominions of the Russian empire. Mr. Bogle says, that, having once attained the summit of the Boutan mountains, you do not descend in an equal proportion on the side of Thibet, but, continuing still on a very elevated base, you traverse vallies which are wider and not so deep as the former, and mountains that are neither so steep, nor apparently so high. On the other hand, he represents it as the most bare and desolate country he ever saw. The

woods,

woods, which every-where cover the mountains in Boutan, are here totally unknown; and, except a few straggling trees near the villages, nothing of the sort to be seen. The climate is extremely severe and rude. At Chaumanning, where he wintered, although it be in latitude 31 deg. 39 min. only 8 deg. to the northward of Calcutta, he often found the thermometer in his room at 29 deg. under the freezing point by Fahrenheit's scale; and in the middle of April the standing waters were all frozen, and heavy showers of snow perpetually fell. This, no doubt, must be owing to the great elevation of the country, and to the vast frozen space over which the north-wind blows uninterruptedly from the pole, through the vast deserts of Siberia and Tartary, till it is stopped by this formidable wall.

The Thibetians are of a smaller size than their southern neighbours, and of a less robust make. Their complexions are also fairer, and many of them have even a ruddiness in their countenance unknown in the other climates of the east. Those whom I saw at Calcutta appeared to have quite the Tartar face. They are of a mild and chearful temper; and Mr. Bogle says, that the higher ranks are polite and entertaining in conversation, in which they never mix either strained compliments or flattery. The common people, both in Boutan and Thibet, are cloathed in coarse woollen stuffs of their own manufacture, lined with such skins as they can procure; but the better orders of men are dressed in European cloth, or China silk, lined with the finest Siberian furs. The Ambassador from the Deb Rajah, in his summer-dress at Calcutta, appeared exactly like the figures we see in the Chinese paintings, with the conical hat, the tunic of brocaded silk, and light boots. The Thibetian, who brought the last letter from the Lama, was wrapped up from head to foot in furs. The use of linen is totally unknown among them. The chief food of the inhabitants is the milk of their cattle, prepared into cheese, butter, or mixed with the flour of a coarse barley or of peas, the only grain which their soil produces; and even these articles are in a scanty proportion: but they are furnished with rice and wheat from Bengal and other countries in their neighbourhood. They also are supplied with fish from the rivers in their own and the neighbouring provinces, salted and sent into the interior parts. They have no want of animal food from the cattle, sheep, and hogs, which are raised on their hills; and are not destitute of game, though I believe it is not abundant. They have a singular method of preparing their mutton, by exposing the carcase intire, after the bowels are taken out, to the sun, and bleak northern winds which blow in the months of August and September, without frost, and so dry up the juices and parch the skin, that the meat will keep uncorrupted for the year round. This they generally eat raw, without any other preparation. Mr. Bogle was often regaled with this dish, which, however unpalatable at first, he says, he afterwards preferred to their dressed mutton just killed, which was generally lean, tough, and rank. It was also very common for the head

men in the villages through which he paſſed, to make him preſents of ſheep ſo prepared, ſet before him on their legs as if they had been alive, which at firſt had a very odd appearance.

The religious and political conſtitution of this country, which are intimately blended together, would make a conſiderable chapter in its hiſtory. It ſuffices for me to ſay, that at preſent, and ever ſince the expulſion of the Eighth Tartars, the kingdom of Thibet is regarded as depending on the empire of China, which they call Cathay; and there uſually reſide two Mandarines, with a garriſon of a thouſand Chineſe, at Lahaſa, the capital, to ſupport the government; but their power does not extend far: and in fact the Lama, whoſe empire is founded on the ſtrongeſt grounds, perſonal affection and religious reverence, governs every thing internally with unbounded authority. Every body knows that the Dalai Lama is the great object of adoration for the various tribes of heathen Tartars, who roam through the vaſt tract of continent which ſtretches from the banks of the Volga to Corea on the ſea of Japan, the moſt extenſive religious dominion, perhaps, on the face of the globe. He is not only the Supreme Pontiff, the Vicegerent of the Deity on earth; but, as Superſtition is ever the ſtrongeſt, where it is moſt removed from its object, the more remote Tartars abſolutely regard him as the Deity himſelf. They believe him immortal, and endowed with all knowledge and virtue. Every year they come up from different parts, to worſhip and make rich offerings at his ſhrine; even the Emperor of China, who is a Manchou Tartar, does not fail in acknowledgements to him in his religious capacity, and actually entertains, at a great expence, in the palace of Pekin, an inferior Lama, deputed as his Nuncio from Thibet. It is even reported, that many of the Tartar chiefs receive certain preſents, conſiſting of ſmall portions of that, from him, which is ever regarded in all other perſons as the moſt humiliating part of human nature, and of being ſubject to its laws, and treaſure it up with great reverence in gold boxes, to be mixed occaſionally in their ragouts. It is, however, but juſtice to declare, that Mr. Bogle ſtrenuouſly inſiſts, that the Lama never makes ſuch preſents; but that he often diſtributes little balls of conſecrated flour, like the pain benit of the Roman Catholics, which the ſuperſtition and blind credulity of his Tartar votaries may afterwards convert into what they pleaſe. The orthodox opinion is, that, when the grand Lama ſeems to die, either of old age or of infirmity, his ſoul in fact only quits an actual crazy habitation to look for another younger or better, and it is diſcovered again in the body of ſome child, by certain tokens known only to the Lama or Prieſts, in which order he always appears. The preſent Dalai Lama is an infant, and was diſcovered only a few years ago by the Tayſhoo Lama, who in authority and ſanctity of character is next to him, and conſequently during the other's minority, acts as Chief. The Lamas, who form the moſt numerous as well as the moſt powerful body in the ſtate, have the prieſthood entirely in their hands; and, beſides,

beſides, fill up many monaſtic orders which are held in great veneration among them. Celibacy, I believe, is not poſitively injoined to the Lamas; but it is held indiſpenſable for both men and women, who embrace a religious life: and indeed their celibacy, their living in communities, their cloyſters, their ſervice in the choirs, their ſtrings of beads, their faſts, and their penances, give them ſo much the air of chriſtian monks, that it is not ſurpriſing an illiterate capuchin ſhould be ready to hail them brothers, and think he can trace the features of St. Francis in every thing about them. It is an old notion, that the religion of Thibet is a corrupted chriſtianity; and even Father Diſederii, a Jeſuit (but not of the Chineſe miſſion) who viſited the country about the beginning of this century, thinks he can reſolve all their myſteries into ours; and aſſerts, with a true myſtical penetration, that they have certainly a good notion of the Trinity, ſince, in their addreſs to their Deity, they ſay as often Konciokoik in the plural as Koncioſk in the ſingular, and with their roſaries pronounce theſe words, Om, ha,' hom. The truth is, that the religion of Thibet, from whence-ever it ſprung, is pure and ſimple in its ſource, conveying very exalted notions of the Deity, with no contemptible ſyſtem of morality; but in its progreſs it has been greatly altered and corrupted by the inventions of worldly men, a fate we can hardly regret in a ſyſtem of error, ſince we know that that of truth has been ſubject to the ſame. Polygamy, at leaſt in the ſenſe we commonly receive the word, is not in practice among them; but it exiſts in a manner ſtill more repugnant to European ideas; I mean in the plurality of huſbands, which is firmly eſtabliſhed and highly reſpected there. In a country, where the means of ſubſiſting a family are not eaſily found, it ſeems not impolitic to allow a ſet of brothers to agree in raiſing one, which is to be maintained by their joint efforts. In ſhort, it is uſual in Thibet for the brothers in the family to have a wife in common, and they generally live in great harmony and comfort with her; not but ſometimes little diſſenſions will ariſe (as may happen in families conſtituted upon different principles) an inſtance of which Mr. Bogle mentions in the caſe of a modeſt and virtuous lady, the wife of half a dozen of the Tayſhoo Lama's nephews, who complained to the uncle, that the two youngeſt of her huſbands did not furniſh that ſhare of love and benevolence to the common ſtock which duty and religion required of them. In ſhort, however ſtrange this cuſtom may appear to us, it is an undoubted fact that it prevails in Thibet in the manner I have deſcribed.

The manner of beſtowing their dead is alſo ſingular: they neither put them in the ground like the Europeans, nor burn them like the Hindoos; but expoſe them on the bleak pinnacle of ſome neighbouring mountain, to be devoured by wild beaſts and birds of prey, or waſted away by time and the viciſſitudes of weather in which they lie. The mangled carcaſes and bleached bones lie ſcattered about; and, amidſt this ſcene of horror, ſome miſerable old wretch, man or woman, loſt to all feelings but

chaſe of ſuperſtition, generally ſets up an abode, to perform the diſmal office of receiving the bodies, aſſigning ſuch a place, and gathering up the remains when torn widely aſunder.

The religion of Thibet, although it be in many of its principal dogmata totally repugnant to that of the bramins or of India, yet in others it has a great affinity to it. They have, for inſtance, a great veneration for the cow; but they transfer it wholly from the common ſpecies to that which bears the tails, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. They alſo highly reſpect the waters of the Ganges, the ſource of which they believe to be in heaven; and one of the firſt effects which the treaty with the Lama produced, was an application to the Governor-general, for leave to build a place of worſhip on its banks. This it may be imagined was not refuſed; and, when I left Bengal, a ſpot of ground was actually aſſigned for that purpoſe, about two or three miles from Calcutta. On the other hand, the Sunniaſſes, or Indian pilgrims, often viſit Thibet as a holy place, and the Lama always entertains a body of two or three hundred in his pay. The reſidence of the Delai Lama is at Pateli, a vaſt palace on a mountain near the banks of the Barampooter, about ſeven miles from Lahaſſa. The Tayſhoo Lama has ſeveral palaces or caſtles, in one of which Mr. Bogle lived with him five months. He repreſents the Lama as one of the moſt amiable as well as intelligent men he ever knew; maintaining his rank with the utmoſt mildneſs of authority, and living in the greateſt purity of manners, without ſtarchneſs or affectation. Every thing within the gates breathed peace, order, and dignified elegance. The caſtle is of ſtone or brick, with many courts, lofty halls, terraces, and porticos; and the apartments are in general roomy, and highly finiſhed in the Chineſe ſtyle, with gilding, painting, and varniſh. There are two conveniencies to which they are utter ſtrangers, ſtair-caſes and windows. There is no acceſs to the upper rooms but by a ſort of ladders of wood or iron; and for windows they have only holes in the cieſings, with penthouſe covers, contrived ſo as to ſhut up on the weather-ſide. Firing is ſo ſcarce, that little is uſed but for culinary purpoſes; and they truſt altogether for warmth in their houſes to their furs and other cloathing. The Lama, who is completely converſant in what regards Tartary, China, and all the kingdoms in the Eaſt, was exceedingly inquiſitive about Europe, its politics, laws, arts, and ſciences, government, commerce, and military ſtrength; on all which heads Mr. Bogle endeavoured to ſatisfy him, and actually compiled for his ſervice a brief ſtate of Europe in the Hindoſtan language, which he ordered to be tranſlated into that of Thibet. The Lama, being born at Latack, a frontier province next Caſſamire, is fully maſter of the Hindoſtan language, and always converſed with Mr. Bogle in it; but the people, who are perſuaded he underſtands all languages, believed he ſpoke to him in Engliſh, or, as they call it, the European tongue. The Ruſſian empire was the only one in Europe known to him: he has a high idea of its riches and ſtrength, and had heard of its wars and ſucceſs againſt the

the empire of Rome (for ſo they call the Turkiſh ſtate); but could not conceive it could be in any wiſe a match for Cathay. Many of the Tartar ſubjects of Ruſſia come to Thibet; and the Czar has even, at various times, ſent letters and preſents to the Lama. Mr. Bogle ſaw many European articles in his hands; pictures, looking glaſſes, and trinkets of gold, ſilver, and ſteel, chiefly Engliſh, which he had received that way, particularly a Graham's repeating watch, which had been dead, as they ſaid, for ſome time. While he was there, ſeveral Mongols and Calmucs arrived from Siberia, with whom he converſed.

The city of Lahaſſa, which is the capital, is of no inconſiderable ſize, and is repreſented as populous and flouriſhing. It is the reſidence of the chief officers of government, and of the Chineſe Mandarins and their ſuite. It is alſo inhabited by Chineſe and Caſſemirian merchants and artificers, and is the daily reſort of numberleſs traders from all quarters, who come in occaſional parties, or in ſtated caravans. The waters of the Great River, as it is emphatically called in their language, waſh its walls. Father Duhalde, with great accuracy, traces this river, which he never ſuſpects to be the Barampooter, from its origin in the Caſſemirian mountains (probably from the ſame ſpring which gives riſe to the Ganges) through the great valley of Thibet, till, turning ſuddenly to the ſouthward, he loſes it in the kingdom of Aſſam; but ſtill, with great judgment and probability of conjecture, ſuppoſes it reaches the Indian ſea ſomewhere in Pegu or Aracan. The truth is, however, that it turns ſuddenly again in the middle of Aſſam, and, traverſing that country, enters Bengal towards Rangamatty, under the above-mentioned name, and, thence bending its courſe more ſoutherly, joins the Ganges, its ſiſter and rival, with an equal, if not more copious ſtream; forming at the conflux a body of running freſh water, hardly to be paralleled in the known world, which diſembogues itſelf into the Bay of Bengal. Two ſuch rivers uniting in this happy country, with all the beauty, fertility, and convenience which they bring, well intitles it to the name of the Paradiſe of Nations, always beſtowed upon it by the Moguls.

The chief trade from Lahaſſa to Pekin is carried on by caravans that employ full two years in the journey thither and back again; which is not ſurpriſing, when we conſider that the diſtance cannot be leſs than two thouſand Engliſh miles: and yet it is to be obſerved, that an expreſs from Lahaſſa reaches Pekin in three weeks, a circumſtance much to the honour of the Chineſe police, which knows to eſtabliſh ſo ſpeedy and effectual a communication through mountains and deſerts for ſo long a way. The trade with Siberia is carried on by caravans to Seling, which is undoubtedly the Selinginſky of the Ruſſian travellers on the borders of Baykale lake. And this accounts for an extraordinary fact mentioned by Bell, that, on the banks of the river of that name, he one day found a man buſy in redeeming, from ſome boys who were angling, the fiſh they caught, and throwing them into the water again; and, from this circumſtance, and the

must on his forehead, knew him to be an Indian. On converſing with him, he found his conjecture to be right. The man told him, he came from Moultan, had been two years on his journey, and employed by ſeveral of the principal Engliſh gentlemen there. This friend, no doubt, muſt have travelled as a Fakquier or mendicant through Bengal into Thibet, and from thence paſſed with the caravan to Kaſhmeer, where Bell found him. It is proper to remark, that the Indians have an admirable method of turning goldmeal into grain gold, in order for the Fakquiers to carry with them, in their pilgrimages from the ſea-coaſts to the inland parts, pearls, corals, ſpices, and other precious articles, of ſmall bulk, which they exchange on their return for gold-duſt, grain, and other things of a ſimilar nature, concealing them eaſily in their hair and in the cloths round their middle, and carrying on, conſidering their numbers, no inconſiderable traffic by theſe means. The Goſſeigns are alſo of a religious order, but in dignity above the Fakquiers; and they drive a more extenſive and a more open trade with that country.

A particular account of the commerce would be foreign to the purport of this letter; but, as it would leave the information which I wiſh to convey very incomplete, did I not mention the ſources from which this country, ſo apparently poor and unfruitful, draws a ſupply of the foreign articles of convenience and luxury, which I have occaſionally ſaid they poſſeſs; I ſhall juſt obſerve, that, beſides their leſs trade with their neighbours in horſes, hogs, rock-ſalt, coarſe cloths, and other articles, they enjoy four ſtaple articles, which are ſufficient in themſelves to procure every foreign commodity of which they ſtand in need; all of which are natural productions, and deſerve to be particularly noticed. The firſt, though the leaſt conſiderable, is that of the cow-tails, ſo famous all over India, Perſia, and the other kingdoms of the Eaſt. It is produced by a ſpecies of cow or bullock, different from what I believe is found in any other country. It is of a larger ſize than the common Thibet breed, has ſhort horns, and no hump on its back. Its ſkin is covered with whitiſh hair of a ſilky appearance; but its chief ſingularity is in its tail, which ſpreads out broad and long, with flowing hairs, like that of a beautiful mare, but much finer and far more glofſy. Mr. Bogle ſent down two of this breed to Mr. Haſtings, but they died before they reached Calcutta. The tails ſell very high, and are uſed, mounted on ſilver handles, for Chowras, or bruſhes, to chace away the flies; and no man of conſequence in India ever goes out, or ſits in form at home, without two Chowrawbadars, or bruſhers, attending him, with ſuch inſtruments in their hands.

The next article is the wool from which the Shaul, the moſt delicate woollen manufacture in the world, ſo much prized in the Eaſt, and now ſo well known in England, is made. Till Mr. Bogle's journey our notions on that ſubject were very crude and imperfect. As the Shauls all come from Caſſemire, we concluded the material from which they were fabricated to be alſo of that country's growth.

It

It was ſaid to be the hair of a particular goat, the fine under hair from a camel's breaſt, and a thouſand other fancies; but we now know it for certain to be the produce of a Thibet ſheep. Mr. Haſtings had one or two of theſe in his paddock when I left Bengal. They are of a ſmall breed, in figure nothing differing from our ſheep, except in their tails, which are very broad; but their fleeces, for the fineneſs, length, and beauty of the wool, exceed all others in the world. The Caſſemirians engroſs this article, and have factors eſtabliſhed for its purchaſe in every part of Thibet, from whence it is ſent to Caſſemire, where it is worked up, and becomes a ſource of great wealth to that country, as well as it is originally to Thibet.

Muſk is another of their ſtaples, of which it will be needleſs to ſay much, as the nature, quality, and value, of this precious commodity are ſo well known in Europe. I ſhall only remark, that the deer which produces it is common in the mountains; but, being exceſſively ſhy, and frequenting ſolely the places the moſt wild and difficult of acceſs, it becomes a trade of great trouble and danger to hunt after. We have the muſk ſent down to Calcutta in the natural bag, not without great riſk of its being adulterated; but ſtill it is far ſuperior to any thing of the kind that is to be met with in ſale in Europe.

The laſt of the articles which I reckon ſtaple is gold, of which great quantities are exported from Thibet. It is found in the ſands of the Great River, as well as in moſt of the ſmall brooks and torrents that pour from the mountains. The quantity gathered in this manner, though conſiderable with reſpect to national gain, pays the individual but very moderately for the labour beſtowed on it. But, beſides this, there are mines of that metal in the northern parts, which are the reſerved property of the Lama, and rented out to thoſe who work them. It is not found in ore, but always in a pure metallic ſtate (as I believe it to be the caſe in all other mines of this metal) and only requires to be ſeparated from the ſpar, ſtone, or flint, to which it adheres. Mr. Haſtings had a lump ſent to him at Calcutta, of about the ſize of a bullock's kidney, which was a hard flint veined with ſolid gold. He cauſed it to be ſawed in two, and it was found throughout interlarded (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) with the pureſt metal. Although they have this gold in great plenty in Thibet, they do not employ it in coin, of which their government never ſtrikes any; but it is ſtill uſed as a medium of commerce, and goods are rated there by the purſe of gold-duſt, as here by money. The Chineſe draw it from them to a great amount every year, in return for the produce of their labour and arts.

I could wiſh to add to this account ſomething reſpecting the plants and other botanical productions of this country; but I would not preſume to offer any thing but what is authentic and exact, as far as my knowledge goes. Mr. Bogle will, no doubt, be able to ſatisfy the learned in that branch, reſpecting many things of which I have at preſent no information.

He

He sent down to Calcutta many seeds, grains, kernels, and fruits, part of which only arrived safe. Of the last I called several, they were chiefly of the European sorts, such as peaches, apples, pears, &c. and therefore more desirable for us in Bengal; but they were all to the smallest and best.

I am now, Sir, to close these remarks with craving your forgiveness for having thus started a new subject of curiosity, without the means of giving more complete light concerning it. Time and opportunity may put more in my power on my return to India. In the mean time, I hope the society will accept as a rarity the translation of the original letter which the Tayshoo Lama wrote to Mr. Hastings, by the Envoy whom he sent to solicit a peace for the Deb Rajah. It came into my hands in the course of my office, and, by the permission of the Governor-general, I retained a copy.

The original is in Persian, a language which the Lama was obliged to employ, that of Thibet, although very elegant and expressive, as it is said, being totally unintelligible in Bengal. A letter, under the sanction of a character so long talked of in the western world, but so little known, alone renders it an object of curiosity; but, when it is found to contain sentiments of justice, benevolence, and piety, couched in a simple style, not without dignity, and in general exempt from the high-flown compliments and strained metaphors so common among the other people of the East, I have no doubt of its being received with approbation; at any rate, it will serve as a specimen of the way of thinking and writing among a people whose country and manners I have made the subject of the foregoing sketch.

Translation of a Letter from the Tayshoo Lama to Mr. Hastings, Governor of Bengal, received the 29th of March, 1774.

THE affairs of this quarter in every respect flourish: I am night and day employed for the increase of your happiness and prosperity. Having been informed, by travellers from your quarter, of your exalted fame and reputation, my heart, like the blossom of spring, abounds with satisfaction, gladness, and joy. Praise God that the star of your fortune is in its ascension. Praise him, that happiness and ease are the surrounding attendants of myself and family. Neither to molest or persecute is my aim: it is even the characteristic of our sect to deprive ourselves of the necessary refreshment of sleep, should an injury be done to a single individual; but, in justice and humanity, I am informed you surpass us. May you ever adorn the seat of justice and power, that mankind may, in the shadow of your bosom, enjoy the blessings of peace and affluence! By your favour I am the Rajah and Lama of this country, and rule over a number of subjects; a particular with which you have no doubt been acquainted by travellers from these parts. I have been repeatedly informed, that you have been engaged in hostilities against the Dah Terria, to which it is said the Dah's own criminal conduct, in committing ravages and other outrages on your frontiers, gave rise,

rise. As he is of a rude and ignorant race, past times are not destitute of the like misconduct which his avarice tempted him to commit. It is not unlikely but he has now renewed those instances, and the ravages and plunder which he may have committed on the skirts of the Bengal and Bahar Provinces, have given you provocation to send your vindictive army against him. However, his party has been defeated, many of his people have been killed, three forts have been taken from him, and he has met with the punishment he deserved. It is as evident as the sun that your army has been victorious; and that, if you had been desirous of it, you might, in the space of two days, have entirely extirpated him, for he had not power to resist your efforts. But I now take upon me to be his mediator; and to represent to you, that, as the said Dah Terra is dependant upon the Delai Lama, who rules in this country with unlimited sway (but, on account of his being in his minority, the charge of the government and administration for the present is committed to me) should you persist in offering further molestation to the Dah's country, it will irritate both the Lama and all his subjects against you. Therefore, from a regard to our religion and customs, I request you will cease all hostilities against him; and, in doing this, you will confer the greatest favour and friendship upon me. I have reprimanded the Dah for his past conduct; and I have admonished him to desist from his evil practices in future, and to be submissive to you in all things. I am persuaded he will conform to the advice which I have given him; and it will be necessary that you treat him with compassion and clemency. As to my part, I am but a Faquier *; and it is the custom of my sect, with the rosary in our hands, to pray for the welfare of mankind, and for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of this country; and I do now, with my head uncovered, intreat that you may cease all hostilities against the Dah in future. It would be needless to add to the length of this letter, as the bearer of it, who is a Coseign †, will represent to you all particulars; and it is hoped you will comply therewith. In this country, worship of the Almighty is the profession of all. We poor creatures are in nothing equal to you; having, however, a few things in hand, I send them to you by way of remembrance, and hope for your acceptance of them.

Account of the Morlacchi; *from Travels into* Dalmatia, *by* L'abbe Fortis.

THE Morlacchi inhabit the pleasant valleys of Kotar, along the rivers Kerha, Cettina, Narenta, and among the mountains of Inland Dalmatia. Their country is of much larger extent,

* The original being in Persian, this word is used, which can only be applied with propriety to a person of the Mussulman faith: here it can only mean a religious person in general. Perhaps Monk would have been the best translation.

† This means a religious person of the Hindoo sect.

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not only towards Greece, but towards Germany and Hungary. But our author confines his account to the small part of it which he saw. The inhabitants of the sea coast of Dalmatia, tell many frightful stories about the cruelty of those people; but our author assures us, that they are for the most part totally without foundation.

The greatest danger to be feared, is from the Haiduks, of whom great numbers have retreated among the woods, and caves of those dreadful mountains on the confines; these, a traveller ought to get himself escorted by a couple of these honest fellows, and he is quite safe; for they are not capable of betraying him, although a banditti; but, indeed, their case is commonly more apt to raise compassion, than diffidence; for their character is not essentially bad; if it were so, their numbers would soon become very formidable to the maritime inhabitants of Dalmatia. They lead their life among the wolves, wandering from one precipice to another, agitated by continual fears and suspicions, exposed to the severity of the seasons, and often deprived of the necessaries of life, languish in the most solitary hideous caverns. It would be no wonder, if such men, irritated by the constant view of their miserable situation, were to commit acts of violence, especially against those to whom they attribute the cause of their calamities. Yet they very seldom disturb the tranquillity of others, and prove always faithful guides to travellers. The chief objects of their rapine are oxen and sheep, to supply themselves with food and shoes; and I have often heard them bitterly and justly censured, for the barbarous indiscretion of killing a poor man's ox, in order to serve themselves only with a small portion of the meat, and the skin. This certainly admits of no apology; yet humanity bids us reflect, that the things coveted by these wretches, are articles of the greatest necessity, as they are condemned to live among desolate mountains, which have no covering either of grass or earth, and are full of hard sharp stones, that have been rendered still more rough and cutting by the action of the air and time. It happens sometimes, in their extreme necessity, that the Haiduks go in parties to the shepherds cottages, and rudely demand something to eat, which they immediately take by force, if the least hesitation is made; though they seldom meet with a refusal, or resistance, as their resolution and fury are well known to be equal to their wants, and to the savage life which they lead. Four Haiduks are not afraid to assault a caravan of fifteen or twenty Turks, and generally plunder and put them to flight. When a Haiduk happens to be taken by the *Panduri*, they do not bind him, as our *Birri* are used to do, but untying the string of his breeches, they fall down on his heels, and prevent a possibility of escape, if he attempted it; an humane contrivance to secure a man without binding him like a beast. The greatest part of the Haiduks look upon it as a meritorious action, to shed the blood of the Turks; a mistaken zeal for religion, joined to their natural and acquired ferocity, easily leads them to commit such acts of violence; and the ignorance,

norance, and national prejudices of their prieſts are too apt to inflame their barbarous fanaticiſm.

On the moral and domeſtic Virtues of the Morlacchi.

THE morals of a Morlack, at a diſtance from the ſea coaſt and garriſons, are generally very different from ours. The ſincerity, truſt, and honeſty of theſe poor people, not only in contracts, but in all the ordinary actions of their life, would be called ſimplicity and weakneſs among us. It is true, that the Italians, who trade in Dalmatia, and the littoral inhabitants themſelves, have but too often taken advantage of this integrity; and hence the Morlacchi are become much more diffident, than they were in former times; inſomuch, that the want of probity, which they have ſo often experienced, in dealing with the Italians, is paſſed into a proverb among them, and the words *paſſia-vira*, and *Lamenanta-vira*, that is, the faith of a dog, and faith of an Italian, are uſed to expreſs the ſame reproachful meaning. This prepoſſeſſion againſt us might prove incommodious to an unknown traveller, and yet it ſeldom happens. For the Morlack, naturally hoſpitable and generous, opens his poor cottage to the ſtranger, and ſerves him to the utmoſt of his power, without demanding, nay, often obſtinately refuſing, the leaſt recompence; and I have more than once got a dinner from one of thoſe men, who knew nothing about me, had never ſeen me, and could not expect ever to ſee me again.

I ſhall never forget the cordial reception and treatment given me by *Fervan Vajevod*, of *Carnizich*; to whom I had nothing elſe to recommend me but my being in friendſhip with a family who were alſo his friends. He ſent his horſes, and an eſcort to meet me on the road; and, during the few days which I ſpent in that neighbourhood, loaded me with all the luxury of national hoſpitality. He ſent his own ſon, and ſeveral of his people, to eſcort me as far as the plains of *Narenta*, a good day's journey from his houſe, and furniſhed me with proviſions in abundance; and all this was done without my being allowed to ſpend a ſingle penny. On my departure from that hoſpitable manſion, he and all his family came out and followed me with their eyes, till I was out of ſight; which affectionate manner of taking leave raiſed a kind of agitation in my mind, which I never felt before, and can ſcarcely ever hope to feel again, in travelling over Italy.

The Morlacchi are extremely ſenſible of mild treatment, and, when they meet with it, are ready to perform every poſſible ſervice, and to become cordial friends. Their hoſpitality is equally conſpicuous among the poor as among the more opulent. The rich prepares a roaſted lamb, or ſheep; and the poor, with equal cordiality, gives his turkey, milk, honey, or whatever elſe he has. Nor is their generoſity confined to ſtrangers, but generally extends itſelf to all who are in want.

When a Morlack is on a journey, and comes to lodge at a friend's houſe, the eldeſt daughter of the family, or the new-married bride, if there happens to be one, receives, and kiſſes him when he

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alights from his horſe, or at the door of the houſe. But a foreigner is rarely favoured with theſe female viſitants; not the contrary, the women, if they are young, hide themſelves, and keep out of his way. Perhaps more than one violation of the laws of hoſpitality has made them thus reſerved to ſtrangers; or perhaps the jealouſie tenderneſs of the neighbouring Turks have ſpread among the Morlacchi.

While there is any thing to eat in the houſes of theſe villagers, the poor of the neighbourhood are welcome to partake of it; and hence it is, that no Morlack ever humbles himſelf to aſk alms of a paſſenger; at leaſt, I never met with one example of it. I indeed have often been forced to aſk ſomething from poor ſhepherds, but I always found them liberal; and many times, in travelling through the fields in the heat of ſummer, I have met poor reapers, who, of their own accord, preſented me with their ſickles to drink, and offered me a pair of their ruſtick moccaſins, with an affecting cordiality.

The Morlacchi, in general, have little notion of domeſtick œconomy, and gaily conſume in a week, as much as would be ſufficient for ſeveral months, whenever any occaſion of merryment preſents itſelf. A marriage, the holiday of the Saint, protector of the family, the arrival of relations or friends, or any other joyful incident, conſumes, of courſe, all that there is to eat and to drink in the houſe. Yet the Morlack is a great œconomiſt in the uſe of his wearing apparel; for, rather than ſpoil his new cap, he takes it off, let it rain ever ſo hard, and goes bare-headed in the ſtorm. In the ſame manner he treats his ſhoes, if the road is dirty, and they are not very old. Nothing but an abſolute impoſſibility hinders a Morlack from being punctual; and if he cannot repay the money he borrowed, at the appointed time, he carries a ſmall preſent to his creditor, and requeſts a longer term. Thus it happens ſometimes, that, from term to term, and preſent to preſent, he pays double what he owed, without reflecting on it.

Of their Friendſhips and Quarrels.

FRIENDSHIP, that among us is ſo ſubject to change on the ſlighteſt motives, is laſting among the Morlacchi. They have even made it a kind of religious point, and tie the ſacred bond at the foot of the altar. The Sclavonian ritual contains a particular benediction for the ſolemn union of two male or two female friends in the preſence of the congregation. I was preſent at the union of two young women, who were made *Poſeſtre*, in the church of *Peruſſich*. The ſatisfaction that ſparkled in their eyes, when the ceremony was performed, gave a convincing proof, that delicacy of ſentiments can lodge in minds not formed, or rather not corrupted by ſociety, which we call civilized. The male friends thus united, are called *Pobratimi*, and the females *Poſeſtreme*, which mean half-brothers, and half-ſiſters. Friendſhips between thoſe of different ſexes, are not at this day bound with ſo much ſolemnity, though perhaps in more ancient and innocent ages it was alſo the cuſtom.

From these consecrated friendships among the Morlacchi and other nations of the same origin, it should seem, that the *fratria brotherhood* arose; a denomination frequent enough among our common people, and in many parts of Europe. The difference between these and the *Pobratimi* of Morlacchia, consists, not only in the want of the ritual ceremony, but in the design of the union itself. For, among the Morlacchi, the sole view is reciprocal service and advantage; but such a brotherhood among us, is generally commenced by bad men, to enable them the more to hurt and disturb society. The duties of the *Pobratimi* are, to assist each other in every case of need or danger, to revenge mutual wrongs, and such like. The enthusiasm is often carried so far as to risk, and even to lose their life for the *Pobratimi*, although these savage friends are not celebrated like a *Pilades*. If discord happens to arise between two friends, it is talked of over all the country as a scandalous novelty; and there have been some examples of it of late years, to the great affliction of the old Morlacchi, who attribute the depravation of their countrymen to their intercourse with the Italians. Wine and strong liquors, of which the nation is beginning to make daily abuse, after our example, will, of course, produce the same bad effects as among us.

But as the friendships of the Morlacchi are strong and sacred, so their quarrels are commonly unextinguishable. They pass from father to son, and the mothers fail not to put their children in mind of their duty, to revenge their father, if he has had the misfortune to be killed, and to shew them often the bloody shirt and arms of the dead. And so deeply is revenge rooted in the minds of this nation, that all the missionaries in the world would not be able to eradicate it. A Morlack is naturally inclined to do good to his fellow-creatures, and is full of gratitude for the smallest benefit; but implacable if injured or insulted. With him, revenge and justice have exactly the same meaning, and really it is the primitive idea; and I have been told, that in Albania, the effects of revenge are still more atrocious and more lasting. There, a man of the mildest character, is capable of the most barbarous revenge, believing it his positive duty, and preferring the mad chimera of false honour, to the violation of the most sacred laws, and to the punishment to which he exposes himself, with premeditated resolution.

A Morlack, who has killed another of a powerful family, is commonly obliged to save himself by flight, and to keep out of the way for several years. If, during that time, he has been fortunate enough to escape the search of his pursuers, and has got a small sum of money, he endeavours to obtain pardon and peace; and, that he may treat about the conditions in person, he asks, and obtains a safe conduct, which is faithfully maintained though only verbally granted. Then, he finds mediators, and, on an appointed day, the relations of the two hostile families are assembled, and the criminal is introduced, dragging himself along on his hands and feet, the musket, pistol or cutlass, with which he com-

[illegible] the murder, hang about the [illegible] and while he [illegible] in that humble posture, one of [illegible] relations rushes [illegible] upon the dead, [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of revenge, and puts the poor prisoner to the [illegible]. It is observed, that in these places for the [illegible] [illegible] the criminal, [illegible] of [illegible] of arms to his [illegible], after much [illegible], [illegible] to accept of his [illegible]. These [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], but the Morlacchi [illegible] [illegible] sometimes at a [illegible] distance; and every where the [illegible] is concluded with a [illegible] the offender's charge.

Of the Talents and Arts of the Morlacchi.

THE natural vivacity and enterprising spirit of the Morlacchi, qualify them to succeed in any kind of employment. In particular, they make excellent soldiers; and towards the end of the last age, they performed very useful services, under the brave general *Duglas*, who conquered an important tract of country belonging to the Turks, chiefly by their means. They also become very expert in the direction of mercantile business; and easily learn to read and write, even after they are grown up. It is said, that the Morlack shepherds, about the beginning of this age, were very fond of reading a large book of the christian doctrine, moral and historical, compiled by father *Dreverich*, and reprinted several times at Venice, in the Cyrillian Bosnian character, which is somewhat different from the Russian. It happened often, that the priest of the parish, more pious than learned, in his catechising, mistook, or altered material circumstances, and then one of the audience would cry aloud, *ne vala*, it is not so. It is added, that to prevent that scandal, great pains were taken to collect all those books, and in fact, very few of them are now found among the shepherds. This nation is also endowed with remarkable quickness of fancy, and are very ready, on any occasion, at giving pointed answers.

Notwithstanding their excellent disposition to learn every art, the Morlacchi have the most imperfect notions of husbandry, and are very unskilful in the management of their cattle, and in curing their diseases. They have a singular veneration for old customs, and little care has hitherto been taken either to remove their prejudices, or to teach them better methods. Their ploughs, and other rural utensils, seem to be of the most rude invention, and are as unlike ours, as the other fashions used in the days of *Triptolemus* would be to those of the present age. They make cheese, butter, and cream-cheese too, in their way; all which might pass well enough, if they were only done with more cleanliness. The taylor's art is confined to ancient and unalterable patterns, which are always cut from the same kind of cloth, so that any difference in the usual breadth would quite disconcert a Morlack taylor. They have some notion of dying, and their colours are not despicable. Their black is made of the bark of the ash-tree, called by them *Jassa*, laid in warm water for eight days, with some iron dross,

droſs, which they gather from the blackſmiths' forges; then they make uſe of this water, when cold, to give the colour. They alſo extract a fine blue colour from the infuſion of wood, dried in the ſhade, in a lie of aſhes well purified; they let this mixture boil ſeveral hours, and tinge the cloth in the water when cold. *Scodamus*, by them called *Rug*, gives yellow and brown; and they alſo obtain a yellow from the *Evonimus*, known there by the name of *Pazzolina*.

Almoſt all the Morlack women are ſkilful in works of embroidery and knitting. Their embroidery is curious, and exactly the ſame on both ſides. They alſo make a ſort of knit, or net-work, that our Italian women cannot imitate, and uſe it chiefly as a kind of buſkin to their ſlippers and brogues, called *Nazavka*. They do not want looms to weave their ſerge and other coarſe cloth; but the women have not much time to apply to theſe things, their offices among the Morlacchi not admitting of ſedentary labours.

In ſome of their villages, particularly at *Verlika*, they make earthen ware, very coarſe indeed, but very durable.

Of the Superſtition of the Morlacchi.

THE Morlacks, whether they happen to be of the Roman, or of the Greek church, have very ſingular ideas about religion; and the ignorance of their teachers daily augments this monſtrous evil. They are as firmly perſuaded of the reality of witches, fairies, enchantments, nocturnal apparitions and ſortileges, as if they had ſeen a thouſand examples of them. Nor do they make the leaſt doubt about the exiſtence of Vampires; and attribute to them, as in Tranſilvania, the ſucking the blood of infants. Therefore when a man dies ſuſpected of becoming a vampire, or *Vukodlak*, as they call it, they cut his hams, and prick his whole body with pins; pretending, that after this operation he cannot walk about. There are even inſtances of Morlacchi, who imagining that they may poſſibly thirſt for children's blood after death, intreat their heirs, and ſometimes oblige them to promiſe to treat them as vampires when they die.

The boldeſt Haiduc would fly trembling from the apparition of a ſpectre, ghoſt, phantom, or ſuch like goblins as the heated imaginations of credulous and prepoſſeſſed people never fail to ſee. Nor are they aſhamed, when ridiculed for this terror, but anſwer, much in the words of Pindar: "fear that proceeds from ſpirits, cauſes even the ſons of the gods to fly." The women, as may be naturally ſuppoſed, are a hundred times more timorous and viſionary than the men; and ſome of them, by frequently hearing themſelves called witches, actually believe they are ſo. The old witches are acquainted with many ſpells; and one of the moſt common is to transfer the milk of other people's cows to their own. But they can perform more curious feats than this; and I know a young man, who had his heart taken out by two witches, while he was faſt aſleep, in order to be roaſted and eat by them. The poor man did not perceive his

loſt, as may eaſily be imagined, till he awoke; but then he begun to complain, on feeling the place of his heart void; a begging friar, who lay in the ſame place, but was not aſleep, beheld the whole anatomical operation of the witches, but could not hinder them, becauſe they had charmed him. The charm, however, loſt its force, when the young man without the heart awoke; and both wanted to chaſtiſe the witches; but they, rubbing themſelves with a certain ointment, flew away. The friar went to the hearth, took the heart, then well broiled, and gave it to the young man to eat; which he had no ſooner done, than he was perfectly cured, as may reaſonably be ſuppoſed. The good father told this ſtory, and will tell it often, ſwearing to the truth of it; and the people dare not ſuſpect that wine had made him ſee one thing for another, and that the two women, one of whom was not old, had flown away for quite another reaſon than for being witches. The enchantreſſes are called *Geſtixa*; and that the remedy may be at hand, there are others called *Babornixe*, equally well ſkilled in undoing the ſpells; and to doubt of theſe two oppoſite powers, would be worſe than infidelity.

A moſt perfect diſcord reigns in Morlacchia, as it generally does in other parts, between the Latin and Greek communion, which their reſpective prieſts fail not to foment, and tell a thouſand little ſcandalous ſtories of each other. The churches of the Latins are poor, but not very dirty: thoſe of the Greeks are equally poor, and ſhamefully ill kept. I have ſeen the curate of a Morlack village ſitting on the ground in the church-yard, to hear the confeſſion of women on their knees by his ſide; a ſtrange poſture indeed! but a proof of the innocent manners of thoſe good people, who have the moſt profound veneration for their ſpiritual paſtors, and a total dependance upon them, who, on their part, frequently make uſe of a diſcipline rather military, and correct the bodies of their offending flock with the cudgel. Perhaps this particular is carried to an abuſe as well as that of publick penance, which they pretend to inflict after the manner of the ancient church. They moreover, through the ſilly credulity of thoſe poor mountaineers, draw illicit profits, by ſelling certain ſuperſtitious ſcrolls and other ſcandalous merchandize of that kind. They write in a capricious manner, on the ſcrolls called *Zapiz*, ſacred names which ought not to be trifled with, and ſometimes adding others very improperly joined. The virtues attributed to theſe *Zapiz* are much of the ſame nature as thoſe which the Baſilians attributed to their monſtruouſly cut ſtones. The Morlacchi uſe to carry them ſewed to their caps, to cure, or to prevent diſeaſes; and they alſo tie them for the ſame purpoſe to the horns of their oxen. The compoſers of this trumpery take every method to maintain the credit of their profitable trade, in ſpite of its abſurdity, and the frequent proofs of its inutility. And ſo great has their ſucceſs been, that not only the Morlacchi, but even the Turks near the borders, provide themſelves plentifully with Zapiz from the chriſtian prieſts, which not a little increaſes their

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income, as well as the reputation of the commodity. The Morlacchi have alſo much devotion, and many of our ignorant people have little leſs, to certain copper and ſilver coins of the low empire; or to Venetian cotemporary pieces, which paſs among them, for medals of St. Helen, and they think they cure the epilepſy and ſuch like. They are equally fond of an Hungarian coin called *petizza*, which has the Virgin and Child on the reverſe; and one of theſe is a moſt acceptable preſent to a Morlack.

The bordering Turks not only keep with devotion the ſuperſtitious *Zapiz*, but frequently bring preſents, and cauſe maſſes to be celebrated, to the images of the Virgin; which is doubtleſs in contradiction to the Alcoran; yet when ſaluted, in the uſual manner in that country, by the name of Jeſus, they do not anſwer. Hence when the Morlacchi, or other travellers, meet them on the confines, they do not ſay *huaglian Iſſus*, Jeſus be praiſed; but *huaglian Bog*, God be praiſed.

Concerning the Manners of the Morlacchi.

Innocence, and the natural liberty of paſtoral ages, are ſtill preſerved among the Morlacchi, or at leaſt many traces of them remain in the places fartheſt diſtant from our ſettlements. Pure cordiality of ſentiment is not there reſtrained by other regards, and diſplays itſelf without any diſtinction of circumſtances. A handſome young Morlack girl, who meets a man of her diſtrict, on the road, kiſſes him affectionately, without the leaſt malice, or immodeſt thought; and I have ſeen all the women and girls, all the young men and old, kiſſing one another as they came into the church yard on a holiday; ſo that they looked as if they had been all belonging to one family. I have often obſerved the ſame thing on the road, and at the fairs in the maritime towns, where the Morlacchi came to ſell their commodities. In times of feaſting and merrimont, beſides the kiſs, ſome other little liberties are taken with the hands, which we would not reckon decent, but are not minded among them; and when they are told of it, they anſwer, it is only toying and means nothing. From this toying, however, their amours often take their beginning, and frequently end ſeriouſly when the two lovers are once agreed. For it very rarely happens, in places far diſtant from the coaſt, that a Morlacco carries off a girl againſt her will, or diſhonours her; and were ſuch attempts made, the young woman would, no doubt, be able to defend herſelf; the women in that country being generally very little leſs robuſt than the men. But the cuſtom is for the woman herſelf to appoint the time and place of being carried off; and ſhe does ſo in order to extricate herſelf from other ſuitors, from whom ſhe may have received ſome love token, ſuch as a braſs ring, a little knife, or ſuch like trifles. The Morlack women keep themſelves ſomewhat neat till they get a huſband, but after marriage they abandon themſelves totally to a loathſome dirtineſs, as if they intended to juſtify the contempt with which

they are treated. Indeed it cannot be ſaid that even the young women have a grateful odour, as they are uſed to anoint their hair with butter, which ſoon becoming rancid, exhales no agreeable effluvia.

Of the Morlack *Women's Dreſs.*

THE dreſs of the Morlack women, is different in different parts of the country, but it appears every where ſtrange to an Italian. That of the unmarried women is the moſt complex and whimſical, in reſpect to the ornaments of the head; for when married they are not allowed to wear any thing elſe but a handkerchief, either white or coloured, tied about it. The girls uſe a ſcarlet cap, to which they commonly hang a veil falling down on the ſhoulders, as a mark of their virginity. The better ſort adorn their caps with ſtrings of ſilver coins, among which are frequently ſeen very ancient and valuable ones; they have moreover earings of very curious work, and ſmall ſilver chains with the figures of half moons faſtened to the ends of them. But the poor are forced to content themſelves with plain caps, or if they have any ornaments, they conſiſt only of ſmall exotic ſhells, round glaſs beads, or bits of tin. The principal merit of theſe caps, which conſtitute the good taſte, as well as vanity of the Morlack young ladies, is to attract and fix the eyes of all who are near them, by the multitude of ornaments, and the noiſe they make on the leaſt motion of their heads. Hence half moons of ſilver, or of tin, little chains and hearts, falſe ſtones and ſhells, together with all kinds of ſplendid trumpery, are readily admitted into their head dreſs. In ſome diſtricts, they fix tufts of various coloured feathers, reſembling two horns on their caps; in others, tremulous plumes of glaſs; and in others, artificial flowers, which they purchaſe in the ſea port towns; and it muſt be confeſſed, that in the variety of thoſe capricious and barbarous ornaments, ſometimes a fancy not inelegant is diſplayed. Their holiday ſhifts are embroidered with red ſilk, and ſometimes with gold, which they work themſelves, while they attend their flocks; and it is ſurpriſing to ſee how nicely this work is executed. Both old and young women wear about their necks large ſtrings of round glaſs beads of various ſize and colour; and many rings of braſs, tin, or ſilver on their fingers. Their bracelets are of leather covered with wrought tin, or ſilver; and they embroider their ſtomachers, or adorn them with beads or ſhells. But the uſe of ſtays is unknown, nor do they put whalebone or iron in the ſtomacher. A broad woolen girdle ſurrounds their petticoat, which is commonly decked with ſhells and of blue colour, and therefore called *Modrina*. Their gown, as well as petticoat, is of a kind of ſerge; and both reach near to the ankle; the gown is bordered with ſcarlet and called *Sadak*. They uſe no *modrina* in ſummer, and only wear the *Sadack* without ſleeves over a linen petticoat or ſhift. The girls always wear red ſtockings, and their ſhoes are like thoſe of the men, called *opanke*. The ſole is of undreſſed ox hide, and the upper part of ſheep's ſkin thongs knotted,

knotted, which they call *apute*, and theſe they faſten above the ankles, ſomething like the ancient *coturnus*.

The unmarried women, even of the richeſt families, are not permitted to wear any other ſort of ſhoes; though after marriage they may, if they will, lay aſide the *opanke*, and uſe Turkiſh ſlippers. The girls keep their hair treſſed under their caps, but when married they let it fall diſhevelled on the breaſt; ſometimes they tie it under the chin; and always have medals, beads, or bored coins, in the Tartar or American mode, twiſted amongſt it. An unmarried woman who falls under the imputation of want of chaſtity, runs the riſk of having her red cap torn off her head publickly in church by the curate, and her hair cut by ſome relation, in token of infamy. Hence, if any of them happen to have fallen into an illicit amour, they, commonly of their own accord, lay aſide the badge of virginity, and remove into another part of the country.

Of their Marriages, Pregnancy, and Childbirth.

NOTHING is more common among the Morlacchi than marriages concluded between the old people of the reſpective families, eſpecially when the parties live at a great diſtance, and neither ſee nor know each other; and the ordinary motive of theſe alliances is, the ambition of being related to a numerous and powerful family, famous for having produced valiant men. The father of the future bridegroom, or ſome other near relation of mature age, goes to aſk the young woman, or rather a young woman of ſuch a family, not having, commonly, any determinate choice. Upon this, all the girls of the houſe are ſhewn to him, and he chuſes which pleaſes him beſt, though generally reſpecting the right of ſeniority. A denial in ſuch caſes is very rare, nor does the father of the maid enquire much into the circumſtances of the family that aſks her. Sometimes a daughter of the maſter is given in marriage to the ſervant, or tenant, as was uſual in patriarchal times; ſo little are the women regarded in this country. On theſe occaſions, however, the Morlacchi girls enjoy a privilege which ours would alſo wiſh to have, as in juſtice they certainly ought. For he who acts by proxy, having obtained his ſuit, is obliged to go and bring the bridegroom; and if, on ſeeing each other, the young people are reciprocally content, the marriage is concluded, but not otherwiſe. In ſome parts, it is the cuſtom for the bride to go to ſee the houſe and family of the propoſed huſband, before ſhe gives a definitive anſwer; and, if the place or perſons are diſagreeable to her, ſhe is at liberty to annul the contract. But, if ſhe is contented, ſhe returns to her father's houſe, eſcorted by the bridegroom and neareſt relations. There the marriage day is appointed; on which the bridegroom comes to the bride's houſe, attended by all his friends of greateſt note, who, on this occaſion, are called *Svati*, and are all armed, and on horſeback, in their holiday cloaths, with a peacock's feather in their cap, which is the diſtinctive ornament uſed by thoſe who are invited to weddings.

The company goes armed, to repulſe any attack, or ambuſh, that might be intended to diſturb the feaſt. For, in old times, theſe encounters were not unfrequent, according to the records of many national heroic ſongs. In one of theſe is told the ſtory of *Janco Vojvod* of *Sebigne*, who was cotemporary with the famous *George Caſtriotich*, named *Scanderberg*, and betrothed to *Jagna* of *Temeſwar*, whoſe brothers, being not his friends, when he came to conclude the marriage, engaged him in the punctilio of performing certain feats, upon condition, that, if he ſucceeded, he was to have the bride, and, if not, he was to loſe his life. Theſe were, as the ſong relates; that, he was to pierce an apple ſtuck on the point of a ſpear, with his dart, at a certain diſtance; then he was to ſpring over nine horſes, placed one beſide another, at one leap; and, laſtly, to diſcover his future ſpouſe, among nine young women, all covered with veils. *Janco*, it ſeems, was a valiant ſoldier, but not expert in ſuch trials of ſkill; however, his nephew undertook them in his place, and no objection was made, as they ſay, is the cuſtom in a certain iſland, to hire one to fight for another at a boxing match. The expedient made uſe of by *Zeculo*, *Janco*'s nephew, to know the bride among the other nine young women, was ſingular, and merits a prolongation of my digreſſion. He ſpread his mantle on the ground, threw a handful of gold rings on it, and then gallantly addreſſed the Ladies as follows; "Lovely maid, who art deſtined to be *Janco*'s wife, do thou pick up theſe golden rings, and wear them; but if any other dares to touch one of them, I will cut off her arm at a blow." The nine young women were very naturally afraid of the danger, and did not chuſe to advance, ſo Janco's bride collected the rings, and thus the nuptial games were finiſhed. When, upon trials of this nature, one of the parties found himſelf excluded, and another preferred, as he thought, unjuſtly, he commonly had recourſe to arms for redreſs; and much blood was often ſhed in thoſe combats; and many tombs of the ancient Slavi, are ſtill to be ſeen in the woods, and deſert places of Morlacchia, whereon theſe feuds are engraved in coarſe baſs-relief *.

The bride is conducted to a church, veiled, and ſurrounded by the *Svati* on horſeback, and the ſacred ceremony is performed amidſt the noiſe of muſkets, piſtols, barbaric ſhouts, and acclamations, which continue till ſhe returns to her father's houſe, or to that of her huſband, if not far off. Each of the *Svati* has his particular inſpection, as well during the cavalcade, as at the marriage feaſt, which begins immediately on their return from church. The *Parvi-*

* Some of theſe tombs are to be ſeen, particularly in the wood between *Glubuſki* and *Vergoraz*, on the banks of the *Trebeſat*; and along the military way; that leads from *Salona* to *Narona*. At *Levrech*, *Ciſta*, *Mramor*, and between *Scign* and *Imoſki*, there are many. There is one iſolated at *Dervenich*, in *Primojo*, called *Coſtagnichia-Greb*; and another at *Nakuçaz*, which, they ſay, was erected on the ſpot where the combat happened.

nus precedes all the reſt, ſinging ſuch ſongs, as he thinks ſuitable to the occaſion. The *Bariactar* brandiſhes a lance with a ſilken banner faſtened to it, and an apple ſtuck on the point; there are two *Bariactars*, and ſometimes four, at the more noble marriages. The *Stari-ſvat* is the principal perſonage of the brigade, and the moſt reſpectable relation is commonly inveſted with this dignity. The *Stacheo*'s duty is to receive and obey the orders of the *Stari-ſvat*. The two *Diveri*, who ought to be the bridegroom's brothers, when he has any, are appointed to ſerve the bride. The *Knum* correſponds to our ſponſors; and the *Komorgia*, or *Sekſana* is deputed to receive, and guard the dowery. A *Ciaous* carries the mace, and attends to the order of the march, as maſter of the ceremonies; he goes ſinging aloud, *Breberi*, *Daveri*, *Dobraſrichia*, *Jara*, *Pico*, names of ancient propitious deities. *Buklia* is the cup-bearer of the company, as well on the march, as at table; and all theſe offices are doubled, and ſometimes tripled, in proportion to the number of the company.

The firſt day's entertainment is ſometimes made at the bride's houſe, but generally at the bridegroom's, whither the *Svati* haſten immediately after the nuptial benediction; and at the ſame time, three or four men run on foot to tell the good news; the firſt who gets to the houſe has a kind of towel, embroidered at the ends, as a premium. The *Domachin*, or head of the houſe, comes out to meet his daughter-in-law, and a child is handed to her, before ſhe alights, to careſs it; and, if there happens to be none in the houſe, the child is borrowed from one of the neighbours. When ſhe alights, ſhe kneels down, and kiſſes the threſhold. Then the mother-in-law, or, in her place, ſome other female relation, preſents a corn ſieve, full of different kinds of grain, nuts, almonds, and other ſmall fruit, which the bride ſcatters upon the *Svati*, by handfuls, behind her back. The bride does not ſit at the great table, the firſt day, but has one apart for herſelf, the two *Diveri* and the *Stacheo*. The bridegroom ſits at table with the *Svati*, but in all that day, conſecrated to the matrimonial union, he muſt neither unlooſe, nor cut any thing whatever. The *Knum* carves his meat, and cuts his bread. It is the *Domachin*'s buſineſs to give the toaſts; and the *Stari-ſvat* is the firſt who pledges him. Generally the *Bukkara*, a very large wooden cup, goes round, firſt to the Saint Protector of the family; next to the proſperity of the holy faith; and, ſometimes, to a name, the moſt ſublime, and venerable. The moſt extravagant abundance reigns at theſe feaſts, and each of the *Svati* contributes, by ſending a ſhare of proviſions. The dinner begins with fruit, and cheeſe, and the ſoup comes laſt, juſt contrary to our cuſtom. All ſorts of domeſtick fowls, kid, lamb, and ſometimes veniſon, are heaped in prodigal quantities upon their tables; but very rarely a Morlacco eats veal, and perhaps never, unleſs he has been perſuaded to do it out of his own country. This abhorrence to calves fleſh is very ancient among the Morlacchi. St. Jerome, againſt Jovinian,

vinian*, takes notice of it: and *Tomeo Marnavich*, a Bosnian writer, who lived in the beginning of the last age, says, that the Dalmatians, uncorrupted by the vices of strangers, abstained from eating calves flesh, as an unclean food, even to his days †. The women relations, if they are invited, never dine at table with the men, it being an established custom for them to dine by themselves. After dinner, they pass the rest of the day in dancing, singing ancient songs, and in games of dexterity, or of wit, and fancy; and in the evening, at a convenient hour after supper, the three ritual healths having first gone round, the *Knum* accompanies the bridegroom to the matrimonial apartment, which commonly is the cellar, or the stable, whither the bride is also conducted by the *Diveri*, and the *Stachis*; but the three last are obliged to retire, and the *Knum* remains alone with the new married couple. If there happens to be any bed prepared better than straw, he leads them to it, and having untied the bride's girdle, he causes them both to undress each other reciprocally. It is not long since the *Knum* was obliged to undress the bride entirely, but that custom is now out of use; and, instead of it, he has the privilege of kissing her as often as he pleases, wherever he meets her; which privilege may possibly be agreeable for the first months, but must soon become very disgustful. When they are both undressed, the *Knum* retires, and stands listening at the door, if there be a door. It is his business to announce the consummation of the marriage, which he does, by discharging a pistol, and is answered by many of the company. The next day, the bride, without her veil, and virginal cap, dines at table with the *Svati*, and is forced to hear the coarse equivocal jests of her indelicate, and sometimes intoxicated company.

These nuptial feasts, called *Sdrave* by the ancient Huns, are by our Morlacchi called *Sdravize*, from whence our Italian word *Stravizza* is undoubtedly derived. They continue three, six, eight or more days, according to the ability or prodigal disposition of the family where they are held. The new married wife gets no inconsiderable profit in these days of joy. And it usually amounts to much more than all the portion she brings with her, which often consists of nothing but her own cloaths, and perhaps a cow; nay, it happens, sometimes, that the parents, instead of giving money with their daughter, get something from the bridegroom by way of price. The bride carries water every morning, to wash the hands of her guests, as long as the feasting lasts; and each of them throws a small piece of money into the bason, after performing that function, which is a very rare one among them, excepting on such occasions. The brides are also permitted to raise other little contribu-

* At in nostra Provincia scelus putant vitulos devorare. D. Hier. contra Jovin.

† Ad hanc diem Dalmatæ, quos peregrina vitia non infecere, ab esu vitulorum non secus ac ab immunda esca abhorrent. Jo. Tom. Marn. in op. ined. de Illyrica, Cæsaribusque Illyricis.

tions

tions among the Svati, by hiding their ſhoes, caps, knives, or ſome other neceſſary part of their equipage, which they are obliged to ranſom by a piece of money, according as the company rates it. And, beſides all theſe voluntary, or extorted contributions already mentioned, each gueſt muſt give ſome preſent to the new married wife, at taking leave the laſt day of the *Sdravize*, and then ſhe alſo diſtributes ſome trifles in return, which commonly conſiſts in ſhirts, caps, handkerchiefs, and ſuch like.

The nuptial rites are almoſt preciſely the ſame through all the vaſt country inhabited by the Morlacchi; and thoſe in uſe among the peaſants, and common people of the ſea coaſt of Dalmatia, Iſtria, and the iſlands, differ but little from them. Yet among theſe particular varieties, there is one of the iſland *Zlarine*, near *Sebenico*, remarkable enough; for there, the *Stari-ſvat* (who may naturally be ſuppoſed drunk at that hour) muſt, at one blow, with his naked broad ſword, ſtrike the bride's crown of flowers off her head, when ſhe is ready to go to bed. And in the iſland of *Pago*, in the village of *Novoglia*, (probably the *Giſſa* of ancient geographers) there is a cuſtom more comical, and leſs dangerous, but equally ſavage and brutal. After the marriage contract is ſettled, and the bridegroom comes to conduct his bride to church; her father, or mother, in delivering her over to him, makes an exaggerated enumeration of her ill qualities; "Know, ſince thou wilt have her, that ſhe is good for nothing, ill-natured, obſtinate, &c." On which the bridegroom, affecting an angry look, turns to the young woman, with an "Ah! ſince it is ſo, I will teach you to behave better;" and at the ſame time regales her with a blow, or a kick, or ſome piece of ſimilar gallantry, which is by no means figurative. And it ſeems in general, that the Morlack women, and perhaps the greateſt part of the Dalmatians, the inhabitants of the cities excepted, do not diſlike a beating, either from their huſbands, or lovers.

In the neighbourhood of *Derniſſo*, the women are obliged, during the firſt year after marriage, to kiſs all their national acquaintances who come to the houſe; but after the firſt year, they are diſpenſed from that compliment; and, indeed, they become ſo intolerably naſty, that they are no longer fit to practiſe it. Perhaps the mortifying manner in which they are treated by their huſbands, and relations, is, at the ſame time, both the cauſe and effect of this ſhameful neglect of their perſons. When a Morlack huſband mentions his wife, he always premiſes, by your leave, or begging your pardon. And when the huſband has a bedſtead, the wife muſt ſleep on the floor near it. I have often lodged in Morlack houſes, and obſerved, that the female ſex is univerſally treated with contempt; it is true, that the women are by no means amiable in that country; they even deform, and ſpoil the gifts of nature.

The pregnancy and births of thoſe women, would be thought very extraordinary among us, where the ladies ſuffer ſo much, notwithſtanding all the care and circumſpection uſed before and after labour. On the contrary, a Morlack woman neither changes her

her food, nor interrupts her daily fatigue, on account of her pregnancy; and is frequently delivered in the fields, or on the road, by herself; and takes the infant, washes it in the first water she finds, carries it home and returns the day after to her usual labour, or to feed her flock. The custom of the nation is invariable in washing the new-born infants in cold water; and the Morlacchi may justly say of themselves what the ancient inhabitants of Italy did:

Durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum
Deferimus, saevoque gelu duramus, et undis.

And it is certain that the cold bath produces not such bad effects on infants, as *Macbard* pretends*; who condemns the present custom of the Scotch and Irish, as prejudicial to the nerves, and derives the immersions of the ancient Germans from superstition and ignorance.

The little creatures, thus carelessly treated in their tenderest moments, are afterwards wrapt in miserable rags, where they remain three or four months, under the same ungentle management; and when that term is elapsed, they are set at liberty, and left to crawl about the cottage, and before the door, till they learn to walk upright by themselves; and at the same time acquire that singular degree of strength, and health, with which the Morlacchi are endowed, and are able, without the least inconvenience, to expose their naked breasts to the severest frost and snow. The infants are allowed to suck their mother's milk while she has any, or till she is with child again; and if that should not happen for three, four, or six years, they continue all that time to receive nourishment from the breast. The prodigious length of the breasts of the Morlacchian women is somewhat extraordinary; for it is very certain, that they can give the teat to their children over their shoulders, or under their arms. They let the boys run about, without breeches, in a shirt that reaches only to the knee, till the age of thirteen or fourteen, following the custom of *Bossina*, subject to the Porte, where no *Haraz*, or capitation tax is paid for the boys till they wear breeches, they being considered before that time as children, not capable of labouring, or of earning their bread. On the occasion of births, and especially of the first, all the relations, and friends, send presents of eatables to the woman in childbed, or rather to the woman delivered; and the family makes a supper of all those presents together. The women do not enter the church till forty days after child birth.

The Morlacchi pass their youth in the woods, attending their flocks and herds, and in that life of quiet, and leisure, they often become dexterous in carving with a simple knife; they make wooden cups, and whistles adorned with fanciful basreliefs, which are not void of merit, and at least shew the genius of the people.

Of the Food of the Morlacchi.

MILK coagulated in various ways, is the ordinary nourishment of the Morlacchi; they sometimes give it an agreeable acid by the

* Memoires de la Soc. Oecon. de Berne. an. 1764, iii partie.

infusion

infuſion of vinegar, whereby the curd becomes extremely refreſhing; and the whey is their favourite common drink, nor is it at all unpleaſant to a ſtranger's taſte. When a gueſt arrives unexpectedly, their readieſt and beſt diſh, is new cheeſe fried with butter. They are not much accuſtomed to bread baked after our manner, but they make cakes of millet, barley, Indian corn, and ſometimes of wheat, which they bake, or toaſt on the hearth every day, for preſent uſe; but wheaten bread is hardly ever ſeen in the cottages of the poor. They make a large proviſion of our cabbages, like thoſe uſed in Germany; and roots, and all kinds of eſculent herbs, which they find in the woods, or in the fields, ſerve them for a cheap and ſalutary diet. But garlick and ſhalots are the food moſt univerſally pleaſing to that people, next to roaſt meat, which is their moſt luxurious diſh. I remember to have read ſomewhere, that *Stilpo*, being reproved for going to the temple of Ceres, after having eaten garlick, which was forbid, anſwered; "give me ſomething better, and I will leave it off." But the Morlacchi would not accept even of that condition; and if they did ſo, it is more than probable they would repent it: for it is reaſonable to think, that the conſtant uſe of theſe plants, corrects in part, the bad quality of their water, and contributes to keep them long healthy and robuſt. Nothing is more common in that country, than to ſee very old men, ſtrong, active and lively to an extraordinary degree; and I am inclined to think that this is partly owing to the garlick, and their regular vegetable diet. Yet, notwithſtanding the large quantity of onions, garlick, and ſhalots which the Morlacchi conſume, it is wonderful to obſerve, that in their own vaſt and rich fields, not one of theſe articles is produced; and thus they find themſelves obliged, year after year, to give away no inconſiderable ſum to the people of Ancona, and Rimini, which might ſo eaſily be ſaved. It would certainly be a ſalutary violence, or rather an act of paternal charity, to force them to cultivate thoſe products, without which they cannot live, and which require ſo ſmall a degree of induſtry. It would perhaps be looked upon with deriſion, if on this occaſion, premiums were offered them to ſerve themſelves; and yet, that is doubtleſs the beſt and eaſieſt way of improving agriculture.

A late governor-general of Dalmatia introduced and encouraged the cultivation of hemp in Morlacchia, and it ſucceeded well; but the public encouragement not continuing, induſtry alſo decayed, and now only a ſmall voluntary cultivation goes on, which nevertheleſs ſomewhat diminiſhes the ſum required to purchaſe foreign linen, and maintains a few looms in the country.

Many a *Macrobius* is to be found in Morlacchia, eſpecially on the brows of hills, where the purity of the air joined to frugality, and a laborious life, lengthens out old age without infirmity. Yet I did not find, nor indeed enquire after a *Dandon**; though I thought I ſaw

* Alex. Cornelius memorat Dandonem Illyricum D. annos vixiſſe Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

more

more than one old man who might be compared to the old Engliſh Parr; but the Morlacchi are ſo carelefsly ignorant, that they can give no account of their own age, long before they come to that period of their exiſtence.

Of the Utenſils, Cottages, Cloaths, and Arms of the Morlacchi.

A Morlack in eaſy circumſtances has no other bed than a coarſe blanket made of goats hair, and of Turkiſh manufacture; very few of the richeſt people in the country have ſuch a piece of luxurious furniture as a bed after our faſhion; and there are not many who have ſo much as a bedſtead; which however, when they happen to get made in their rough manner, they ſleep in, between two goat hair blankets, without ſheets, or any other bedding. The greateſt part of the inhabitants content themſelves with the bare ground, wrapt in the uſual blanket, and only ſometimes a little ſtraw under it. But in ſummer they chuſe to ſleep in the open air, perhaps to be delivered from the domeſtic inſects. Their houſhold furniture conſiſts of few and ſimple articles, ſuch as ſhepherds, and peaſants, little advanced in arts, require. Their houſes are not often covered with tiles, or ſlates; and when they have any beams intended to ſupport a ſecond floor, the family's wardrobe is placed on them, and may be imagined well provided where there is ſo much magnificence; yet the ladies ſleep on the floor, even in ſuch noble houſes. I have been lodged in one of them, where ſeveral of theſe women were grinding corn till paſt midnight, ſcreaming certain diabolical ſongs, in the ſame place where I was laid to ſleep, and where ten others were ſtretched on the ground, and actually faſt aſleep, notwithſtanding their frightful vociferation. The Morlacchi, who have little or no correſpondence with the ſea towns, and are at a great diſtance from them, have ſeldom any other houſes but cottages covered with ſtraw, or *zimble*; ſo they call a kind of laths, uſed inſtead of tiles. The animals inhabit the ſame cottage, divided from the maſters, by a ſlight partition made of twigs, and plaiſtered with clay, and the dung of cattle; the walls of the cottage are either of the ſame materials, or of large ſtones laid one upon another, without cement.

The fire-place ſtands in the middle of the cottage, and the ſmoke finds its way out at the door, there being rarely any other aperture. Hence every thing within theſe wretched habitations is varniſhed with black, and loathſome with ſmoke; not excepting the milk, which forms a great part of their ſuſtenance, and of which they are very liberal to ſtrangers. Their cloaths, perſons, and every thing, in ſhort, contract the ſame ſmokey ſmell. The whole family ſits round this fire-place, in the cold ſeaſon; and, when they have ſupped, lay themſelves down to ſleep in the ſame place where they ſat at ſupper; for, in every cottage, they have not even benches to ſit, and to lie upon. They burn butter inſtead of oil, in their lamps; but for the moſt part they uſe pieces of cleft fir, in lieu of candles, the ſmoke of which ſometimes tinges their muſtaches curiouſly. A very few rich Morlacchi have houſes in the

Turkiſh

Turkiſh faſhion, with ſtools, and ſome few of our moveables; but in general, the richeſt of them live but a ſavage kind of life. Although they have no idea of cleanlineſs in their habitations, yet, in one reſpect, they are nicer than we are; nor do they fail to reproach us on that account, and call us barbarous, and beaſtly; and it is a real fact, that no man, nor woman of that nation, let the diſorder be ever ſo ſevere, or painful, was ever known to eaſe nature within the cottage; even dying perſons are carried out to perform that operation in the open air; and if a ſtranger ſhould, through ignorance, or contempt, pollute their houſe in that manner, he would ſcarcely eſcape with his life, and certainly not without very ill treatment.

A Morlacco cloaths himſelf with great plainneſs and œconomy. The *Opanke* ſerve for ſhoes, both to men and women, and under them they wear a kind of ſhort woollen ſtocking, called *Navlabaza*, which reaches above the ankle, and joins to the breeches, whereby all the leg is covered. The breeches are of coarſe white ſerge, and they draw them tight about their waiſt, like a purſe, by means of a woollen ſtring. Their ſhirt is very ſhort, and over it they wear a ſhort doublet, which they call *Jacerma*, and in winter they add a kind of ſhort cloak, made of very coarſe red cloth, and call it *Kabaniza*, or *Japangia*. On their head they wear a red cloth cap, and above it, a ſort of cylindrical turban called *Kalpak*. They ſhave their heads, leaving only a ſmall tuft behind, like the Poles and Tartars. They bind their loins with a ſtrong reticular fillet of woollen yarn, and ſometimes of ſilk: and in this fillet, or bandage, and their breeches, they carry all their neceſſary implements; ſuch as, one or two piſtols ſtuck in behind, and before, a very large kniſe, which they call *Hanzar*, with the handle of braſs, ſet round with falſe ſtones. This knife is often made faſt to a light braſs chain rolled about the bandage; and near it is placed a horn, with greaſe for their arms, or for themſelves. Next follows a little bag with their tinder box, and money, if they have any; and then their tobacco in a dried bladder. The tobacco pipe is placed behind, the reed ſtuck in below their ſhirt, and the bowl appears without. No Morlacco ever goes out of doors without his gun upon his ſhoulder.

The chiefs of the nation, however, are better dreſſed.

Of their Muſick and Poetry, Dances and Diverſions.

THE Morlacchi have their ruſtick aſſemblies, eſpecially in houſes where there are ſeveral young women; and in theſe the memory of ancient national ſtories is perpetuated. A muſician always attends theſe meetings, and ſings the old *piſme* or ſongs, accompanying them with an inſtrument called *guzla*, which has but one ſtring, compoſed by many horſe-hairs. The tune, to which theſe heroic ſongs are ſung, is extremely mournful, and monotonous; beſides, they bring the ſound a little through the noſe, which agrees perfectly well with their inſtrument; the verſes of the moſt ancient traditional ſongs are of ten ſyllables, not rhimed. Their poe-

try does not want ſtrength of expreſſion, but the ſmalleſt ray of imagination rarely appears in it, and the little that is attempted is ſeldom happy. Yet thoſe ſongs have a great effect on the minds of the hearers, who are at pains to get them by heart; and I have ſeen ſome of them ſigh, and weep at a paſſage, which did not appear to me the leaſt moving. Perhaps the force of the Illyric words, better underſtood by the Morlacchi, might produce this effect; and perhaps, as ſeems to me more probable, their artleſs minds, little ſtored with ideas, might more readily be affected with any turn of expreſſion that appeared to them extraordinary. That kind of ſimplicity, and want of order, which are frequently ſeen in the ancient Provencal Romancers, form, in general, the principal character of the Morlacchian poetry. Yet they have ſome pieces not deficient in point of order; only, whoever reads, or hears them, muſt be contented to ſupply the want of detail, and preciſion, which the Morlacchi neglect, and which are carefully attended to by the civilized nations of Europe, in all compoſitions, whether in proſe or verſe. I could find none of their ſongs of well authenticated date, before the fourteenth century; and I fear the reaſon is analogous to that, by which we loſt ſo many Greek and Latin books, in the times of religious barbariſm. I ſuſpect, nevertheleſs, that ſomething more ancient might be found, further within the country, among the *Merediti*, and the inhabitants of the Clementine mountains, who lead a paſtoral life, ſeparated entirely from the commerce of other nations. But, who can flatter himſelf to be able to penetrate with ſafety among thoſe unſociable, and ſavage tribes? I confeſs, I ſhould like ſuch a journey, and want not courage to attempt it; not only with the view of diſcovering ancient pieces of poetry, but to become acquainted with the natural hiſtory of thoſe countries, hitherto undeſcribed and unknown; and alſo with a view to diſcover ſome rare Greek, or Roman antiquities: but too many things are wanting to put ſuch a project in execution.

I have tranſlated ſeveral heroic ſongs of the Morlacchi, and ſome of them appear to me both well conducted and intereſting; but I very readily allow, that they cannot be put in competition with the poems of the celebrated Scotch bard, which we have lately had the pleaſure of ſeeing tranſlated into our language, with true poetical ſpirit, by the *Abbé Ceſarotti*, and republiſhed in a more complete form, through the generous bounty of a noble countryman of the bard, who patronizes learning in all parts of Europe. Yet the Morlack poetry is not deſtitute of merit; and has, at leaſt, the ſimplicity of Homer's times, and ſerves to illuſtrate the manners of the nation. The Illyrian language is alſo well adapted to poetry, and muſick; being harmonious, and abounding with vowels; and yet it is almoſt totally abandoned, even by the civilized nations who ſpeak it. Ovid, when he lived among the *Slavi* on the Black Sea, condeſcended to exerciſe his poetical talent, by writing verſes in their language, and gained applauſe from thoſe ſavages; but his Roman pride returning, he was aſhamed of having profaned the

Latin

Latin harmony *. The city of *Raguſi* has produced many elegant poets, and ſome poeteſſes in the Illyrian tongue; and among them *Giovanni Gondola* is much celebrated; nor were the other cities, and iſlands of Dalmatia without their poets; but the many Italianiſms now introduced into their dialects have corrupted the ancient ſimplicity of the language. Even the dialect of the Morlacchi is become equally barbarous, and full of foreign words, and phraſes, as I am informed by thoſe who have a perfect knowledge of the language, and particularly by *Matteo Sovich*, Archdeacon of *Oſſero*, the moſt learned man of that country. Yet, I confeſs, that the Boſnian dialect, ſpoken by the inland Morlacchi, is more harmonious, in my opinion, than the littoral Illyrian; but I hope not to incur the diſpleaſure of the maritime Dalmatians by this declaration, as I do not pretend to be a competent judge of the matter.—Let us, if you pleaſe, return to the ſongs.

A Morlacco travels along the deſert mountains ſinging, eſpecially in the night time, the actions of ancient *Slavi* kings, and barons, or ſome tragic event; and if another happens to be travelling on a neighbouring mountain, he repeats the ſame verſe, when the other has ſung it, and this alternation continues, as long as they can hear each other. A loud, and long howl, which is an *oh!* barbarouſly modulated, conſtantly precedes the verſe, the words of which are pronounced rapidly, almoſt without any modulation, which is all reſerved for the laſt ſyllable, and ends with another long howl, by way of trill, raiſed louder and louder, while the breath laſts.

Although the Morlacchi uſually ſing their ancient ſongs, yet other poetry is not altogether extinguiſhed among them; and their muſicians, after ſinging an ancient piece, accompanied with the *guzla*, ſometimes finiſh it with ſome extempore verſes, in praiſe of the perſonage by whom they are employed; and ſome of them are capable of ſinging extempore during the whole entertainment; always accompanying the voice with the *guzla*. There is alſo ſome written poetry among them, when the memory of a ſignal event happens to be preſerved in that manner. The whiſtle, or flagelet, and a kind of paſtoral bag-pipe, are the common muſical inſtruments among the Morlacchi. Theſe traditional ſongs contribute much to maintain the ancient cuſtoms; hence, their rites, games, and dances, are derived from very remote originals.

Their games and diverſions almoſt all conſiſt in trials of ſtrength, or agility; ſuch as, leaping, running, or flinging a large heavy ſtone. They dance to the ſound of the bag-pipe, and the voices of their ſingers, a favourite dance, which they call *kolo*, or circle, which ſoon turns into *ſkocci-goſi*, that is, high dancing. All the dancers, men,

* Ah! pudet, et Getico ſcripſi ſermone libellum,
Structaque ſunt noſtris barbara verba modis.
Et placui (gratare mihi) cepique Poetæ
Inter humanos nomen habere Getas.

De Pont. iv. Ep. 13.

and

and women, taking hold of each other's hands, form a circle, and turn ſlowly round, to the harſh notes of the inſtrument. Then the circle changes its form, ſometimes into an elipſis, and ſometimes a ſquare, according as the dance becomes more animated; and, at laſt, transforms itſelf into the moſt violent ſprings and leaps, in which the women alſo join, and the whole becomes wild confuſion. The Morlacchi have an incredible tranſport for this rude dance, for neither the fatigues of the day, nor a long journey, nor hunger itſelf can detain them from it, or from continuing ſeveral hours, with very little intermiſſion, in ſuch a violent exerciſe.

On the medical Art among the Morlacchi.

IT happens frequently enough, that inflammatory fevers are the immediate conſequences of theſe violent dances juſt mentioned; in which caſe, and in all others of the like nature, the Morlacchi do not apply to the phyſician, becauſe, happily for them, there is none of that profeſſion among them, but cure themſelves, after their own way. A large draught of a ſpirituous liquor, which they call *rakia*, is commonly their firſt medicinal potion; and if that does not effectuate the cure, they repeat the doſe, together with a large infuſion of pepper, or gun-powder. After this, they cover themſelves up, in winter; or lie down in the hotteſt rays of the ſun, if in ſummer, *to ſweat the illneſs*, as they expreſs it. Their cure for agues is more methodical; the firſt and ſecond day, they take a glaſs of wine, in which as much pepper as they can take up between their finger and thumb, has been infuſed for ſeveral hours; and the third and fourth day, the doſe is doubled; and I have actually ſeen more than one Morlacco perfectly cured by this ſtrange febrifuge. Their remedy for obſtructions is to lay a large flat ſtone on the ſick perſon's belly; and for rheumatiſms, they uſe a moſt violent friction, which, at leaſt, renders the patient's back quite livid, and ſometimes ſtrips off the ſkin. Sometimes, they apply a red-hot ſtone, wrapt in wet rags, for rheumatic pains; and they uſe to drink a great quantity of vinegar, to recover their appetite, after a long ſeries of fevers. But the laſt remedy of all, which is taken only in deſperate caſes, is ſugar, when they can find any; and they put it into the mouths of dying perſons, to make them paſs into the other world with leſs bitterneſs. *Criptamus* and *Chamæphitis* are uſed for articular pains, and they frequently apply horſe leeches to the ſwelled, or aching parts. They apply a red ochrous earth, frequently found in the fields, as the beſt remedy for excoriations, or wounds; and the ſame uſe is made of it in ſome parts of Bohemia, and Miſnia, where that earth abounds*. *Griſelius*, who takes notice of this practice, had tried the experiment often with ſucceſs upon himſelf; as I have alſo done in Dalmatia. The Morlacchi are very dexterous in ſetting diſlocated, or broken bones, without having ſtudied oſteology like our ſurgeons, who, notwithſtand-

* Suppl. Act. Nat. Curioſ. Dec. 1. an. 2. Obſ. 78.

ing,

ing, lame us frequently, by the rules of art. They perform phlebotomy with an inſtrument like that uſed for horſes, and yet there is no example of any bad accident happening by that coarſe operation.

Funerals of the Morlacchi.

THE family weeps and howls over the dead, while they lie in the houſe, and when they are carried out to be buried, much in the ſame manner as with us. But the Morlacchi have ſeveral cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves, on theſe occaſions; ſuch as, whiſpering in the ear of the dead perſon, and giving expreſs commiſſions for the other world. After this ceremony is finiſhed, the body is covered with a white cloth, and carried to church, where the lamentations begin anew, and the praiſes of the deceaſed are ſung, by the relations, or others appointed for that purpoſe, weeping. After the corpſe is buried, the whole company, together with the curate, returns to the houſe, where there is a ſtrange mixture of feaſting, and lamentation. The men let their beards grow a long time, in ſign of mourning; a cuſtom derived from the Jews, as is that of unleavened bread, purifications, and ſeveral others. Violet or blue coloured caps are alſo the mark of mourning. The women wear black or blue handkerchiefs, and cover all the red of their garments with ſomething black. During the firſt year, the Morlack women go every holiday to renew their lamentations, ſtrowing flowers and ſweet herbs upon the grave: and if neceſſarily detained from that viſit, they next time make a formal excuſe to the dead, giving a minute account of the cauſe of their neglect. They alſo aſk news about the other world, and propoſe many curious interrogations. All theſe ceremonies are ſung in a kind of verſe in a doleful tone, and ſometimes the girls accompany the women in order to learn theſe funeral arts, and form a concert truly diſmal.

Of the Manner of making War amongſt the Indians *of* North America. *From* Carver's *Travels.*

THE Indians begin to bear arms at the age of fifteen, and lay them aſide when they arrive at the age of ſixty. Some nations to the ſouthward, I have been informed, do not continue their military exerciſes after they are fifty.

In every band or nation there is a ſelect number who are ſtiled the warriors, and who are always ready to act either offenſively or defenſively, as occaſion requires. Theſe are well armed, bearing the weapons commonly in uſe among them, which vary according to the ſituation of their countries. Such as have an intercourſe with the Europeans make uſe of tomahawks, knives, and fire-arms; but thoſe whoſe dwellings are ſituated to the weſtward of the Miſſiſſippi, and who have not an opportunity of purchaſing theſe kinds of weapons, uſe bows and arrows, and alſo the Caſſé Tête or war club.

The Indians that inhabit ſtill farther to the weſtward, a country which extends to the South Sea,

uſe in fight a warlike inſtrument that is very uncommon. Having great plenty of horſes, they always attack their enemies on horſeback, and encumber themſelves with no other weapon, than a ſtone of a middling ſize, curiouſly wrought, which they faſten by a ſtring, about a yard and half long, to their right arms, a little above the elbow. Theſe ſtones they conveniently carry in their hands till they reach their enemies, and then ſwinging them with great dexterity, as they ride full ſpeed, never fail of doing execution. The country which theſe tribes poſſeſs, abounding with large extenſive plains, thoſe who attack them ſeldom return; as the ſwiftneſs of the horſes on which they are mounted, enables them to overtake even the fleeteſt of their invaders.

The Naudoweſſies, who had been at war with this people, informed me, that unleſs they found moraſſes or thickets to which they could retire, they were ſure of being cut off: to prevent this they always took care, whenever they made an onſet, to do it near ſuch retreats as were impaſſable for cavalry, they then having a great advantage over their enemies, whoſe weapons would not there reach them.

Some nations make uſe of a javelin pointed with bone worked into different forms; but their Indian weapons in general are bows and arrows, and the ſhort club already mentioned. The latter is made of a very hard wood, and the head of it faſhioned round like a ball, about three inches and a half diameter; in this rotund part is fixed an edge reſembling that of a tomahawk, either of ſteel or flint, whichever they can procure.

The dagger is peculiar to the Naudoweſſie nation, and of ancient conſtruction, but they can give no account how long it has been in uſe among them. It was originally made of flint or bone, but ſince they have had communication with the European traders, they have formed it of ſteel. The length of it is about ten inches, and that part cloſe to the handle nearly three inches broad. Its edges are keen, and it gradually tapers towards a point. They wear it in a ſheath made of deers leather, neatly ornamented with porcupines quills; and it is uſually hung by a ſtring, decorated in the ſame manner, which reaches as low only as the breaſt. This curious weapon is worn by a few of the principal chiefs alone, and conſidered both as a uſeful inſtrument, and an ornamental badge of ſuperiority.

I obſerved among the Naudoweſſies a few targets or ſhields made of raw buffalo hides, and in the form of thoſe uſed by the ancients. But as the number of theſe was ſmall, and I could gain no intelligence of the æra in which they firſt were introduced among them, I ſuppoſe thoſe I ſaw had deſcended from father to ſon for many generations.

The reaſons the Indians give for making war againſt one another, are much the ſame as thoſe urged by more civilized nations for diſturbing the tranquility of their neighbours. The pleas of the former are however in general more rational and juſt, than ſuch as are brought

brought by Europeans in vindication of their proceedings.

The extenſion of empire is ſeldom a motive with theſe people to invade, and to commit depredations on the territories of thoſe who happen to dwell near them. To ſecure the rights of hunting within particular limits, to maintain the liberty of paſſing through their accuſtomed tracks, and to guard thoſe lands which they conſider from a long tenure as their own, againſt any infringement, are the general cauſes of thoſe diſſentions that ſo often break out between the Indian nations, and which are carried on with ſo much animoſity. Though ſtrangers to the idea of ſeparate property, yet the moſt uncultivated among them are well acquainted with the rights of their community to the domains they poſſeſs, and oppoſe with vigour every encroachment on them.

Notwithſtanding it is generally ſuppoſed that from their territories being ſo extenſive, the boundaries of them cannot be aſcertained, yet I am well aſſured that the limits of each nation in the interior parts are laid down in their rude plans with great preciſion. By theirs, as I have before obſerved, was I enabled to regulate my own; and after the moſt exact obſervations and enquiries, found very few inſtances in which they erred.

But intereſt is not either the moſt frequent or moſt powerful incentive to their making war on each other. The paſſion of revenge, which is the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of theſe people, is the moſt general motive. Injuries are felt by them with exquiſite ſenſibility, and vengeance purſued with unremitted ardour. To this may be added, that natural excitation which every Indian becomes ſenſible of as ſoon as he approaches the age of manhood, to give proofs of his valour and proweſs.

As they are early poſſeſſed with a notion that war ought to be the chief buſineſs of their lives, that there is nothing more deſirous than the reputation of being a great warrior, and that the ſcalps of their enemies or a number of priſoners are alone to be eſteemed valuable, it is not to be wondered at that the younger Indians are continually reſtleſs and uneaſy if their ardour is repreſſed, and they are kept in a ſtate of inactivity. Either of theſe propenſities, the deſire of revenge, or the gratification of an impulſe that by degrees becomes habitual to them, is ſufficient, frequently, to induce them to commit hoſtilities on ſome of the neighbouring nations.

When the chiefs find any occaſion for making war, they endeavour to arouſe theſe habitudes, and by that means ſoon excite their warriors to take arms. To this purpoſe they make uſe of their martial eloquence nearly in the following words, which never fails of proving effectual. "The bones of our deceaſed countrymen lie uncovered, they call out to us to revenge their wrongs, and we muſt ſatisfy their requeſt. Their ſpirits cry out againſt us, they muſt be appeaſed. The genii, who are the guardians of our honour, inſpire us with a reſolution to ſeek the enemies of our murdered brothers. Let us go and devour thoſe by whom they were ſlain. Sit therefore no longer inactive, give way to the impulſe of your natural

valour, anoint your hair, paint your faces, fill your quivers, cauſe the foreſts to reſound with your ſongs, conſole the ſpirits of the dead, and tell them they ſhall be revenged."

Animated by theſe exhortations the warriors ſnatch their arms in a tranſport of fury, ſing the ſong of war, and burn with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies.

Sometimes private chiefs aſſemble ſmall parties, and make excurſions againſt thoſe with whom they are at war, or ſuch as have injured them. A ſingle warrior, prompted by revenge or a deſire to ſhow his proweſs, will march unattended for ſeveral hundred miles, to ſurprize and cut off a ſtraggling party.

Theſe irregular ſallies, however, are not always approved of by the elder chiefs, though they are often obliged to connive at them; as in the inſtance before given of the Naudoweſſie and Chipeway nations.

But when a war is national, and undertaken by the community, their deliberations are formal and ſlow. The elders aſſemble in council, to which all the head warriors and young men are admitted, where they deliver their opinions in ſolemn ſpeeches, weighing with maturity the nature of the enterprize they are about to engage in, and balancing with great ſagacity the advantages or inconveniencies that will ariſe from it.

Their prieſts are alſo conſulted on the ſubject, and even, ſometimes, the advice of the moſt intelligent of their women is aſked.

If the determination be for war, they prepare for it with much ceremony.

The chief warrior of a nation does not on all occaſions head the war party himſelf, he frequently deputes a warrior of whoſe valour and prudence he has a good opinion. The perſon thus fixed on being firſt bedawbed with black, obſerves a faſt of ſeveral days, during which he invokes the Great Spirit, or deprecates the anger of the evil ones, holding whilſt it laſts no converſe with any of his tribe.

He is particularly careful at the ſame time to obſerve his dreams, for on theſe do they ſuppoſe their ſucceſs will in a great meaſure depend; and from the firm perſuaſion, every Indian actuated by his own preſumptuous thoughts is impreſſed with, that he ſhall march forth to certain victory, theſe are generally favourable to his wiſhes.

After he has faſted as long as cuſtom preſcribes, he aſſembles the warriors, and holding a belt of wampum in his hand thus addreſſes them:

"Brothers! by the inſpiration of the Great Spirit I now ſpeak unto you, and by him am I prompted to carry into execution the intentions which I am about to diſcloſe to you. The blood of our deceaſed brothers is not yet wiped away; their bodies are not yet covered, and I am going to perform this duty to them."

Having then made known to them all the motives that induce him to take up arms againſt the nation with whom they are to engage, he thus proceeds: "I have therefore reſolved to march through

the war-path to ſurprize them. We will eat their fleſh and drink their blood; we will take ſcalps, and make priſoners; and ſhould we periſh in this glorious enterprize, we ſhall not be for ever hid in the duſt, for this belt ſhall be a recompence to him who buries the dead." Having ſaid this, he lays the belt on the ground, and he who takes it up declares himſelf his lieutenant, and is conſidered as the ſecond in command; this, however, is only done by ſome diſtinguiſhed warrior who has a right, by the number of his ſcalps, to the poſt.

Though the Indians thus aſſert that they will eat the fleſh and drink the blood of their enemies, the threat is only to be conſidered as a figurative expreſſion. Notwithſtanding they ſometimes devour the hearts of thoſe they ſlay, and drink their blood, by way of bravado, or to gratify in a more complete manner their revenge, yet they are not naturally anthropophagi, nor ever feed on the fleſh of men.

The chief is now waſhed from his ſable covering, anointed with bears fat, and painted, with their red paint, in ſuch figures as will make him appear moſt terrible to his enemies. He then ſings the war-ſong, and enumerates his warlike actions. Having done this he fixes his eyes on the ſun and pays his adorations to the Great Spirit, in which he is accompanied by all the warriors.

This ceremony is followed with dances, ſuch as I have before deſcribed; and the whole concludes with a feaſt which uſually conſiſts of dogs fleſh.

This feaſt is held in the hut or tent of the chief warrior, to which all thoſe who intend to accompany him in his expedition ſend their diſhes to be filled; and during the feaſt, notwithſtanding he has faſted ſo long, he ſits compoſedly with his pipe in his mouth, and recounts the valorous deeds of his family.

As the hopes of having their wounds, ſhould they receive any, properly treated, and expeditiouſly cured, muſt be ſome additional inducement to the warriors to expoſe themſelves more freely to danger, the prieſts, who alſo are their doctors, prepare ſuch medicines as will prove efficacious. With great ceremony they collect various roots and plants, and pretend that they impart to them the power of healing.

Notwithſtanding this ſuperſtitious method of proceeding, it is very certain that they have acquired a knowledge of many plants and herbs that are of a medicinal quality, and which they know how to uſe with great ſkill.

From the time the reſolution of engaging in a war is taken, to the departure of the warriors, the nights are ſpent in feſtivity, and their days in making the needful preparations.

If it is thought neceſſary by the nation going to war, to ſolicit the alliance of any neighbouring tribe, they fix upon one of their chiefs who ſpeaks the language of that people well, and who is a good orator, and ſend to them by him a belt of wampum, on which is ſpecified the purport of the embaſſy in figures that every nation is well acquainted with. At the ſame

time he carries with him a hatchet painted red.

As ſoon as he reaches the camp or village to which he is deſtined, he acquaints the chief of the tribe with the general tenor of his commiſſion, who immediately aſſembles a council, to which the ambaſſador is invited. There having laid the hatchet on the ground he holds the belt in his hand, and enters more minutely into the occaſion of his embaſſy. In his ſpeech he invites them to take up the hatchet, and as ſoon as he has finiſhed ſpeaking delivers the belt.

If his hearers are inclined to become auxiliaries to his nation, a chief ſteps forward and takes up the hatchet, and they immediately eſpouſe with ſpirit the cauſe they have thus engaged to ſupport. But if on this application neither the belt or hatchet are accepted, the emiſſary concludes that the people whoſe aſſiſtance he ſolicits have already entered into an alliance with the foes of his nation, and returns with ſpeed to inform his countrymen of his ill-ſucceſs.

The manner in which the Indians declare war againſt each other, is by ſending a ſlave with a hatchet, the handle of which is painted red, to the nation which they intend to break with; and the meſſenger, notwithſtanding the danger to which he is expoſed from the ſudden fury of thoſe whom he thus ſets at defiance, executes his commiſſion with great fidelity.

Sometimes this token of defiance has ſuch an inſtantaneous effect on thoſe to whom it is preſented, that in the firſt tranſports of their fury a ſmall party will iſſue forth without waiting for the permiſſion of the elder chiefs, and ſlaying the firſt of the offending nation they meet, cut open the body and ſtick a hatchet of the ſame kind as that they have juſt received, into the heart of their ſlaughtered foe. Among the more remote tribes this is done with an arrow or ſpear, the end of which is painted red. And the more to exaſperate, they diſmember the body, to ſhow that they eſteem them not as men but as old women.

The Indians ſeldom take the field in large bodies, as ſuch numbers would require a greater degree of induſtry to provide for their ſubſiſtence, during their tedious marches through dreary foreſts, or long voyages over lakes and rivers, than they would care to beſtow.

Their armies are never encumbered with baggage or military ſtores. Each warrior, beſides his weapons, carries with him only a mat, and whilſt at a diſtance from the frontiers of the enemy ſupports himſelf with the game he kills or the fiſh he catches.

When they paſs through a country where they have no apprehenſions of meeting with an enemy, they uſe very little precaution: ſometimes there are ſcarcely a dozen warriors left together, the reſt being diſperſed in purſuit of their game; but though they ſhould have roved to a very conſiderable diſtance from the war-path, they are ſure to arrive at the place of rendezvous by the hour appointed.

They always pitch their tents long before ſun-ſet; and being naturally preſumptuous take very little care to guard againſt a ſurprize. They place great confi-

dence

dence in their Manitous, or houſhold gods, which they always carry with them; and being perſuaded that they take upon them the office of centinels, they ſleep very ſecurely under their protection.

Theſe Manitous, as they are called by ſome nations, but which are termed Wakon, that is, ſpirits, by the Naudoweſſies, are nothing more than the otter and martins ſkins I have already deſcribed, for which, however, they have a great veneration.

After they have entered the enemies country, no people can be more cautious and circumſpect: fires are no longer lighted, no more ſhouting is heard, nor the game any longer purſued. They are not even permitted to ſpeak; but muſt convey whatever they have to impart to each other by ſigns and motions.

They now proceed wholly by ſtratagem and ambuſcade. Having diſcovered their enemies, they ſend to reconnoitre them; and a council is immediately held, during which they ſpeak only in whiſpers, to conſider of the intelligence imparted by thoſe who were ſent out.

The attack is generally made juſt before day-break, at which period they ſuppoſe their foes to be in the ſoundeſt ſleep. Throughout the whole of the preceding night they will lie flat upon their faces, without ſtirring; and make their approaches in the ſame poſture, creeping upon their hands and feet till they are got within bow-ſhot of thoſe they have deſtined to deſtruction. On a ſignal given by the chief warrior, to which the whole body makes anſwer by the moſt hideous yells, they all ſtart up, and diſcharging their arrows in the ſame inſtant, without giving their adverſaries time to recover from the confuſion into which they are thrown, pour in upon them with their war-clubs or tomahawks.

The Indians think there is little glory to be acquired from attacking their enemies openly in the field; their greateſt pride is to ſurprize and deſtroy. They ſeldom engage without a manifeſt appearance of advantage. If they find the enemy on their guard, too ſtrongly entrenched, or ſuperior in numbers, they retire, provided there is an opportunity of doing ſo. And they eſteem it the greateſt qualification of a chief warrior, to be able to manage an attack, ſo as to deſtroy as many of the enemy as poſſible, at the expence of a few men.

Sometimes they ſecure themſelves behind trees, hillocks, or ſtones, and having given one or two rounds retire before they are diſcovered. Europeans who are unacquainted with this method of fighting too often find to their coſt the deſtructive efficacy of it.

General Braddock was one of this unhappy number. Marching in the year 1755, to attack Fort Du Queſne, he was intercepted by a party of confederate Indians in the intereſt of the French, who by this inſidious method of engaging found means to defeat his army, which conſiſted of about three thouſand brave and well diſciplined troops. So ſecurely were the Indians poſted, that the Engliſh ſcarcely knew from whence or by whom they were thus annoyed. During the whole of the engagement the latter had ſcarcely a ſight

of an enemy; and were obliged to retreat, without the ſatisfaction of being able to take the leaſt degree of revenge for the havock made among them. The General paid for his temerity with his life, and was accompanied in his fall by a great number of brave fellows; whilſt his inviſible enemies had only two or three of their number wounded.

When the Indians ſucceed in their ſilent approaches, and are able to force the camp which they attack, a ſcene of horror, that exceeds deſcription, enſues. The ſavage fierceneſs of the conquerors, and the deſperation of the conquered, who well know what they have to expect ſhould they fall alive into the hands of their aſſailants, occaſion the moſt extraordinary exertions on both ſides. The figure of the combatants all beſmeared with black and red paint, and covered with the blood of the ſlain, their horrid yells, and ungovernable fury, are not to be conceived by thoſe who have never croſſed the Atlantic.

I have frequently been a ſpectator of them, and once bore a part in a ſimilar ſcene. But what added to the horror of it, was, that I had not the conſolation of being able to oppoſe their ſavage attacks. Every circumſtance of the adventure ſtill dwells on my remembrance, and enables me to deſcribe with greater perſpicuity the brutal fierceneſs of the Indians when they have ſurprized or overpowered an enemy.

As a detail of the maſſacre at Fort William Henry in the year 1757, the ſcene to which I refer, cannot appear foreign to the deſign of this publication, but will ſerve to give my readers a juſt idea of the ferocity of this people, I ſhall take the liberty to inſert it, apologizing at the ſame time for the length of the digreſſion, and thoſe egotiſms which the relation renders unavoidable.

General Webb, who commanded the Engliſh army in North America, which was then encamped at Fort Edward, having intelligence that the French troops under Monſ. Montcalm were making ſome movements towards Fort William Henry, he detached a corps of about fifteen hundred men, conſiſting of Engliſh and Provincials, to ſtrengthen the garriſon. In this party I went as a volunteer among the latter.

The apprehenſions of the Engliſh general were not without foundation; for the day after our arrival we ſaw Lake George (formerly Lake Sacrament) to which it lies contiguous, covered with an immenſe number of boats; and in a few hours we found our lines attacked by the French general, who had juſt landed with eleven thouſand Regulars and Canadians, and two thouſand Indians. Colonal Monro, a brave officer, commanded in the fort, and had no more than two thouſand three hundred men with him, our detachment included.

With theſe he made a gallant defence, and probably would have been able at laſt to preſerve the fort, had he been properly ſupported, and permitted to continue his efforts. On every ſummons to ſurrender ſent by the French general, who offered the moſt honourable terms, his anſwer repeatedly was, That he yet found himſelf in a condition to repel the moſt

moſt vigorous attacks his beſiegers were able to make; and if he thought his preſent force inſufficient, he could ſoon be ſupplied with a greater number from the adjacent army.

But the colonel having acquainted General Webb with his ſituation, and deſired he would ſend him ſome freſh troops, the general diſpatched a meſſenger to him with a letter, wherein he informed him that it was not in his power to aſſiſt him, and therefore gave him orders to ſurrender up the fort on the beſt terms he could procure. This packet fell into the hands of the French general, who immediately ſent a flag of truce, deſiring a conference with the governor.

They accordingly met, attended only by a ſmall guard, in the centre between the lines; when Monſ. Montcalm told the colonel, that he was come in perſon to demand poſſeſſion of the fort, as it belonged to the king his maſter. The colonel replied, that he knew not how that could be, nor ſhould he ſurrender it up whilſt it was in his power to defend it.

The French general rejoined, at the ſame time delivering the packet into the colonel's hand, "By this authority do I make the requiſition." The brave governor had no ſooner read the contents of it, and was convinced that ſuch were the orders of the commander in chief, and not to be diſobeyed, than he hung his head in ſilence, and reluctantly entered into a negociation.

In conſideration of the gallant defence the garriſon had made, they were to be permitted to march out with all the honours of war, to be allowed covered waggons to tranſport their baggage to fort Edward, and a guard to protect them from the fury of the ſavages.

The morning after the capitulation was ſigned, as ſoon as day broke, the whole garriſon, now conſiſting of about two thouſand men, beſides women and children, were drawn up within the lines, and on the point of marching off, when great numbers of the Indians gathered about, and began to plunder. We were at firſt in hopes that this was their only view, and ſuffered them to proceed without oppoſition. Indeed it was not in our power to make any, had we been ſo inclined; for though we were permitted to carry off our arms, yet we were not allowed a ſingle round of ammunition. In theſe hopes however we were diſappointed; for preſently ſome of them began to attack the ſick and wounded, when ſuch as were not able to crawl into the ranks, notwithſtanding they endeavoured to avert the fury of their enemies by their ſhrieks or groans, were ſoon diſpatched.

Here we were fully in expectation the diſturbance would have concluded; and our little army began to move; but in a ſhort time we ſaw the front diviſion driven back, and diſcovered that we were entirely encircled by the ſavages. We expected every moment that the guard, which the French, by the articles of capitulation, had agreed to allow us, would have arrived, and put an end to our apprehenſions; but none appeared. The Indians now began to ſtrip every one without exception, of their arms and cloaths, and thoſe who made the leaſt

leaſt reſiſtance felt the weight of their tomahawks.

I happened to be in the rear diviſion, but it was not long before I ſhared the fate of my companions. Three or four of the ſavages laid hold of me, and whilſt ſome held their weapons over my head, the others ſoon diſrobed me of my coat, waiſtcoat, hat, and buckles, omitting not to take from me what money I had in my pocket. As this was tranſacted cloſe by the paſſage that led from the lines on to the plain, near which a French centinel was poſted, I ran to him and claimed his protection; but he only called me an Engliſh dog, and thruſt me with violence back again into the midſt of the Indians.

I now endeavoured to join a body of our troops that were crowded together at ſome diſtance; but innumerable were the blows that were made at me with different weapons as I paſſed on; luckily however the ſavages were ſo cloſe together, that they could not ſtrike at me without endangering each other. Notwithſtanding which one of them found means to make a thruſt at me with a ſpear, which grazed my ſide, and from another I received a wound, with the ſame kind of weapon, in my ankle. At length I gained the ſpot where my countrymen ſtood, and forced myſelf into the midſt of them. But before I got thus far out of the hands of the Indians, the collar and wriſtbands of my ſhirt were all that remained of it, and my fleſh was ſcratched and torn in many places by their ſavage gripes.

By this time the war-hoop was given, and the Indians began to murder thoſe that were neareſt to them without diſtinction. It is not in the power of words to give any tolerable idea of the horrid ſcene that now enſued; men, women, and children were diſpatched in the moſt wanton and cruel manner, and immediately ſcalped. Many of theſe ſavages drank the blood of their victims, as it flowed warm from the fatal wound.

We now perceived, though too late to avail us, that we were to expect no relief from the French; and that, contrary to the agreement they had ſo lately ſigned to allow us a ſufficient force to protect us from theſe inſults, they tacitly permitted them; for I could plainly perceive the French officers walking about at ſome diſtance, diſcourſing together with apparent unconcern. For the honour of human nature I would hope that this flagrant breach of every ſacred law, proceeded rather from the ſavage diſpoſition of the Indians, which I acknowledge it is ſometimes almoſt impoſſible to controul, and which might now unexpectedly have arrived to a pitch not eaſily to be reſtrained, than to any premeditated deſign in the French commander. An unprejudiced obſerver would, however, be apt to conclude, that a body of ten thouſand chriſtian troops, moſt chriſtian troops, had it in their power to prevent the maſſacre from becoming ſo general. But whatever was the cauſe from which it aroſe, the conſequences of it were dreadful, and not to be paralleled in modern hiſtory.

As the circle in which I ſtood incloſed by this time was much thinned, and death ſeemed to be approaching with haſty ſtrides, it was propoſed

propoſed by ſome of the moſt reſolute to make one vigorous effort, and endeavour to force our way through the ſavages, the only probable method of preſerving our lives that now remained. This, however deſperate, was reſolved on, and about twenty of us ſprung at once into the midſt of them.

In a moment we were all ſeparated, and what was the fate of my companions I could not learn till ſome months after, when I found that only ſix or ſeven of them effected their deſign. Intent only on my own hazardous ſituation, I endeavoured to make my way through my ſavage enemies in the beſt manner poſſible. And I have often been aſtoniſhed ſince, when I have recollected with what compoſure I took, as I did, every neceſſary ſtep for my preſervation. Some I overturned, being at that time young and athletic, and others I paſſed by, dextrouſly avoiding their weapons; till at laſt two very ſtout chiefs, of the moſt ſavage tribes, as I could diſtinguiſh by their dreſs, whoſe ſtrength I could not reſiſt, laid hold of me by each arm, and began to force me through the crowd.

I now reſigned myſelf to my fate, not doubting but that they intended to diſpatch me, and then to ſatiate their vengeance with my blood, as I found they were hurrying me towards a retired ſwamp that lay at ſome diſtance. But before we had got many yards, an Engliſh gentleman of ſome diſtinction, as I could diſcover by his breeches, the only covering he had on, which were of fine ſcarlet velvet, ruſhed cloſe by us. One of the Indians inſtantly relinquiſhed his hold, and ſpringing on this new object, endeavoured to ſeize him as his prey; but the gentleman being ſtrong, threw him on the ground, and would probably have got away, had not he who held my other arm, quitted me to aſſiſt his brother. I ſeized the opportunity, and haſtened away to join another party of Engliſh troops that were yet unbroken, and ſtood in a body at ſome diſtance. But before I had taken many ſteps, I haſtily caſt my eye towards the gentleman, and ſaw the Indian's tomahawk gaſh into his back, and heard him utter his laſt groan; this added both to my ſpeed and deſperation.

I had left this ſhocking ſcene but a few yards, when a fine boy about twelve years of age, that had hitherto eſcaped, came up to me, and begged that I would let him lay hold of me, ſo that he might ſtand ſome chance of getting out of the hands of the ſavages. I told him that I would give him every aſſiſtance in my power, and to this purpoſe bid him lay hold; but in a few moments he was torn from my ſide, and by his ſhrieks, I judge was ſoon demoliſhed. I could not help forgetting my own cares for a minute, to lament the fate of ſo young a ſufferer; but it was utterly impoſſible for me to take any methods to prevent it.

I now got once more into the midſt of friends, but we were unable to afford each other any ſuccour. As this was the diviſion that had advanced the furtheſt from the fort, I thought there might be a poſſibility (though but a very bare one) of my forcing a way through the outer ranks of the Indians, and getting to a neighbouring wood, which

which I perceived at ſome diſtance. I was ſtill encouraged to hope by the almoſt miraculous preſervation I had already experienced.

Nor were my hopes vain, or the efforts I made ineffectual. Suffice it to ſay that I reached the wood, but by the time I had penetrated a little way into it, my breath was ſo exhauſted that I threw myſelf into a brake, and lay for ſome minutes apparently at the laſt gaſp. At length I recovered the power of reſpiration, but my apprehenſions returned with all their former force, when I ſaw ſeveral ſavages paſs by, probably in purſuit of me, at no very great diſtance. In this ſituation I knew not whether it was better to proceed, or endeavour to conceal myſelf where I lay, till night came on; fearing, however, that they would return the ſame way, I thought it moſt prudent to get farther from the dreadful ſcene of my paſt diſtreſſes. Accordingly, ſtriking into another part of the wood, I haſtened on as faſt as the briars and the loſs of one of my ſhoes would permit me; and after a ſlow progreſs of ſome hours, gained a hill that overlooked the plain which I had juſt left, from whence I could diſcern that the bloody ſtorm ſtill raged with unabated fury.

But not to tire my readers, I ſhall only add, that after paſſing three days without ſubſiſtence, and enduring the ſeverity of the cold dews for three nights, I at length reached Fort Edward; where with proper care my body ſoon recovered its wonted ſtrength, and my mind, as far as the recollection of the late melancholy events would permit, its uſual compoſure.

It was computed that fifteen hundred perſons were killed or made priſoners by theſe ſavages during this fatal day. Many of the latter were carried off by them and never returned. A few, through favourable accidents, found their way back to their native country after having experienced a long and ſevere captivity.

The brave Colonel Monro had haſtened away, ſoon after the confuſion began, to the French camp to endeavour to procure the guard agreed by the ſtipulation; but his application proving ineffectual, he remained there till General Webb ſent a party of troops to demand and protect him back to Fort Edward. But theſe unhappy occurrences, which would probably have been prevented, had he been left to purſue his own plans, together with the loſs of ſo many brave fellows, murdered in cold blood, to whoſe valour he had been ſo lately a witneſs, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he did not long ſurvive. He died in about three months of a broken heart, and with truth might it be ſaid, that he was an honour to his country.

I mean not to point out the following circumſtance as the immediate judgment of heaven, and intended as an atonement for this ſlaughter, but I cannot omit that very few of thoſe different tribes of Indians that ſhared in it ever lived to return home. The ſmall-pox, by means of their communication with the Europeans, found its way among them, and made an equal havock to what they themſelves had done. The methods they purſued on the firſt attack of that malignant diſorder, to abate the fever attending

attending it, rendered it fatal. Whilſt their blood was in a ſtate of fermentation, and nature was ſtriving to throw out the peccant matter, they checked her operations by plunging into the water: the conſequence was, that they died by hundreds. The few that ſurvived were transformed by it into hideous objects, and bore with them to the grave deep indented marks of this much-dreaded diſeaſe.

Monſieur Montcalm fell ſoon after on the plains of Quebec.

That the unprovoked cruelty of this commander was not approved of by the generality of his countrymen, I have ſince been convinced of by many proofs. One only however, which I received from a perſon who was witneſs to it, ſhall I at preſent give. A Canadian merchant, of ſome conſideration, having heard of the ſurrender of the Engliſh fort, celebrated the fortunate event with great rejoicings and hoſpitality, according to the cuſtom of that country; but no ſooner did the news of the maſſacre which enſued reach his ears, than he put an immediate ſtop to the feſtivity, and exclaimed in the ſevereſt terms againſt the inhuman permiſſion; declaring at the ſame time that thoſe who had connived at it, had thereby drawn down on that part of their king's dominions the vengeance of heaven. To this he added, that he much feared the total loſs of them would deſervedly be the conſequence. How truly this prediction has been verified we all know.

But to return: though the Indians are negligent in guarding againſt ſurprizes, they are alert and dexterous in ſurprizing their enemies. To their caution and perſeverance in ſtealing on the party they deſign to attack, they add that admirable talent, or rather inſtinctive qualification, I have already deſcribed, of tracing out thoſe they are in purſuit of. On the ſmootheſt graſs, on the hardeſt earth, and even on the very ſtones, will they diſcover the traces of an enemy, and by the ſhape of the footſteps, and the diſtance between the prints, diſtinguiſh, not only whether it is a man or woman who has paſſed that way, but even the nation to which they belong. However incredible this might appear, yet from the many proofs I received whilſt among them of their amazing ſagacity in this point, I ſee no reaſon to diſcredit even theſe extraordinary exertions of it.

When they have overcome an enemy, and victory is no longer doubtful, the conquerors firſt diſpatch all ſuch as they think they ſhall not be able to carry off without great trouble, and then endeavour to take as many priſoners as poſſible; after this they return to ſcalp thoſe who are either dead, or too much wounded to be taken with them.

At this buſineſs they are exceedingly expert. They ſeize the head of the diſabled or dead enemy, and placing one of their feet on the neck, twiſt their left hand in the hair; by this means, having extended the ſkin that covers the top of the head, they draw out their ſcalping knives, which are always kept in good order for this cruel purpoſe, and with a few dextrous ſtrokes take off the part that is termed the ſcalp. They are ſo expeditious in doing this, that the whole time required ſcarcely exceeds

ceeds a minute. Theſe they preſerve as monuments of their proweſs, and at the ſame time as proofs of the vengeance they have inflicted on their enemies.

If two Indians ſeize in the ſame inſtant a priſoner, and ſeem to have an equal claim, the conteſt between them is ſoon decided; for to put a ſpeedy end to any diſpute that might ariſe, the perſon that is apprehenſive he ſhall loſe his expected reward, immediately has recourſe to his tomahawk or war-club, and knocks on the head the unhappy cauſe of their contention.

Having completed their purpoſes, and made as much havock as poſſible, they immediately retire towards their own country, with the ſpoil they have acquired, for fear of being purſued.

Should this be the caſe, they make uſe of many ſtratagems to elude the ſearches of their purſuers. They ſometimes ſcatter leaves, ſand, or duſt over the prints of their feet; ſometimes tread in each others footſteps; and ſometimes lift their feet ſo high, and tread ſo lightly, as not to make any impreſſion on the ground. But if they find all theſe precautions unavailing, and that they are near being overtaken, they firſt diſpatch and ſcalp their priſoners, and then dividing, each endeavours to regain his native country by a different route. This prevents all farther purſuit; for their purſuers now deſpairing, either of gratifying their revenge, or of releaſing thoſe of their friends who were made captives, return home.

If the ſucceſsful party is ſo lucky as to make good their retreat unmoleſted, they haſten with the greateſt expedition to reach a country where they may be perfectly ſecure; and that their wounded companions may not retard their flight, they carry them by turns in litters, or if it is in the winter ſeaſon draw them on ſledges.

Their litters are made in a rude manner of the branches of trees. Their ſledges conſiſt of two ſmall thin boards about a foot wide when joined, and near ſix feet long. The fore part is turned up, and the ſides are bordered with ſmall bands. The Indians draw theſe carriages with great eaſe be they ever ſo much loaded, by means of a ſtring which paſſes round the breaſt. This collar is called a Metump, and is in uſe throughout America, both in the ſettlements and the internal parts. Thoſe uſed in the latter are made of leather and very curiouſly wrought.

The priſoners during their march are guarded with the greateſt care. During the day, if the journey is over land, they are always held by ſome of the victorious party; if by water, they are faſtened to the canoe. In the night-time they are ſtretched along the ground quite naked, with their legs, arms, and neck faſtened to hooks fixed in the ground. Beſides this, cords are tied to their arms or legs, which are held by an Indian, who inſtantly awakes at the leaſt motion of them.

Notwithſtanding ſuch precautions are uſually taken by the Indians, it is recorded in the annals of New England, that one of the weaker ſex, almoſt alone, and unaſſiſted, found means to elude the vigilance of a party of warriors, and

and not only to make her eſcape from them, but to revenge the cauſe of her countrymen.

Some years ago, a ſmall band of Canadian Indians, conſiſting of ten warriors attended by two of their wives, made an irruption into the back ſettlements of New England. They lurked for ſome time in the vicinity of one of the moſt exterior towns, and at length, after having killed and ſcalped ſeveral people, found means to take priſoner a woman who had with her a ſon of about twelve years of age. Being ſatisfied with the execution they had done, they retreated towards their native country, which lay at three hundred miles diſtance, and carried off with them their two captives.

The ſecond night of their retreat, the woman, whoſe name if I miſtake not was Rowe, formed a reſolution worthy of the moſt intrepid hero. She thought ſhe ſhould be able to get from her hands the manacles by which they were confined, and determined if ſhe did ſo to make a deſperate effort for the recovery of her freedom. To this purpoſe, when ſhe concluded that her conquerors were in their ſoundeſt ſleep, ſhe ſtrove to ſlip the cords from her hands. In this ſhe ſucceeded; and cautioning her ſon, whom they had ſuffered to go unbound, in a whiſper, againſt being ſurprized at what ſhe was about to do, ſhe removed to a diſtance with great warineſs the defenſive weapons of the Indians, which lay by their ſides.

Having done this, ſhe put one of the tomahawks into the hands of the boy, bidding him to follow her example; and taking another herſelf, fell upon the ſleeping Indians, ſeveral of whom ſhe inſtantly diſpatched. But her attempt was nearly fruſtrated by the imbecility of her ſon, who wanting both ſtrength and reſolution, made a feeble ſtroke at one of them which only ſerved to awaken him; ſhe however ſprung at the riſing warrior, and before he could recover his arms, made him ſink under the weight of her tomahawk; and this ſhe alternately did to all the reſt, except one of the women, who awoke in time, and made her eſcape.

The heroine then took off the ſcalps of her vanquiſhed enemies, and ſeizing alſo thoſe they were carrying away with them as proofs of their ſucceſs, ſhe returned in triumph to the town from whence ſhe had ſo lately been dragged, to the great aſtoniſhment of her neighbours, who could ſcarcely credit their ſenſes, or the teſtimonies ſhe bore of her Amazonian intrepidity.

During their march they oblige their priſoners to ſing their death-ſong, which generally conſiſts of theſe or ſimilar ſentences. "I am going to die, I am about to ſuffer; but I will bear the ſevereſt tortures my enemies can inflict with becoming fortitude. I will die like a brave man, and I ſhall then go to join the chiefs that have ſuffered on the ſame account." Theſe ſongs are continued, with neceſſary intervals, until they reach the village or camp to which they are going.

When the warriors are arrived within hearing, they ſet up different cries, which communicates to their friends a general hiſtory of the ſucceſs of the expedition. The number of the death-cries they give,

give, declares how many of their own party are loſt; the number of war-hoops, the number of priſoners they have taken.

It is difficult to deſcribe theſe cries, but the beſt idea I can convey of them, is, that the former conſiſts of the ſound Whoo, Whoo, Whoop, which is continued in a long ſhrill tone, nearly till the breath is exhauſted, and then broken off with a ſudden elevation of the voice. The latter, of a loud cry, of much the ſame kind, which is modulated into notes by the hand being placed before the mouth. Both of them might be heard to a very conſiderable diſtance.

Whilſt theſe are uttering, the perſons to whom they are deſigned to convey the intelligence, continue motionleſs and all attention. When this ceremony is performed, the whole village iſſue out to learn the particulars of the relation they have juſt heard in general terms, and according as the news proves mournful or the contrary, they inſpire by ſo many acclamations or cries of lamentation.

Being by this time arrived at the village or camp, the women and children arm themſelves with ſticks and bludgeons, and form themſelves into two ranks, through which the priſoners are obliged to paſs. The treatment they undergo before they reach the extremity of the line, is very ſevere. Sometimes they are ſo beaten over the head and face, as to have ſcarcely any remains of life; and happy would it be for them if by this uſage an end was put to their wretched beings. But their tormentors take care that none of the blows they give prove mortal, as they wiſh to reſerve the miſerable ſufferers for more ſevere inflictions.

After having undergone this introductory diſcipline they are bound hand and foot, whilſt the chiefs hold a council in which their fate is determined. Thoſe who are decreed to be put to death by the uſual torments, are delivered to the chief of the warriors; ſuch as are to be ſpared, are given into the hands of the chief of the nation: ſo that in a ſhort time all the priſoners may be aſſured of their fate, as the ſentence now pronounced is irrevocable. The former they term being conſigned to the houſe of death, the latter to the houſe of grace.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

Account of the interior Parts of Sumatra, *and of a neighbouring Island never known to have been visited by any* European. *From the Philosophical Transactions.*

THE climate is far from being so disagreeably hot as it is represented to be, or as one might expect from our vicinity to the line; the thermometer (of which I have kept a journal for a year past) is never lower in a morning at six than 69 deg. or higher than 76 deg. At noon it varies from 79 to 88 deg. and at eight P. M. from 73 to 78 or 80 deg. I have once only seen it at 90 deg. and in the Batta country, immediately under the line, I have seen it frequently at six A. M. as low as 61 deg. We have always a sea-breeze, which sets in at about nine o'clock, and continues to sun-set, and is generally pretty fresh: this tempers the heat so much, that I have never been incommoded by it (even in the midst of the day) so much as I have frequently been on a summer's day in England. Rain is very frequent here; sometimes very heavy, and almost always attended with thunder and lightning. Earthquakes are not uncommon; we have had one in particular, since my arrival, which was very violent, and did much damage in the country. There are several volcanos on the island; one within sight of Malbro', which almost constantly emits smoke, and, at the time of the earthquake, emitted fire.

The English settled here (exclusive of the military) are between seventy and eighty, of which about fifty are at Malbro'. They live full as freely as in England, and yet we have lost but one gentleman during the last six months; a proof that this climate is not very unhealthy.

The people who inhabit the coast are Malays, who came hither from the peninsula of Malacca; but the interior parts are inhabited by a very different people, and who have hitherto had no connexion with the Europeans. Their language and character differ much from those of the Malays, the latter using the Arabic character; but all the interior nations which I have visited, though they differ from one another in language, use the same character.

The people between the districts of the English company, and those of the Dutch at Palimban on the other side the island, write on long narrow slips of the bark of a tree, with a piece of bamboo; they begin at the bottom, and write from the left-hand to the right, which I think

think is contrary to the cuſtom of all other eaſtern nations.

This country is very hilly, and the acceſs to it exceedingly difficult, there being no poſſibility of a horſe going over the hills. I was obliged to walk the whole way, and in many places bare-foot, on account of the ſteepneſs of the precipices. The inhabitants are a free people, and live in ſmall villages called Dooſans, independent of each other, and governed each by its own chief [Doopattee]. All of them have laws, ſome written ones, by which they puniſh offenders, and terminate diſputes. They have almoſt all of them, particularly the women, large ſwellings in the throat, ſome nearly as big as a man's head, but in general as big as an oſtrich's egg, like the goitres of the Alps. It is by them ſaid to be owing to their drinking a cold white water; I fancy it muſt be ſome mineral water they mean. Near their country is a volcano: it is very mountainous, and abounds with ſulphur, and I dare lay with metals too, though no mines are worked here. If this diſtemper be produced here by this cauſe, perhaps in the Alpine countries it may take its origin from a ſimilar one, and not, as has been imagined, from ſnow-water: certain it is, there is no ſnow here to occaſion it. In almoſt all the central parts from Moco-moco northwards, they find gold and ſome iron; but this diſtemper is unknown there. I have met here with a rivulet of a ſtrong ſulphurated water, which was ſo hot a quarter of a mile below its ſource, that I could not walk acroſs it.

The country called the Caſſia country lies in latitude 1 deg. north inland of our ſettlement of Tappanooly: it is well inhabited by a people called Battas, who differ from all the other inhabitants of Sumatra in language, manners, and cuſtoms. They have no religious worſhip, but have ſome confuſed idea of three ſuperior beings; two of which are of a benign nature; and the third an evil genius, whom they ſtile Murgiſo, and to whom they uſe ſome kind of incantation to prevent his doing them hurt. They ſeem to think their anceſtors are a kind of ſuperior beings, attendant always upon them. They have no king, but live in villages [Compongs] abſolutely independent of each other, and perpetually at war with one another; their villages they fortify very ſtrongly with double fences of camphire plank pointed, and placed with their points projecting outwards, and between theſe fences they put pieces of bamboo, hardened by fire, and likewiſe pointed, which are concealed by the graſs, but will run quite through a man's foot. Without theſe fences they plant a prickly ſpecies of bamboo, which ſoon forms an impenetrable hedge. They never ſtir out of theſe Compongs unarmed; their arms are match-lock guns, which, as well as the powder, are made in the country, and ſpears with long iron heads. They do not fight in an open manner, but way-lay and ſhoot or take priſoner ſingle people in the woods or paddy-fields. Theſe priſoners, if they happen to be the people who have given the offence, they put to death and eat, and their ſkulls they hang up as trophies in the houſes where the unmarried men and boys eat and ſleep. They allow of polygamy; a man

a man may purchaſe as many wives as he pleaſes; but their number ſeldom exceeds eight. They have no marriage ceremony; but, when the purchaſe is agreed on by the father, the man kills a buffalo or a horſe, invites as many people as he can; and he and the woman ſit and eat together before the whole company, and are afterwards conſidered as man and wife. If afterwards the man chuſes to part with his wife, he ſends her back to her relations with all her trinkets, but they keep the purchaſe-money; if the wife diſlikes her huſband, her relations muſt repay double the purchaſe-money.

A man detected in adultery is puniſhed with death, and the body eaten by the offended party and his friends: the woman becomes the ſlave of her huſband, and is rendered infamous by cutting off her hair. Public theft is alſo puniſhed with death, and the body eaten. All their wives live in the ſame houſe with the huſband, and the houſes have no partition; but each wife has her ſeparate fire-place.

Girls and unmarried women wear ſix or eight large rings of thick braſs wire about their neck, and great numbers of tin rings in their ears; but all theſe ornaments are laid aſide when they marry.

They often preſerve the dead bodies of their Radjas (by which name they call every freeman that has property, of which there are ſometimes one, ſometimes more, in one Compong, and the reſt are vaſſals) for three months and upwards before they bury them: this they continue to do by putting the body into a coffin well caulked with dammar (a kind of rezin): they place the coffin in the upper part of the houſe, and having made a hole at the bottom, fit thereto a piece of bamboo, which reaches quite through the houſe, and three or four feet into the ground: this ſerves to convey all putrid moiſture from the corpſe without occaſioning any ſmell. They ſeem to have great ceremonies at theſe funerals; but they would not allow me to ſee them. I ſaw ſeveral figures dreſſed up like men, and heard a kind of ſinging and dancing all night before the body was interred: they alſo fired a great many guns. At theſe funerals they kill a great many buffaloes; every Radja, for a conſiderable diſtance, brings a buffalo and kills it at the grave of the deceaſed, ſometimes even a year after his interment; we aſſiſted at the ceremony of killing the 106th buffalo at a radja's grave.

The Battas have abundance of black cattle, buffaloes, and horſes, all which they eat. They alſo have great quantities of ſmall black dogs, with erect pointed ears, which they fatten and eat. Rats and all ſorts of wild animals, whether killed by them or found dead, they eat indifferently. Man's fleſh may rather be ſaid to be eaten *in terrorem*, than to be their common food; yet they prefer it to all others, and ſpeak with peculiar raptures of the ſoles of the feet and palms of the hands. They expreſſed much ſurprize on being informed that white people did not kill, much leſs eat, their priſoners.

Theſe people, though cannibals, received me with great hoſpitality and civility; and though it was thought very dangerous for any European to venture among them,

as they are a warlike people, and extremely jealous of ſtrangers; yet I took only ſix Malays as a guard, but was eſcorted from place to place by thirty, forty, and ſometimes one hundred of the natives, armed with match-lock guns and matches burning.

It is from this country that moſt of the caſſia ſent to Europe is procured; and I went there in hopes of finding the cinnamon, but without ſucceſs. The caſſia tree grows to fifty or ſixty feet, with a ſtem of about two feet diameter, with a beautiful regular ſpreading head; its flowers or fruit I could not then ſee, and the country people have a notion that it produces neither.

Camphire and Benjamin trees are in this country in great abundance; the former grows to the ſize of our largeſt oaks, and is the common timber in uſe: I have ſeen trees near one hundred feet high. Its leaves are acuminated and very different from the camphire tree ſeen in the botanic gardens, which is the tree from which the Japaneſe procure their camphire by a chemical proceſs; whereas in theſe trees the camphire is found native in a concrete form. Native camphire ſells here at upwards of 200l. per cwt. to carry to China; what the Chineſe do to it, I cannot ſay; but, though they purchaſe it at 250l. or 300l. they ſell it again for Europe at about a quarter of the money. I have never been able to ſee the flower of the camphire tree; ſome abortive fruit I have frequently found under the trees, they are in a cup, like an acorn, but the *laciniæ calycis* are four or five times longer than the ſeed.

I have taken other journies into different parts of the interior country, never before viſited by any Europeans. Theſe journies were performed on foot, through ſuch roads, ſwamps, &c. as were to appearance almoſt impaſſable. I have been hitherto ſo fortunate as to meet with no obſtruction from the natives; but, on the contrary, have been hoſpitably received every where. Almoſt all the country has been covered with thick woods of trees moſtly new and undeſcribed, and is not one-hundredth part inhabited.

It is amazing how poor the *Fauna* of this country is, particularly in the *mammalia* and *aves*. We have abundance of the *ſimia gibbon* of BUFFON: they are quite black, about three feet high, and their arms reach to the ground when they ſtand erect; they walk on their hind legs only, but I believe very rarely come down to the ground. I have ſeen hundreds of them together on the tops of high trees. We have ſeveral other ſpecies of the *ſimia* alſo; but one ſeldom ſees them but at a great diſtance. The *oerang oetan*, or wild-man (for that is the meaning of the words) I have heard much talk of, but never ſeen; nor can I find any of the natives here that have ſeen it. The tiger is to be heard of in almoſt every part of this iſland: I have never ſeen one yet, though I have frequently heard them when I have ſlept in the woods, and often ſeen the marks of their feet. They annually deſtroy near one hundred people in the country where the pepper is planted; yet the people are ſo infatuated that they ſeldom kill them, having a notion that they are animated by the ſouls of their anceſtors.

Of tiger-cats we have two or three ſorts; elephants, rhinoceros, elks, one or two other kind of deer,

deer, buffaloes, two or three ſorts of muſtelæ, porcupines, and the ſmall hog-deer, almoſt compleat the catalogue of our *mammalia*.

Birds I have ſeen very few indeed, and very few ſpecies of inſects. Ants, of twenty or thirty kinds, abound here ſo much as to make it almoſt impoſſible to preſerve birds or inſects. I have frequently attempted it, but in vain.

I have met with one inſtance, and one only, of a ſtratum of foſſil ſhells. I had ſome notion that it was an obſervation (of CONDAMINE's I think) that no ſuch thing was to be found between the tropics.

The iſland of Enganho, though ſituated only about ninety miles to the ſouthward of Malbro', was ſo little known, on account of the terrible rocks and breakers which entirely ſurround it, that it was even doubtful whether it was inhabited: to this iſland I have made a voyage. With great difficulty and danger we beat up the whole ſouth-weſt ſide of it, without finding any place where we could attempt to land; and we loſt two anchors, and had very near ſuffered ſhipwreck before we found a ſecure place into which we might run the veſſel. At laſt, however, we diſcovered a ſpacious harbour at the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſland, and I immediately went into it in the boat, and ordered the veſſel to follow me as ſoon as poſſible, for it was then a dead calm. We rowed directly into this bay; and as ſoon as we had got round the points of an iſland which lay off the harbour, we diſcovered all the beach covered with naked ſavages, who were all armed with lances and clubs; and twelve canoes full of them, who, till we had paſſed them, had lain concealed, immediately ruſhed out upon me, making a horrid noiſe: this, you may ſuppoſe, alarmed us greatly; and as I had only one European and four black ſoldiers, beſides the four laſcars that rowed the boat, I thought it beſt to return, if poſſible, under the guns of the veſſel, before I ventured to ſpeak with them. In caſe we were attacked, I ordered the ſeapoys to reſerve their fire till they could be ſure their balls would take effect; and then to take advantage of the confuſion our firing would throw the ſavages into, and attack them, if poſſible, with their bayonets. The canoes, however, after having purſued for a mile, or a mile and a half, luckily ſtopped a little to conſult together, which gave us an opportunity to eſcape them, as they did not care to purſue us out to ſea. The ſame afternoon the veſſel came to an anchor in the bay, and we were preſently viſited by fifty or ſixty canoes full of people. They paddled round the veſſel, and called to us in a language which nobody on board underſtood, though I had people with me who underſtood the languages ſpoken on all the other iſlands. They ſeemed to look at every thing about the veſſel very attentively; but more from the motive of pilfering than from curioſity, for they watched an opportunity and unſhipped the rudder of the boat, and paddled away with it. I fired a muſquet over their heads, the noiſe of which frightened them ſo, that all of them immediately leaped into the ſea, but ſoon recovered themſelves and paddled off.

They are a tall, well-made people; the men in general about five

feet eight or ten inches high; the women ſhorter and more clumſily built. They are of a red colour, and have ſtraight, black hair, which the men cut ſhort, but the women let grow long, and roll up in a circle on the top of their heads very neatly. The men go entirely naked, and the women wear nothing more than a very narrow ſlip of plantain leaf. The men always go armed with ſix or eight lances, made of the wood of the cabbage-tree, which is extremely hard; they are about ſix feet long, and topped with the large bones of fiſh ſharpened and barbed, or with a piece of bamboo hardened in the fire, very ſharp-pointed, and its concave part armed wth the jaw bones and teeth of fiſh, ſo that it would be almoſt impoſſible to extract them from a wound. They have no iron or other metal that I could ſee, yet they build very neat canoes; they are formed of two thin boards ſewed together, and the ſeam filled with a reſinous ſubſtance. They are about ten feet long, and about a foot broad, and have an outrigger on each ſide, to prevent their overſetting. They ſplit trees into boards with ſtone wedges.

Their houſes are circular, ſupported on ten or twelve iron-wood ſticks about ſix feet long: they are neatly floored with plank, and the roof riſes immediately from the floor in a conical form, ſo as to reſemble a ſtraw bee-hive; their diameter is not above eight feet.

Theſe people have no rice, fowls, or cattle, of any kind: they ſeem to live upon cocoa-nuts, ſweet potatoes, and ſugar-canes. They catch fiſh, and dry them in the ſmoke; theſe fiſh they either ſtrike with their lances, or catch in a drawing net, of which they make very neat ones.

They do not chew betel, a cuſtom which prevails univerſally among the eaſtern nations.

I went on ſhore the day after the veſſel anchored in the bay, hoping to be able to ſee ſomething of the country, and to meet with ſome of the chiefs. I ſaw a few houſes near the beach, and went towards them; but the natives flocked down to the beach, to the number of ſixty or ſeventy men, well armed with their lances, &c. and put themſelves in our way; yet, when we approached them, they retreated ſlowly, making ſome few threatening geſtures. I then ordered my companions to halt and to be well on their guard, and went alone towards them: they permitted me to come amongſt them, and I gave them ſome knives, pieces of cloth, and looking-glaſſes, with all which they ſeemed well pleaſed, and allowed me to take from them their lances, &c. and give them to my ſervant, whom I called to take them. Finding them to behave civilly, I made ſigns that I wanted to go to their houſes and eat with them; they immediately ſent people who brought me cocoa-nuts, but did not ſeem to approve of my going to their houſes: however, I determined to venture thither, and ſeeing a path leading towards them, I went forward attended by about twenty of them, who, as ſoon as we had got behind ſome trees, which prevented my people ſeeing us, began to lay violent hands on my cloaths, and endeavour to pull them off; but having a ſmall hanger, I drew it, and, making a ſtroke at the moſt officious of them,

retreated

retreated as faſt as poſſible to the beach. Soon after we heard the ſound of a conch-ſhell; upon which all the people retired, with all poſſible expedition, to a party of about two hundred, who were aſſembled at about a mile diſtance. It was now near ſun-ſet, and we were near a mile from our boat; and, as I was apprehenſive we might be way-laid in our return if we ſtaid longer, I ordered my people to return with all poſſible ſpeed; but firſt went to the houſes the natives had abandoned, and found them ſtripped of every thing; ſo that I ſuppoſe this party had been employed in removing their wives, children, &c. into the woods. I intended to have attempted another day to have penetrated into the country, and had prepared my people for it; but the inconſiderate reſentment of an officer, who was ſent with me, rendered my ſcheme abortive. He had been in the boat to ſome of the natives who had waded out on a reef of rocks and called to us; they had brought ſome cocoa-nuts, for which he gave them pieces of cloth: one of them ſeeing his hanger lying beſide him in the boat, ſnatched it and ran away; upon which he fired upon them, and purſued them to ſome of their houſes, which, finding empty, he burnt. This ſet the whole country in alarm; conch-ſhells were ſounded all over the bay, and in the morning we ſaw great multitudes of people aſſembled in different places, making uſe of threatening geſtures; ſo that finding it would be unſafe to venture among them again, as, for want of underſtanding their language, we could not come to any explanation with them, I ordered the anchor to be weighed, and ſailed out of the bay, bringing away two of the natives with me.

In our return home my deſire of ſeeing ſome yet unexplored parts of the iſland of Sumatra, occaſioned me to order the veſſel to put me on ſhore at a place called Flat Point, on the ſouthern extremity of the iſland, from whence I walked to Fort Malbro'. In this journey I underwent great hardſhips, being ſometimes obliged to walk on the ſandy beach, expoſed to the ſun, from ſix in the morning till ſix at night, without any refreſhment; ſometimes precipices to aſcend or deſcend, ſo ſteep that we could only draw ourſelves up, or let ourſelves down, by a rattan; at other times rapid rivers to croſs, and then to walk the remaining part of the day in wet cloaths. The conſequence of theſe hardſhips has been a violent fever; but, much as I then regretted having quitted the ſhip, I had, when I came to Fort Malbro', more reaſon to rejoice; for I then found, that the veſſel, in her voyage home, was loſt, and every ſoul on board periſhed. This has, however, been a ſevere ſtroke upon me; for as I was obliged to leave all my baggage on board, it being impracticable to carry it over land, I loſt all my cloaths, books, ſpecimens, manuſcripts, notes, arms, &c. from Enganho; in ſhort, almoſt every thing which I had either brought with me, or collected during my reſidence in this iſland.

I forgot to mention, that when I was at Tappanooly I ſaw what I find in PURCHAS's Pilgrim called *the wonderful plant of Sombrero*: his account, however, is ſomewhat exaggerated, when he ſays it bears

leaves and grows to be a great tree. The name by which it is known to the Malays is *Lalaa-laut*, that is, sea-grass. It is found in sandy bays, in shallow water, where it appears like a slender strait stick, but, when you attempt to touch it, immediately withdraws itself into the sand. I could never observe any *tentacula*: a broken piece, near a foot long, which, after many unsuccessful attempts, I drew out, was perfectly strait and uniform, and resembled a worm drawn over a knitting-needle; when dry it is a coral.

The sea cocoa-nut, which has long been erroneously considered as a marine production, and been so extremely scarce and valuable, is now discovered to be the fruit of a palm with flabelliform leaves, which grow abundantly on the small islands to the eastward of Madagascar, called in our Charts *Mahé, &c.* and by the French, *Les Iles des Seychelles*. To these islands, the French have sent a large colony and planted them with cloves and nutmeg trees, as they have likewise the islands of *Bourbon and Mauritius*.

A new Case in Squinting, by Dr. Darwin. *From the same.*

Litchfield, March 10, 1777.

THE following case in squinting, as a similar one has not been recorded or explained by others, may perhaps merit your attention from its novelty.

About six years ago I was desired to see a child of the reverend Dr. SANDFORD, in Shropshire, to determine of any method could be devised to cure him of squinting. The child was then about five years old, and exceedingly tractable and sensible, which enabled me to make the following observations upon him with great accuracy and frequent repetition.

1. He viewed every object which was presented to him with but one eye at a time.

2. If the object was presented on his right-side, he viewed it with his left eye; and if it was presented on his left-side, he viewed it with his right eye.

3. He turned the pupil of that eye, which was on the same side with the object, in such a direction that the image of the object might fall on that part of the bottom of the eye where the optic nerve enters it.

4. When an object was held directly before him, he turned his head a little to one side, and observed it with but one eye, *viz.* with that most distant from the object, turning away the other in the manner above described; and when he became tired with observing it with that eye, he turned his head the contrary way, and observed it with the other eye alone, with equal facility; but never turned the axes of both eyes on it at the same time.

5. He saw letters, which were written on bits of paper, so as to name them with equal ease, and at equal distances, with one eye as with the other.

6. There was no perceptible difference in the diameters of the irises, nor in the contractibility of them, after having covered his eyes from the light. These observations were carefully made by writing single letters on shreds of paper, and laying wagers with the child

child that he could not read them when they were presented at certain distances and directions.

From these circumstances it appeared, that there was no defect in either eye, which is the common cause of squinting, so well observed by M. BUFFON and Dr. REID; and hence, that the disease was simply a depraved habit of moving his eyes, and might probably be occasioned by the form of a cap or head-dress, which might have been too prominent on the sides of his face, like bluffs used on coach-horses; and might thence, in early infancy, have made it more convenient for the child to view objects placed obliquely with the opposite eye, till by habit the *musculi adductores* were become stronger, and more ready for motion than their antagonists.

A paper gnomon was made, and fixed to a cap; and when this artificial nose was placed over his real nose, so as to project an inch between his eyes, the child, rather than turn his head so far to look at oblique objects, immediately began to view them with that eye which was next to them. But the death of Dr. SANDFORD, which happened soon after, occasioned the removal of his family; and the grief and cares of Mrs. SANDFORD prevented this, and the other methods proposed, from being put in execution.

About a month ago I had again an opportunity of seeing master D. SANDFORD, and observed all the circumstances of his mode of vision to be exactly as they were six years before, except that they seemed established by longer habit; so that I could not by any means induce him to bend the axes of both his eyes on the same object, not even for a moment.

A gnomon of thin brass was made to stand over his nose, with a half circle of the same metal to go round his temples; these were covered with black silk, and by means of a buckle behind his head, and a cross-piece over the crown of his head, this gnomon was managed so as to be worn without any inconvenience, and projected before his nose about two inches and an half. By the use of this gnomon he soon found it less inconvenient to view all oblique objects with the eye next to them, instead of the eye opposite to them.

After this habit was weakened by a week's use of the gnomon, two bits of wood, about the size of a goose-quill, were blackened all but a quarter of an inch at their summits; these were frequently presented for him to look at, one being held on one side the extremity of his black gnomon, and the other on the other side of it. As he viewed these they were gradually brought forwards beyond the gnomon, and then one was concealed behind the other: by these means, in another week, he could bend both his eyes on the same object for half a minute together.

By the practice of this exercise before a glass, almost every hour in the day, he became in another week able to read for a minute together with his eyes both directed on the same objects; and I have no doubt, if he has patience enough to persevere in these efforts, but he will in the course of some months overcome this unsightly habit.

I shall

I ſhall conclude the account of this caſe by adding, that all the other ſquinting people I have had occaſion to attend to, have had one eye much leſs perfect than the other, according to the obſervations of Mr. BUFFON and Dr. REID. Theſe patients, where the diſeaſed eye is not too bad, are certainly curable by covering the beſt eye many hours in a day; as, by a more frequent uſe of the weak eye, it not only acquires a habit of turning to the objects which the patient wiſhes to ſee, but gains at the ſame time a more diſtinct viſion; and the better eye at the ſame time ſeems to loſe ſomewhat in both theſe reſpects, which alſo facilitates the cure.

This evinces the abſurdity of the practice of prohibiting thoſe who have weak eyes from uſing them; ſince the eye, as well as every other part of the body, acquires ſtrength from that degree of exerciſe which is not accompanied with pain or fatigue; and I am induced to believe, that the moſt general cauſe of ſquinting in children originates from the cuſtom of covering the weak eye, which has been diſeaſed by any accidental cauſe, before the habit of obſerving objects with both eyes was perfectly eſtabliſhed.

The facility with which maſter SANDFORD received the images of oblique objects on the inſenſible part of the retina of one eye, whilſt he viewed them with the other, induced me to obſerve the ſize of this inſenſible ſpot, and to endeavour to aſcertain the cauſe of it.

There was formerly a diſpute among philoſophers, whether the choroid coat of the eye or the retina was the immediate organ of viſion, which has lately been revived in ſome meaſure in Dr. PRIESTLEY's valuable Hiſtory of Light and Colours; and it was then thought by one party in this diſpute, that the defect of the choroid coat, where the optic nerve enters the eye, was the cauſe of this want of viſion in that part.

But the following obſervation ſhews beyond a doubt the fallacy of this ſuppoſition: the diameter of the optic nerve, at its entrance into the eye, is about one-ſixth of an inch, and the perforation of the choroid coat, through which it paſſes, muſt of neceſſity be of the ſame diameter: now the dark ſpot, which is ſeen in objects oppoſed to the center of the optic nerve, if it was occaſioned by the deficiency of the choroid coat, ſhould, at nine inches diſtance from the eye, be fifty-four times the diameter of this aperture, or nine inches in diameter; whereas I find, by experiment, that a paper of one inch in diameter could not be totally concealed at nine inches diſtance from my eye; and M. LE CAT by accurate obſervations found, that the inſenſible part of his eye was but between the thirtieth and fortieth part of an inch in diameter. This experiment is ſo eaſily made, that it can be attended with no fallacy; and at the ſame time that it ſhews that the inſenſible ſpot, where the optic nerve enters the eye, is not owing to the deficiency of the choroid coat, intirely ſubverts the opinion of the choroid coat being the organ of viſion; for viſion exiſts where the choroid coat is not.

Nor is the inſenſibility of the center of the optic nerve owing to the ingreſs of the arteries along with

with it into the eye; for a large branch of this artery runs along the bottom of the eye, where vision is moſt diſtinct, and becauſe all this artery is covered with the expanſe of the retina on the external ſide of it. Mr. SAVAGE made an experiment for another purpoſe, which however ſhews, that the optic artery, where it is branched under or through the retina, does not much diſturb the power of viſion. It is this: if you look on a white wall on a luminous day, with the Sun ſhining on the wall only by its reflected light, you will diſcern the parts of the wall become darker and lighter at every pulſation of the optic artery. This darker and lighter appearance is like net-work, and not uniform like the wall itſelf; but the whole, though rather darker while the diaſtole of the artery compreſſes the retina, is yet diſtinctly viſible.

The following circumſtance ſeems to give riſe to the inſenſibility of the central part of the optic nerve at its ingreſs into the eye, which I have obſerved in ſeveral calves' eyes. The point of a pair of ſciſſars was introduced behind the ciliary circle, and the whole of the cornea, aqueous humour, iris, and cryſtalline, being removed, the retina was beautifully ſeen through the vitreous humour ſomewhat magnified. On expoſing this to the ſun-ſhine, and inſpecting it with nicety, a white filament, about the tenth of an inch in length, ariſing from the center of the optic nerve, was ſeen aſcending ſtraight upwards into the vitreous humour, like a thin white worm. The uſe of this may be to ſupply the vitreous humour or cryſtalline with nouriſhment, whether it be a nerve or an empty blood-veſſel; but this is certain, that its riſing ſo high above the ſurface of the retina muſt render it incapable of viſion: whence there is juſt reaſon to conclude, that this conformation muſt be the true cauſe of the inſenſibility of this part of the eye.

I do not affirm, that the human eye, either during infancy or in our riper years, is ſimilar in conformation to that of a calf, nor have we ſufficient opportunities to obſerve them; but I ſuſpect this veſſel may, after the growth of the animal, be totally obliterated; and that, in ſome few inſtances, the optic nerve may even in this part become ſenſible to light. One inſtance I am certain I have ſeen, as it was in a man capable of the moſt patient and accurate obſervation, who on numberleſs repeated trials, at different times, in my preſence, could never loſe ſight of the ſmalleſt object with either of his eyes.

Supplement to the Caſe in Squinting.

IT ſince occurred to me, that the unuſual mode of ſquinting deſcribed in the above paper muſt have ariſen from ſome original difference in the ſenſibility of ſome parts of the eye, which might have rendered it more eaſy for maſter SANDFORD, when a child, to obſerve objects with one eye only, and that with the eye moſt diſtant from objects preſented obliquely to him.

Two circular papers, each of four inches diameter, were ſtuck againſt the wall, their centers being exactly at eight inches diſtance from each other. On cloſing one eye,

eye, and viewing the central spot of one of these papers with the eye furthest from it, and then retreating twenty-six inches from it, the other paper became invisible. This experiment was made on five people of various ages, from ten years old to forty; and the paper disappeared to them all at about this distance, or an inch or two more or less: but to master SANDYMAN the paper disappeared at about thirteen inches distance from the wall. These papers were afterwards removed to twelve inches, and then to four inches interval between them; and by the nicest observations on repeated trials I found, that the paper, equally with one eye as with the other, uniformly disappeared to him at about half the distance it did to five others.

Another curious circumstance is, that as large a paper disappeared to him at half the distance as it did to others at the whole distance; and hence the insensible part of the center of the optic nerve in his eyes is, as near as can be estimated, four times the area of the insensible part of the eyes of other people, at the same time that the angle made between the ingress of the optic nerve and the bottom of the eye is twice as great as in others.

It is easy to conceive that, in early infancy, when any object which the child wished to inspect was presented obliquely to him, that on this first indistinct view of it, before either eye could be turned towards it, it would appear much more brilliant and distinct to the contrary eye, than to that nearest the object, as so great a part of it would now fall on the large insensible part of that eye. This must naturally induce him to view it with the opposite eye, to which it already appeared more brilliant and distinct: and this to him would be so much easier to accomplish, as the insensible part of the neglected eye was great enough to receive as large a part of an object as is usually viewed at once with accuracy, and hence would not confuse the vision of the other.

I must beg leave to add, that by wearing the artificial nose he has greatly corrected the habit of viewing objects with the eye furthest from them; and has more and more acquired the voluntary power of directing both his eyes to the same object, particularly if the object be not more than four or five feet from him; and will, I believe, by resolute perseverance, intirely correct this unsightly deformity. Nothing but the curiosity and novelty of the subject can excuse the length of this paper.

A Cure of a Muscular Contraction by Electricity. From the same.

MR. PARTINGTON, in a letter addressed to Mr. HENLY, F. R. S. gives the following account of the condition in which he found his patient, Miss LINGFIELD, when he first waited on her. Her head was drawn down over her right shoulder; the back part of it was twisted so far round, that her face turned obliquely towards the opposite side, by which deformity she was disabled from seeing her feet, or the steps as she came down stairs. The *sterno-mastoideus* muscle was in a state of contraction and rigidity. She had

no

no material pain on this ſide of her neck; but, owing to the extreme tenſion of the tegaments of the left ſide, ſhe had a pain continually, and often it was very violent, particularly in ſudden changes of the weather. Her pulſe was weak, quick, and irregular. She was ſubject to a great irritability, had frequently a little fever, which came on of an evening, and left her before morning; her ſpirits were generally exceedingly oppreſſed, and at times ſhe was ſlightly paralytic.

She dated the origin of her diſorder at ſomething more than two years from that period. She was ſuddenly ſeized, going out of a warm room into the cold air, with a pain upon the back of her head, which admitted of ſmall abatement for ſome months, contracting gradually the muſcles to the melancholy deformity we then beheld; and notwithſtanding every prudent means had been uſed to ſubdue it, and ſhe ſtrictly adhered to every article preſcribed to her by the faculty, ſhe was ſenſible of little variation ſince, and that rather on the unfavourable ſide.

I urged her to make a trial of Electricity. She was willing while ſhe was in London to try the experiment; and, though the weather was remarkably tempeſtuous, ſhe came to me the firſt tolerable day, and was electrified the firſt time February 18, 1777.

I ſat her in an inſulated chair, and, connecting it by a chain to the prime conductor of a large electrical machine, I drew ſtrong ſparks from the parts affected for about four minutes, which brought on a very profuſe perſpiration (a circumſtance ſhe had been unaccuſtomed to) which ſeemed to relax the *maſtoideus* muſcle to a conſiderable degree; but, as the ſparks gave her a good deal of pain, I deſiſted from drawing them, and only ſubjected her a few minutes longer to the admiſſion of the fluid, which paſſed off without interruption from the pores of her ſkin and adjacent parts. The next time ſhe came to me was the 24th of the ſame month: as ſhe had been in the afternoon of the firſt day's experiment a good deal diſordered, I changed the mode of conducting, and ſat her in a common dining-chair, while I dropped, for five minutes, by the means of a large diſcharging rod with a glaſs handle, very ſtrong ſparks upon the *maſtoideus* muſcle, from its double origin at the *ſternum* and *clavicula* to its inſertion at the back of the head. She bore this better than before, and the ſame good effect followed in a greater degree, and without any of the ſubſequent inconveniences. I ſaw her the third time on the 27th: ſhe aſſured me ſhe had eſcaped her feveriſh ſymptoms on an evening, and that her ſpirits were raiſed by the proſpect of getting well; that, ſince the laſt time I electrified her, ſhe had more freedom in the motion of her head than ſhe had ever experienced ſince the firſt attack of her diſorder. I perſiſted in electrifying her after the ſame manner, March 3d, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 9th; from each time ſhe gained ſome advantage, and her feveriſh tendency and nervous irritability went off entirely.

The weather now ſetting in very unfavourable, and fearful of loſing the advantages we had happily reaped from our early efforts, I requeſted

requested the favour of you, as her next-door neighbour, to electrify her every evening while she was in town, and she might, if any alteration took place, see me occasionally. Fortunately for her, you accepted the proposal, and to your judgement and caution in the conduct of it for the next fortnight (three evenings only excepted) you brought about the happy event; and have received her testimony of gratitude for relieving her from a condition, under which life could not be desirable, to a comfortable association with her family and friends.

I am, &c.

THE method I pursued was, to place the lady upon a stool with glass legs, and to draw strong sparks, for at least ten minutes, from the muscles on both sides of her neck. Besides this, I generally gave her two shocks from a bottle containing 15 square inches of coated surface fully charged, through her neck and one of her arms, crossing the neck in different directions. This treatment she submitted to with a proper resolution; and it gave me sincere pleasure to find it attended with the desired success.

W. Henly.

Observations on the Climate of Russia, *in a Letter from* J. G. King, D. D. *to the Bishop of* Durham.

My Lord,

I TAKE the liberty to send your Lordship a few remarks I made, during my residence in Russia, on the cold in that country; particularly, with respect to the means by which the inhabitants of those northern climates are enabled not only to protect themselves from suffering by its inclemency; but to turn it to their advantage, and even to enjoy amusements peculiar to it. Which will justify the observation of our excellent philosophical poet, who says,

"What happier natures shrink at with affright,
"The hard inhabitant contends is right."

Essay on Man.

If I could have communicated any experiments which might have helped to discover the natural cause of *freezing*, and have served either to confirm some of the several theories already given of this phænomenon, or to establish a new one; I should have thought my remarks more worthy your Lordship's attention, and have long since put the loose notes, which have lain by me, on this subject, into some form. But though I made many experiments in freezing several substances, I cannot pretend to have found any thing new or singular to remark as to the nature of congelation. Yet still, I hope it may afford your Lordship some amusement to observe the sagacity and address, which the human mind exerts, in the application of the proper means of self-preservation: and the consideration of the wonderful provision which the wisdom and goodness of divine providence has suited to the peculiar wants of his creatures, I am sure, your Lordship will always look upon as the most interesting part of natural history.

It is necessary for me to premise, that in the course of these observations

ſions I may be obliged to repeat ſeveral things which have been ſaid before; but, I flatter myſelf, I may be able to ſet ſome of them in a new light, and to add others which have been overlooked or omitted.

I muſt firſt obſerve to your Lordſhip, that the cold in St. Peterſbourg, by Farenheit's ſcale, is, during the months of December, January, and February, uſually from 8 to 15 or 20 degrees below 0; that is, from 40 to 52 degrees below freezing point: though commonly, in the courſe of the winter, it is for a week or ten days ſome degrees lower.

It is almoſt difficult for an inhabitant of our temperate climate to have any idea of a cold ſo great; it may, perhaps, help to give ſome notion of it, to tell you that when a perſon walks out in that ſevere weather, the cold makes the eyes water, and that water freezing hangs in little icicles on the eye-laſhes. As the common peaſants uſually wear their beards, you may ſee them hanging at the chin like a ſolid lump of ice. Yet, by the way, the advantage of the beard, even in that ſtate, to protect the glands of the throat, is worth obſervation: and the ſoldiers, who do not wear their beards, are obliged to tie a handkerchief under the chin to ſupply their place. From this account, it may eaſily be imagined, that the parts of the face, which are expoſed, are very liable to be frozen; and it may ſeem ſtrange, what is a certain fact, and has been often obſerved, that the party himſelf does not know when the freezing begins; but is commonly told of it firſt by ſomebody who meets him, and calls out to him to rub his face with ſnow, the uſual way to thaw it. It is alſo remarkable that the part, which has once been frozen, is ever after moſt liable to be frozen again.

In ſome very ſevere winters, I have ſeen ſparrows, though a hardy bird, quite numbed by the intenſe cold, and unable to fly. And I have heard that the drivers, who ſit on their loaded carriages, have ſometimes been found frozen to death in that poſture. The ſeaſons however are ſeldom ſo ſevere, and that ſeverity laſts but a few days; though it is not unfrequent, in the courſe of a winter, that ſome poor wretches, getting drunk with ſpirituous liquors, fall down by the road-ſide, and periſh by the cold before any one finds them. I dare ſay, your Lordſhip begins to ſhiver at this relation; but I will ſoon carry you into one of the houſes of the country, where I will promiſe you, you will find it ſufficiently warm: yet I will firſt beg leave to mention a few experiments with regard to freezing ſubſtances, ſome of which I made myſelf, and others I have had well authenticated.

When the thermometer has ſtood at 25 degrees below 0, boiling water thrown up into the air by an engine, ſo as to ſpread, falls down perfectly dry, formed into ice. I have made an experiment nearly like this, by throwing the water out of a window two pair of ſtairs high. A pint bottle of common water, I have found frozen into a ſolid piece of ice in an hour and a quarter. During the operation, I have obſerved the *ſpicula* flying towards the exterior part of the water, full an inch, or an inch

and half long, where they form the cryſtallization; the great length of theſe ſpicula is remarkable, and ſeems to be cauſed by the intenſeneſs of the cold. A bottle of ſtrong ale has been frozen in an hour and half; but in this ſubſtance there is always about a tea-cup full in the middle unfrozen, which is as ſtrong and inflammable as brandy or ſpirits of wine. I never ſaw good brandy or rum freeze to ſolid ice, though I have ſeen ice very thin in both, when put in a ſmall flat phial: the phials, I made uſe for the experiment, were the common bottles in which there had been lavender water.

It may not be foreign to theſe inſtances to mention an experiment made by Prince Orloff, maſter of the Ordnance to her imperial Majeſty, which I had from him, though I was not a witneſs of it myſelf. He filled a bomb-ſhell with water, and then ſtopped up the hole very cloſely with a plug; and, as ſoon as the congelation began, the contents of the ſhell ſwelling iſſued out by the ſide of the plug, like a ſmall *jet d'eau*, or fountain. He then made a ſcrew to faſten up the hole of the bomb-ſhell, after it was filled with water; and in twenty minutes the froſt burſt the ſhell with ſome degree of violence, ſo that ſome of the pieces flew to the diſtance of four or five yards.

Severe, however, as the cold in this climate is, it is ſeldom any body ſuffers from it, ſo eaſy are the means and ſo plentiful are the proviſions to guard againſt it; beſides, the inconveniences of the exceſs of cold are much leſs than thoſe of the oppoſite extreme, in countries ſubject to an exceſs of heat. Indeed, juſt in St. Peterſbourg, the poor ſometimes ſuffer; as in all capitals the hardſhips of the poor are greateſt; but, for others, they are ſo well protected, both without doors and within, that you ſeldom hear them complain of cold. It is well known that in Ruſſia the method of warming the houſes is by an oven conſtructed with ſeveral flues, and that the country abounds with wood, which is the common fuel; however, theſe ovens conſume a much ſmaller quantity of wood than could be imagined, and yet they ſerve at the ſame time for the ordinary people to prepare their food by. They put a very moderate faggot into them, and ſuffer it to burn only till the thickeſt black ſmoak is evaporated; they then ſhut down the chimney to retain all the reſt of the heat in the chamber, which keeps its heat twenty-four hours, and is commonly ſo warm that they ſit with very little covering, eſpecially children, who are uſually in their ſhirts.

The windows in theſe huts are very ſmall, as it is obvious that part muſt be liable to be coldeſt; in the houſes of perſons of condition the windows are caulked up againſt winter, and commonly have double glaſs frames. In ſhort, they can regulate the warmth in their apartments by a thermometer with great exactneſs, opening or ſhutting the flues to increaſe or diminiſh the heat. In the ſevereſt weather a Ruſſian would think it ſtrange to ſit in a room where the cold condenſed his breath ſufficiently to render it viſible, as it commonly does in England in froſty weather; and ſurely it is agreeable to have the warmth equal

in

the river be frozen, by a swell in the water, a bridge of planks is laid over it. It may be added that the strong northern light and the reflection of the snow, generally afford a light sufficient to travel by, when there is no moon.

It is obvious to imagine that with such means wealth and luxury would find out very commodious methods of travelling. The late Empress Elizabeth had a sledge, which I have seen, made with two exceedingly little rooms in it, in one of which was a bed. I can believe the motion in such a vehicle not to be greater than in a ship, when the sea is tolerably smooth. The common travelling equipage, for persons of condition, is made large enough to lie at length in, and when the bed or matrass is rolled up it makes a seat to sit upon. I need not take notice of the great expedition with which people travel, as it is so notorious; I mean with horses, for I am unacquainted with those parts where rein-deer are used. The accommodations on the road are, indeed, very poor; but travellers want them but little, as they usually take their provisions with them, and travel by night as well as by day.

Another advantage peculiar to the northern climates, is the preserving provisions by the frost. Frost may certainly be looked upon as the best pickle while it serves; that is, it alters the quality and taste of whatever is preserved by it less than any other. It is evident, the three common preservers, sugar, vinegar, and salt, impart their respective tastes so strongly, that very few things so preserved retain the least of their natural flavour. Whereas frost seems only to fix the parts

parts and juices, and by that means to prevent fermentation. I shall mention a fact in proof of this, which I had from my late worthy friend Mr. Swallowe, his Majesty's Consul General in Russia. He assured me that having, one winter, occasion to go from Petersbourg to Moscow, where eels are a great rarity, he ordered some to be taken before he set out on his journey to carry as a present; as soon as they were taken out of the water, they were thrown upon the ground to be frozen, they appeared quite dead and almost a piece of ice; they were then packed up in the usual manner with snow; and when he arrived at Moscow, which was in four days, the eels being thrown into cold water, and so thawed before they were dressed, discovered evident marks of life in them, and soon perfectly recovered. The inference I would draw from this fact is, that freezing does not dilacerate the parts. Veal frozen at Archangel and brought to Petersbourg is esteemed the finest they have; nor can it be distinguished at the table from what is fresh killed, being equally juicy.

The markets in the capital are by this means supplied in winter with all manner of provisions, at a cheaper rate than would otherwise be possible: and it is not one of the least curious things to see the vast stacks of whole hogs, sheep, fish, and other animals, piled up in the markets for sale. Good housewives, as soon as the frost sets in for the winter, about the end of October, kill their poultry, and keep them in tubs packed up with a layer of snow between them, as one would put salt to pickle pork or beef, and then take them out for use as occasion requires: by this means they save the nourishment of the animal several months.

I hinted that the method of thawing any thing must be by immerging it in cold water: that operation effected by heat seems to occasion a violent fermentation, and almost a sudden putrefaction: but when produced by cold water, the ice seems to be attracted out of the body, and forms a transparent incrustation round it. This I have constantly seen round grapes, when thawed, which looked as if set in glass. Nay, I have thawed a bottle of water, when frozen to a solid piece of ice, by this means without breaking the bottle, and the ice has formed an incrustation round it, in the manner I describe. The same thing may be observed if a cabbage which is thoroughly frozen be thawed by cold water; it is as fresh as if just gathered out of the garden; but if it be thawed by fire or hot water, it becomes so rancid and strong it cannot be eaten.

These, my Lord, are solid advantages derived from the nature of the coldest climates. It might appear trifling after them to mention others of a less serious kind, and yet some of their amusements are also peculiar to the climate. One of the chief is that of riding in a light open sledge for pleasure, which is very common, because very agreeable when the weather is not too severe. Skating may be mentioned as another; but the weather is often too severe for that, and therefore it is by no means so general in Russia as in milder climates, such as Holland, Germany, &c. But of all the winter diversions of the Russians, the most favourite, and which is peculiar to

them, seems to be that of sliding down a hill. They make a track on the side of a steep hill, meaning any little inequalities with snow or ice, then at the verge of the hill, fitting on a little seat not bigger than, and much resembling, a butcher's tray, they descend with astonishing velocity. The sensation is indeed very odd, but not unpleasing, for I have often had the curiosity to try it. I cannot say it was agreeable; the motion is so rapid it takes away one's breath: nor can I give an idea of it, except desiring you to fancy you were to fall from the top of a house without hurting yourself, in which you would probably have some mixture of fear and surprize. The Russians are so fond of this diversion, that at Petersbourg, having no hills, they raise artificial mounts on the ice on the river Neva for the purpose of sliding down them, particularly on holidays and festival seasons, when all the people, young and old, rich and poor, partake of the sport; paying a trifle to the persons who constructed the mount, each time they descend.

I call this peculiar to Russia as a diversion: for though it is practised at the place known by the name of the *Ramasse*, the descent of Mount Cenis to Lanebourg, which at some seasons of the year is in a state that admits of travellers sliding down it in the same method, as is described in most books that treat of the Alps, yet this may be considered rather as necessity or convenience than merely amusement.

The late Empress Elizabeth was so fond of this diversion that, at her palace of ZARSKO ZELLO, she had artificial mounts, of a very singular construction, made for this purpose. These have been called, by some Englishmen who have visited that country, *The Flying Mountains*, and I do not know a phrase which approaches nearer to the Russian name. You will observe that there are five mounts of unequal heights: the first and highest is full thirty feet perpendicular altitude; the momentum with which they descend this carries them over the second, which is about five or six feet lower, just sufficient to allow for the friction and resistance; and so on to the last, from which they are conveyed by a gentle descent, with nearly the same velocity, over a piece of water into a little island. These slides, which are about a furlong and half in length, are made of wood, that they may be used in summer as well as in winter. The process is, two or four persons sit in a little carriage, and one stands behind, for the more there are in it the greater the swiftness with which it goes; it runs on castors, and in grooves to keep it in its right direction, and it descends with a wonderful rapidity. Under the hill, is a machine worked by horses for drawing the carriages back again, with the company in them. Such a work as this would have been enormous in most countries for the labour and expence it cost, as well as the vast quantity of wood used in it. At the same place, there is another artificial mount which goes in a spiral line, and in my opinion, for I have tried it also, is very disagreeable; as it seems always leaning on one side, and the person feels in danger of falling out of his seat.

In winter no work can be done in agriculture, as may easily be imagined,

imagined, the ground being fastened by the frost as well as covered by snow. The œconomical business, therefore, which constitutes the employment of the common people in this season, is, besides the threshing the corn, manufacturing their cloaths, for the peasants in the villages make their own wearing-apparel of every sort, felling timber for building or other purposes, and cutting wood for firing.

They are able also to go out a hunting, and as the country abounds with game, it furnishes a large part of their provisions, during the seasons when they are permitted to eat it; for the fasts of the Greek church taken together interdict animal food full half the year. The method the common people use in hunting is with snow shoes, which are nothing more than a piece of wood half an inch thick, five or six feet long, and about four inches broad, turned up at the end, which they fasten at the bottom of their feet, and by means of them they run or rather skate over the snow, with a pole in their hands, faster than the hare or any game they pursue, which are apt to sink in.

They enjoy also the profitable diversion of fishing, notwithstanding the water's being covered with ice; and one manner of it, with a drag-net, is very particular, though I doubt if I shall be able to describe it so as to give your Lordship an idea of it. There is a hole about four feet by two cut in the ice, to let down a common drag-net; opposite to this, at the distance they mean to pull up the net, is another hole, about four feet square: they then cut a number of small round holes at about four yards distance from each in a circular form, from the hole, where the net is let down, to that where it is taken up. At the ends of the two strings, that is the upper and lower strings which drag the net, long poles are tied: these poles will reach from one round hole to another, where they are directed and pushed under the ice, as they swim at the top of the water, till they come to the biggest square hole, at which they draw them out, and by this means the net, inclosing the fish it has surrounded; for the upper part of the net is floated at the top of the water under the ice, and the lower part of it sunk by leads, in the same manner as when the river is open: the ingenuity of the operation consists in the contrivance of dragging under the ice.

These, my Lord, are some of the peculiarities of the northern climates in winter; they have their inconveniencies, but they have their advantages too. In summer they differ much less from southern climates. To balance the long absence of the sun in the former season, they enjoy a larger share of his influence in the latter; which causes vegetation to be exceedingly quick; otherwise the shortness of the season would not suffice for the necessary business of sowing the land, for the growth of the corn, and for gathering it in.

Some persons reckon the light nights in summer an agreeable circumstance, and these are very remarkable even in the latitude of St. Petersbourg, which is 61 degrees: this arises not only from the sun's being so short a time under the horizon, but from the strong reflection of the atmosphere, which causes so great a brightness one

[illegible] ...ferred them to several places on [illegible] coast, where the scene of ac-...quiring new observations and knowledge continued for several times; but the want of means, which proved a constant obstacle in other [illegible], unable to his [illegible] declared genius, kept him [illegible] examination of this [illegible] likewise. It had been observed, that the quantity of [illegible] was so immense, that the whole island of *Osero* was [illegible] composed of them. This circumstance naturally made a great impression on the minds of the curious; and besides, it was known for certain, that quantities were found, not only on the coasts of *Istria*, towards the [illegible], and in many parts of Dalmatia, but also on several islands without the Adriatick; all which served more and more to entertain the most feasible hopes, and to produce much pleasure from those who know little, and think they know a great deal. We went with an intention to [illegible] our own eyes these wonders in the island of *Cherso* and *Osero*, where we had been told there was no difference between houses, mountains, and burying places, but in [illegible] and in name.

We did not find, as we had been given to hope, any strata of bones so extensive, as could afford ground to imagine that the organization of the whole island was composed of them; yet nevertheless the quantity which we met with, is sufficient to raise wonder and serious reflection. The frequent heaps that are seen, the sameness of the substance, the variety of the positions, and the identical materials of the congeries, might give room to conjecture,

jecture, at first sight, that one immense stratum had been composed in remote ages; but who can pretend to imagine how remote? There are various species of terrestrial animals, sometimes comminuted and confused, and sometimes perfectly well disposed and distinguishable. The places most known, where they are found, are along the coast, in the vertical and horizontal chasms, or in the divisions of the marble strata which form the base, and the hills of the islands. The fishermen and seamen, who, in small barks, usually kept near the shore, can point out many of those spots; and the shepherds are acquainted with those within land, and in the caverns. Chance might discover new collections to observers, as it did to us, if the lovers of natural wonders came more frequently on that coast.

Every heap of bones, whether in the vertical or horizontal clefts, is, as it were, wrapt up all round in a kind of sparry stalactitick shell, three or four inches thick, which incrusts the sides of the fissure, and follows all the sinuosities exactly. Where the congeries of bones is horizontal, it is always accompanied by the sparry crust, and not only is divided by it from the lower stratum, but evidently shews to have been also coated above by the same crust of reddish diaphonous spar; which proves to every one, who is a little acquainted with the interior parts of the earth, the existence of one, or more strata of calcareous stone formed on those heaps of bones, but now destroyed by time. Were we not to suppose this, we could not understand how such a remarkable sparry crystallization came to be formed.

The substance of the bones is ordinarily calcined; sometimes it is found penetrated by pyritical fluors, which are commonly called *dentitri*. The fistular bones, as those of the arms and legs, are lined within with a crust of gemmeous spar, lucid, and exceedingly pure, like a crystallization made by a difficult filtration through a very compact body. The *acetabuli*, and ribs, and generally all the spungy bones, preserve exactly the whiteness of calcination in the smallest *cavitas*, or partitions of their cavities. When not very small, they are full of an ochreous stoney matter of a reddish colour; and when very small, they are entirely coated with a stalactitic shining reddish crust. Of the horny parts of animals, no vestige is found. The teeth preserve the natural brightness of their enamel, and are often found placed in their native jaws and holes. They are frequently, however, found separate, and leave no doubt about the species of animals to which they belonged. Excepting the teeth and jaws, we could not find any other part of the *cranium* well preserved, and that was not equivocal.

Having examined several months before I went to the island of *Cherso* and *Osero* with my learned friend Mr. Symonds, and professor Cirilli, a piece of a congeries of Illyric bones, we found a human jaw, a *vertebra*, and a *tibia*, also human, somewhat larger than usual in our age; some sheeps bones, and teeth of oxen and horses. The celebrated anatomist, Doctor *Leop. Caldani*, who does so much honour

to the university of Padua, ascertained them. The noble Signor *F. Manfredi*, a great lover and cultivator of botany, and a diligent collector of marine curiosities and fossils, has many pieces of these petrified, and particularly several brought from the islands *Lissina*, of one of which I thought proper to have the figure engraved. In one of them there is a jaw divided in two by a fissure given to its matrice, so that the half of one, and half of the other side appears.

Together with these bones, are united by the same cement, many pieces of various size, and a great number of splinters of white marble, angular, sharp, and of consequence never rounded by the waters. It happens also sometimes, that in a great heap of such pieces and splinters of marble, none at all, or a very few pieces of bones are found. The cement that joins them together, is however constantly reddish, and of an ochreous nature. When exposed to the air, it becomes more firm, and almost doubly harder than it was before detached from its native position. No vestige or fragment of marine bodies can be discovered, either by the naked eye, or by the help of glasses, mixed with the bones; though the strata on which they lie, and those above them, are full.

I know very well, that in many other parts of Europe, fossil bones of wild beasts, and perhaps of men, are found. The celebrated Gesner, in his treatise on the origin of petrifactions, speaks of an anthropolite, which, however, is not very ancient; in the Philosophical Transactions, mention is made of a human skeleton found at Derby; *Hoppius* relates at large the discovery of another human skeleton made at *Aix* in Provence; both Scheuchzer, and Kircher, speak of fossil bones of the same species with ours: but the greatest part of these pretended carcasses and bones may be subject to doubts. If even all the fossil bones mentioned by various authors were really human, our Illyric bones would not be less worthy of particular consideration, as they far exceed all hitherto known by the naturalists in preservation, frequency and quality. In our journey over the island of *Cherso* and *Ossero*, which was rather somewhat hasty, we could, in several places, cause them to be dug up under our own eye. There are two different heaps on the isolated and desert rock of *Gurim*, though we were told only of one of them on the spot, and did not find the other; a mile from *Gutim*, at a place called *Plat*, on the island of *Cherso*, other heaps are seen. We found them, as I observed already, in the caverns of *Ghermessball*, and at *Porto-Cicale*, in the polt of *Vallisball*, and at *Balvanida*, on the other side of the strait; not far from *Lussin picciolo*. From thence passing over to the small island called *Canidole picciola*, and *Stracane*, in the language of the country, we discovered two large heaps; afterwards, we went over to the small island of *Sansego*, about eight miles distant from *Lussin picciolo*, and were shewn, at a distance, the place where they lay, at the foot of a hill of sand, of which the island is composed, and of which I shall speak more at large. Though the soil of that island is very far from being ochreous or irony, yet, there also, the bones are wrapt in their

their usual marine lapideous earth, and accompanied with stones and splinters of marble. The same characters accompany the Illyrick bones over all the islands, and along the coasts of Dalmatia, where the mariners use to see them frequently, and where they were observed by the above-mentioned *Vitaliano Donati*, in the several voyages he made from 1743 till 1748. Mr. Martin Thomas Brunnich, professor in the university of Copenhagen, in his travels through Dalmatia, found some of those bones in the *Isole Coronate*, and was convinced they were human. They say there is also a great deal of them along the torrent *Cicola*, between *Sibenico* and *Knin*, near Zara, and at *Rogosnizza*, in the bank called *Rusip*, and in *Isola grossa*. Nor is there any considerable difference between those found in Dalmatia and at *Corfu* in the Ionian sea, where there are great quantities, at a place called *Fastapidama*. Only at *Corigo*, where many are dug up, the appearance is somewhat altered, the colour being less dark, the stone in which they are inclosed harder, and the bones themselves more crushed. A French traveller, whose name I do not at present recollect, writes, that many fossil human bones are also found in the island of Cyprus, and I think he mentions particularly a whole skeleton.

This extraordinary abundance of bones, their constant confinement in a lapideous ochreo-stalactitic earth, the position of the various heaps observed by us, and the same correspondency which we discovered in the caverns of *Gibermessali*, besides giving ground to suspect that a stratum had been formed in remote ages, might also raise not a very unreasonable conjecture, that this stratum, alternately composed of marble splinters and bones, extended from the northern shore of the *Quarnaro*, to the islands of the Egean sea, and probably still farther. This conjecture, though, to some, it may appear too bold, will, I apprehend, not be thought so by those who are used to observe the courses of strata generally traversing vast tracts of country, and corresponding together from one to the other shore of the sea. The coasts of France have that kind of correspondency with those of England, which lie opposite to them; and from one side to the other of the Apennines, the strata of calcareous stone of marine original, are seen to run around the large hollows, excavated by the impetuous torrents for many miles. The not finding an uninterrupted continuation of the heaps of Illyric bones, does not afford a sufficient ground to deny the existence of so wonderful a stratum. A thousand examples of large insulated masses, commonly found dispersed among the mountains, of a very different substance from those that surround them, discover, and prove at the same time, the existence of ancient strata destroyed by the waters, and time; nor do they leave the least room to doubt of this truth. Besides, those who might think such an argument against this conjecture conclusive, ought to consider, that those congeries are found not only of bones, as has been taken notice of above, but sometimes of marble splinters alone, in some places, disposed horizontally, and in others insinuated into the clefts or chasms, precisely in the same manner as the bones.

bones. One would not eaſily be induced to believe, that theſe bones, ſplinters, and ſtones, have been ſo carefully buried by the hands of men; and that ſuch numerous heaps can be the reſult of burials. The not finding whole ſkeletons *, but rather every thing confuſed, broken, and mixed with reliques of various animals, ſeems to deſtroy entirely all probability of ſuch a ſuppoſition. And if even we were to imagine that all theſe bones had been interred on purpoſe in ſuch numerous burying places; how many ages would have been requiſite to render them ſo very frequent, and how many more to raiſe from their level the hills and eminences, under the baſes, or in the hearts of which the bones lie in heaps? And in what age can we imagine that thoſe countries were inhabited by a nation, that pre-exiſted the formation of the marine hills, and iſlands, which in our days are ſeen in the Adriatick?

I am far from venturing to give my opinion about the origin of ſo ſtrange a phenomenon; and ſhould indeed be quite at a loſs how to give it, as every conjecture, that I can think of, is expoſed to unanſwerable objections. If I could, like ſome who have treated ſimilar ſubjects, attribute all the organiſed foſſils to a *lusus naturæ*, by following the ſacred footſteps of the venerable ignorance of the ſchools, I might diſpatch the explication of this or any other phenomenon, in a few words, only by ſaying they were effects of the flood, Volcano's, or earthquakes. Notwithſtanding the good philoſophy, and phyſical obſervations of this age, there are ſtill ſome, who, in treating of a point of natural hiſtory, either give too much ſcope to a warm, or prejudiced imagination, or follow implicitly the ſtate and unphiloſophical doctrines of the thirteenth century; but I am not willing to put myſelf among their number, in order to ſhorten diſcuſſions. I know well, that, by haſtily forming, or adopting ſyſtems, philoſophers often wrong their own genius, as well as the truth, and, on the other hand, am convinced, that the author of nature is not capricious in his works, and that the ſound philoſophers of our times laugh at plaſtick powers, and archetypal ideas, or ſuch like ſcholaſtick barbariſms.

I think, that, in treating of extraordinary phenomena, hard to be explained, and liable to difficulties on all ſides, the beſt method that can be taken by any perſon who is the firſt to write purpoſely concerning them, is to relate ſimply, and to deſcribe, with the moſt ſcrupulous and exact preciſion, every thing he has ſeen or obſerved on the ſubject. Every body is at liberty, afterwards, to explain them his own way, either according to the ſyſtems of others, or by ſome new hypotheſis formed on

* After we were returned from the iſland of *Cherſo* and *Oſero*, our kind hoſts acquainted us, that, after our departure, a whole human carcaſe had been diſcovered in a rock, and invited us to repaſs the gulf, to overſee the cutting of it out. Circumſtances did not permit us to attend to this invitation; and who knows how ſo rare and valuable a monument of the antiquity of our ſpecies may have been treated by thoſe people.

purpoſe.

purpose. For my part, I am perfectly convinced, that I have not the necessary data for a satisfactory explanation, and therefore will not hazard a conjecture concerning the ancient origin of the Illyric fossil bones; but at the same time am very ready to attend to any person who will undertake to solve my doubts. These fossil bones are, in my opinion, one of the most important objects about which the learned curiosity of the naturalists can be employed; and it were to be wished, that some of them, led by genius, would give us an account how far precisely those strata reach over all Dalmatia, and the islands of the Levant.

Of the Nature of Marble, and Petrifactions. From the same.

THE fossil bones, enclosed in the lapideous earth before described, are not the only lithological curiosity of the island of *Cherso* and *Ossero*, and those adjacent to it. The nature of the marble, of which they are almost wholly composed from the top to the bottom, merits particular attention. They are differently organised, and the component parts of the various strata are also combined with some diversity; and sometimes a small dissimilitude may be observed between the parts of the same stratum, at any considerable distance the one from the other: but as their direction is always constant, so are the principal elements constantly the same in each stratum, notwithstanding the various distances of its parts. The stone which occupies the highest parts of the island, as well near the lake of *Jesero*, as about *Lussin piccolo*, is analogous to the common marble of *Istria*, only it contains a greater quantity of marine bodies of the most distinguishable species, and which usually are better preserved than the others, I mean *pinacites* and *alcites* of every variety and size. The quantity of these bodies semipetrified, or changed into talcites, but not become of equal hardness with the matrice in which they are contained, renders that marble less strong and less apt to resist the action of the air, and corrosion, than the Istrian. The ancient sea bottom, hardened by time, and the operative faculty of the waters uniting the particles most apt to concrete in crystals, has been abundantly peopled with large and small *nummali*, and fragments of them, many ages before it was exposed to the open air. These adventitious bodies, of which the species is justly supposed to be lost, were probably not so easily compressible as other softer and unconnected parts of the mud; hence it would follow, that, preserving some degree of their disposition towards calcination, they were shut up in the petrifaction of large strata. Whenever it happens that they are exposed to the violent action of any exterior force, they soon begin to be discomposed, in such a manner, that the superficies of a piece of this stone, which is almost half composed of them, shews manifestly its disposition to be disunited, reduced into powder, and consumed by time. Notwithstanding, however, this smaller degree of hardness which the *nummali* have, when inclosed in the strata that compose the tops of the mountains

of

of the inland, they are, when on fire, to refift that and corrofion better than the reft of the ſtone, in conſequence of their ſtructure, which, between the *laminæ*, left room for a ſparry cryſtalliſation. Hence the *mammæ* and *protuberantiæ* of *Oſero* remain conſiderably prominent, and leſs worn than the ſtone in which they lie, though they are evidently not ſo hard; which is a proof that the greater or leſſer ſolidity and apparent compactneſs of a body, is not a ſure rule of proportion to determine the durability, which rather depends on the ſecret nature and diſpoſition of the particles whereof it is compoſed, and the ſpecies of force acting towards it deſtruction. And though the cauſe does not appear outwardly, the ſame thing is frequently ſeen in various kinds of foſſil matter, and the extraneous body, though ſpecifically leſs compact, reſiſts longer than the marble, or *ſchiſtus* in which it is contained. The ſmall differences of the combination of the elements, which concurred to form any portion of a ſtratum, and the very minute varieties of ſituation, air, earth, water, and effluvia not reducible to calculation, are altogether, or taken ſeparately, the cauſes of the moſt remarkable differences between ſtones, which, however, have all the ſame baſis. Mineral ſubſtances when diſſolved tinge the earth, of which the hardeſt marble is formed, of various colours, in proportion to their quality and quantity; and it happens not unfrequently, that marble ſtrata, already hardened, through the intervention of water or fire, imbibe, or open their pores to let in a coloring matter, or mineral effluvium, which changes their ſecondary qualities almoſt radically. Indeed, taking the whole litholo-gical kingdom together, it may freely be aſſerted, that the waters charged with heterogeneous particles, and the ſubterranean vapours, have almoſt as conſiderable a part in the alterations of the combination of ſtones, as the vulcanic fires, which melt, reduce to aſhes, and mix with an infinite variety, the ſubſtances variouſly combined, on which they act with different degrees of force. The *ſtamadi* ſhut up in the real marble, and the calcareous ſtone of *Oſero* and *Cherſo* are of the fineſt kind, and of various ſizes. Many of them have above three inches in diameter, and two or three lines of thickneſs, and are horizontally placed; ſome others, of a ſize not much different, are in a vertical poſition; and others are alſo found in a poſture ſomewhat inclined. From the bigneſs of above three inches diameter, they diminiſh by degrees to the ſmalleſt *frumentaria* or *phaciter*; and to ſee this, the obſerver has no need to multiply his examinations of different pieces of ſtone, as very often all the varieties are contained in one piece alone.

The other ſort of marble which is ſeen naked on the ſhores, and conſtitutes the baſe of all thoſe iſlands, having conſtantly above it another ſtratum of about three feet deep, of preciſely the ſame ſubſtance, is well worthy of attentive and diligent obſervation. Both theſe ſtrata are of a dirty whitiſh colour, ſpotted and beſpangled with very white cryſtallizations, which ſometimes are lodged between

tween the fiſſures of the earth petrified by them, running through the fiſſures in very minute diramations; ſometimes they have occupied the place of marine bodies calcined, and perhaps in part deſtroyed before the induration of their actual matrice. Among theſe, ſome *turbinati* are diſtinguiſhed, which appear to be of the hardeſt ſpar, and a great number of whitiſh fiſtular bodies of the ſame ſubſtance, which, at firſt ſight, might be taken, and which I actually miſtook for bones. The ſtratum waſhed by the ſea on the coaſts of *Iſtria* and *Liburaia*, is compoſed of the above-mentioned materials, and it is evident enough, that the baſe of the iſland of *Cherſo* and *Oſtro*, and of the adjacent iſlands, is only a continuation of the ſame, and formed at the ſame time by a very ancient ſea, and in leſs remote ages, though always very far from ours, interrupted by a new ſea; and certainly the Adriatick of our days, ought to be called a new ſea, very different from the ancient ocean, which formed the whole of that tract of country, which the Adriatick, and the rivers, by little and little, go on corroding, if the ſpoils of animals, ſtill preſerved in the bowels of thoſe vaſt petrified ſtrata, are of totally different ſpecies from thoſe that now inhabit our ſeas. I know not what the biſhop *Brouallius*, profeſſor Bring, and the other antagoniſts to the diminution of the waters, and their change of ſeats, could anſwer to theſe manifeſt facts. They were certainly in the wrong to call in religion to the aſſiſtance of their favourite hypotheſis, endeavouring to oppoſe and overthrow the obſervations of the moſt learned naturaliſts, by arbitrary interpretations of ſacred texts. Religion never is a gainer on ſuch occaſions; witneſs the abjuration of *Galileo*, which does ſo much diſhonour to Italy.

The marine air, and perhaps the ſea water, which has always ſomething of acid in it, make a very curious operation on the ſuperficies of the ſpecies of marble expoſed to their activity. It would have been thought extravagant enough if any body had pretended to deſire, or hope, that the moſt diligent ſtone-cutter in the world, by means of a chiſſel, or the moſt profound chemiſt, by means of ſome menſtruum, ſhould ſhew us the courſe, and diramations of the veſſels in ſtones; many lithologiſts by profeſſion would never even have ſuſpected their exiſtence. I had however the pleaſure of ſeeing this executed in the moſt maſterly manner along the ſhores of thoſe iſlands, and ſometimes on the lower parts of the hills. The points of the ſecond ſtratum, that are not ſullied and diſfigured by the ſalt waters, coriacious or ſtony lichens, *muſcus*, *balani*, or labours of marine inſects, but corroded only by the air, and the aſperſion of the waves, ſhew the internal texture of the marble, and the moſt intricate paſſages of the ſmalleſt canals, in which the ſparry ſubſtance is depoſited and cryſtallized, opening the way between the diviſions, and between the ſmalleſt lumps of the particles of clay not ſufficiently hardened, which it proceeded to petrify, when aſſiſted by the waters that ſerved as its vehicle. The action of the moiſt and ſalt air, and the drizzling of the ſea water, concurring in the decompoſition of thoſe

[illegible] hills of the continent, concerning the salient and re-entrant angles of Bourguet. A celebrated naturalist has brought them in vogue on the faith of their author; and many more of lesser fame adopted them as a demonstrated truth. I however constantly believe, and daily affirm, that this system of salient and re-entrant angles cannot be adopted universally to the mountains, and much less to the sea shore. It is very true, that the correspondence of the angles is seen very well expressed in the sides of some vallies; but there are few vallies among the mountains that do not owe their excavation to the waters of rivers, or torrents, the constant nature of which is to form an angle, or a salient curvature opposite to every new corrosion. But where the waters have not been able to work in their usual way, and where the vallies were formed by little hills, or vulcanic hills produced in various times, and with little order, there no mark of the pretended universal correspondence is seen. To set still in a clearer light the error of this hypothesis given out as a constant observation, it is proper to repeat, that the horizontal, or inclined strata, which are the most common, and nearest to their ancient natural state, correspond together from one chain of hills to another; though they may be divided by very broad vallies, which manifestly demonstrates an ancient continuity, as well as the dissolution of the large portion of mountain that existed before those great hollows.

And hence it may easily be perceived, how little probability there is, that the hills, in their first foundation,

[illegible] their marble from, evidently finds [illegible] any calcareous crystallized [illegible] only distinguishable [illegible] form and being small-grained under the eye, and strong in a condition to resist, as being more condensed, compact, and adherent; and hence, terminating all round it, leaves prominent every one of the small crystals above mentioned, together with all their capillary ramifications. Though this exact anatomical system cannot be observed in every species of marble, and perhaps in some [illegible] observations may seem at first sight directly opposite, yet I [illegible] may reasonably conclude, from the result of the combinations concerning the formation, and dissolution of the marble of *Cheirfo*, that all, or the greatest part of the stones, which owe their origin to the water, were rendered solid, and continued by the same operation of nature; from whence, perhaps, arises a new chain of coherence and analogy between the mineral kingdom and the other two. The examination of a variety of agates and jaspers containing curious spots, shades, and herborizations, if made under the eye of a skilful lithologist, might contribute much to confirm the similarity and connection just mentioned.

Of the Formation and Dissolution of Hills. From the same.

THE attentive consideration of the internal structure of the island has confirmed me still more in the opinion which I had before, through the frequent use of observing the mountains and

foundation, have been formed by the great *Apothesis* or corresponding angles, leaving, as it were, the *dentelli* of the strata suspended round the vallies; for according to all appearance it may be reasonably concluded, after the most diligent observations, that no vestige, or clear proof remains, in our days, of *primitive* hills, or that may with propriety be called so. Those which we know, are manifestly produced, either by volcano's, which have burnt in almost every region of our Globe; or by the sea, which in past ages covered it altogether, or alternatively; or by the sea and volcano's at the same time *. And it appears not improbable, that the most ancient protuberances of our globe were much more vast and regular, though quite different from the structure of those we now see.

Concerning the other ideas of Bourguet, who after having established observations by no means exact, imagined by way of corollaries the past fate of the earth, and found the precise time of the deluge, (as if there had been but one) and then pretended to foresee the subsequent alterations and transformations that are to happen in it, I think it needless to take any further notice. Systems and theories resemble hitherto, and are like to resemble in time coming, (till a sufficient number of good observations are made) unripe fruit, which spoils in a short time. That of Bourguet seems to have found more partisans than it deserved, and several of them have gained themselves no honour by adopting it. It was sufficient, indeed, to stay in their chambers, and to theorise at their ease on good geographical maps, concerning the truth of the proposition *that the sides of the large vallies, as well as those of the shores of the sea, correspond with one another*; and I who have taken the trouble to examine many of them, am persuaded, *that neither the sides of the sea shores, nor those of the large vallies, constantly correspond with one another.*

The strata of the islands of *Cherso* and *Ossero* are very regularly formed. They pass from one hill to another with a kind of undulation, which probably has been, nay doubtless has been, the work of a vast Ocean. The island is too old, and has undergone too great a number of changes, as well as the rest of the globe, for us to form any certain judgment concerning its superficies. It is certain, however, that no vestige now remains of the ancient superficies, as even the order of the organization is altered in the inland parts, as well as on the sea coast. The rain waters, the subterraneous cavities, the absorptions, and sometimes more subitaneous agents, have

* In the celebrated mountain of *Bolca* situated in the Veronese territory, the co-existence of the sea and of ancient volcanos is manifestly seen. In our times, that is in the beginning of this century, the island or rock of *Santerini* was raised out of the bottom of the sea by a volcano. In the valley of *Ronca*, between Vicenza and Verona, the sides of the hill shew the strata alternately formed of the spoils of the sea, and of vulcanic eructations; and the petrified shells, that are found there, are often tinged with black and drenched in bitumen, and the largest *ostracites* lie involved in the *lava* and are full of it.

made great ruins. The waves wash away and destroy some of the littoral hills; and hence the excavation of the strata that remain exposed to the eye on the interior part of the island, are enough to embarrass any hasty fabricator of systems. Some of them are inclined towards the sea, and, from root to root of the hills, describe arches bending outwards: but this direction is not constant. Here and there, contiguous to the arches bending outwards, other arches are seen, which bend, in a contrary sense, inwards, manifestly opposing themselves to the waves with a kind of pride. The explanation of this fact is, however, not difficult, though it might seem contradictory. The littoral hills in those parts, particularly those of *Ossero*, are formed of marble strata, the one disposed above the other in such a manner, as resembles, in large, the structure of the Bezoar stone, but they are not so disposed in a right line, that the sea waters can do equal damage to each in discomposing the roots, and consequently in destroying the sides and tops. Hence the strata of those hills that were more exposed to the force of the waves, must have been more easily, and in a shorter space of time, corroded, disconnected, and overturned beyond their common centre, which is the perpendicular let fall from the top of the hill where the inclination towards the sea ends, and the declivity towards the internal part of the island begins. In the course of ages, these hills, the roots and interior parts whereof were inclined towards the destroying sea, are reduced to less than the half, and therefore now appear outwardly inclined towards the land. And those hills that in our days are thus half worn away, will, in the course of years, be quite destroyed; their roots will become quick sands; and the sea continuing its encroachments, and daily gaining on the dry land will once more by degrees swallow up that tract of country, which, perhaps, it has by degrees abandoned and reinundated already, who knows how often. This kind of prophecy, is not founded on ideal chimeras, but on visible facts, which correspond together, and reciprocally enforce one another from one end of the earth to the other.

Account of the Section of the Symphysis of the Pubes, performed at Paris, *by* M. Sigault, *October* 2, 1777.

SO early as the time of Hippocrates it was observed, that in pregnant women, the bones of the pelvis gradually separate from each other, by a dilatation of the substance which connects them; but though the justness of this remark has been repeatedly admitted by anatomical writers, it has not till lately been rendered subservient to any useful purpose in the practice of the obstetrical art. The person entitled to the honour of this invention is Mr. Sigault, a French physician, who, in 1768, proposed the section of the symphysis of the pubes as a substitute for the Cæsarian operation, so often productive of the most fatal consequences; and the utility of this practice was exemplified last year in the case of Mrs. Souchot,

on whom he made the experiment, in conjunction with Mr. Le Roy. After informing our readers that Mrs. Souchot was a deformed woman, of a ſmall ſtature, with a narrow pelvis, we ſhall preſent them with the account of the operation.

I obſerved that the child preſented by its feet; that the orifice of the uterus was very much dilated, and that the diameter, from the anterior to the poſterior part of the pelvis, did not exceed two inches and a half. I told Mr. Sigault, that as the diameter of a child's head at its birth is uſually at leaſt three inches and a quarter, it would be impoſſible for it to be delivered at an aperture of only two inches and a half; that conſequently ſhe muſt ſubmit to the Cæſarian operation, or that which we intended to ſubſtitute for it, to which laſt ſhe conſented.

Every thing being got ready, we folded the mattraſs three times, and placed her on it. We began by feeling for the middle part of the cartilage of the ſymphyſes, which we readily diſcovered by the finger. I adviſed Mr. Sigault to begin the ſection of the ſuperior part of the ſymphyſes, but not above the pyramidal muſcles, and to do it by two inciſions. Firſt, to divide the integuments as far as the middle of the pubes, while I held the lower part downwards, and then to begin the ſection of the cartilage. Secondly, to finiſh the inciſion of the integuments, without any fear of hæmorrhage obſtructing him in the ſection of the cartilage. Mr. Sigault had nothing but a common biſtory to perform this operation with. The thighs being opened and raiſed, he performed it in the manner mentioned. The moment the ſeparation was completed, the pubes parted, as if the ſtring of a bow had been divided, and receded to each ſide under the integuments. I immediately began to extract the child after Mr. Sigault had broke the membrane, and brought the feet as far as the os externum. I firſt made myſelf ſure of the extent of the ſeparation which we had gained by the ſection, in order to judge of a proper method to extract the head. I laid my four knuckles in the ſpace procured by the ſection, which meaſured *two inches and a half*, an extent ſomewhat more than that which I had gained upon the body of Mrs. Braſſeur, which gave me pleaſure. The child's heels were turned to the right ſide, and I extracted the body by gentle efforts, which I directed towards the lateral parts entirely, and not to the ſpine. I diſengaged the left arm, and then the right, the head being ſtill above the brim of the pelvis, I applied my hand to the face, which correſponded with the ſymphyſes of the left ilium; I opened her thighs as far as I could, and fixed the largeſt portion of the right parietal in the ſeparation. The integuments projected; I made the left parietal anſwer to the right lateral ſide of the hollow of the ſacrum; afterwards, upon raiſing the body of the child, I drew out the left lateral ſide of the head, while at the ſame time, with the right hand applied to the naſal foſſa, I brought the chin downwards. By theſe united efforts I overcame the greateſt reſiſtance at the brim of the pelvis. When it had now gained the hollow of the ſacrum, I brought the occiput between the ſeparation, and diſengaged the chin at the inferior part

of the os externum, by raising the child's body; the rest of the body followed presently, and the patient was delivered, to her great joy, of a living son. The thighs being lowered, the separation appeared not to exceed eight lines. I immediately extracted the placenta, because the uterus began to contract itself exceedingly.

During this operation, which was neither very painful nor tedious, the woman lost very little blood, and the husband being called in, could scarce give credit to so fortunate and speedy a delivery. We applied some lint to the wound, and removed the patient on the matrass, in order to make her bed. Upon the least opening of her thighs she felt very acute pains in the left posterior side of the loins and pelvis. We applied a napkin, by way of bandage, to keep the pelvis in a just position, to which we fastened two ribbands behind, one on the right, the other on the left, and brought them under the thighs, in order to tie them before. When put to bed, we found her pulse was not affected, and enraptured at becoming a mother, she requested us to give her the child, in order to suckle it.

Mrs. Brasseur, whose name is mentioned in this narrative, was a person on whose body Mr. Le Roy made trial of the operation, immediately after she had expired from the injurious treatment of a woman who attempted to deliver her.

Mr. Le Roy informs us, that he has performed the section of the pubes upon dead subjects, both male and female. In the former he observed a separation of between two and three lines space, and in the latter from three to four; but in those who died in child-bed he constantly gained from six to nine lines.

Both Mr. Sigault and Mr. Le Roy have received distinguished honours from the faculty of physic at Paris, for the zeal with which they have prosecuted this extraordinary improvement in midwifery; and it is to be hoped that many lives may henceforth be preserved, by the performance of this operation.

Of the Paklara or Remora of the Ancients. From L'Abbé Fortis's *Travels.*

I Will finish this letter by relating a fact, to which you may give that degree of faith which you think it merits. You have often read, in ancient naturalists, of wonderful things done by the *Remora*, or *Echeneis*, and not without some surprise will have learnt Pliny's story, who, after having told us, on the faith of another, how Anthony was retarded on his voyage by means of this fish, asserts positively, that a ship with Caligula on board and four hundred rowers, was actually stopt by one of those fishes, while the rest of the fleet went on at a great rate. When I read this, I contented myself to shrug up my shoulders, without perplexing my brain to find out by what natural principle, or matter of fact, such an opinion could become so generally received, that a man of sense, as Pliny certainly was, should affirm it in positive terms.

terms*. But chance led me to the discovery. We were sailing in a small bark between Vrullia and Almissa with a fresh equal gale, in the afternoon. The mariners were all at rest, and the steersman alone was awake, and attended in silence to the direction of the bark; when, on a sudden, we heard him call aloud to one of his companions, ordering him to come and kill the *Paklara*. Our learned friend Signor *Guilio Bajamonti* was with me, and understanding what the man meant, desired him to shew him the fish that he wanted to be killed, but the fish was gone. Having interrogated the steersman, who did not want sense, and was a fisherman by profession, why he had ordered the *Paklara* to be killed, and what harm it had done; he answered, without hesitation, that the *Paklara* used to take hold of the rudder with his teeth, and retarded the course of the bark so sensibly, that not only he, but every man who sat at the helm felt it there without seeing it. He added, that many a time he himself had catched the *Paclara* in the fact, and had frequently killed and eat it. That it was often met with in the waters of *Lissa*. That in shape it resembled a conger eel, and its length did not usually exceed a foot and a half. That if I had a mind to see, and catch one of them, I needed only to go in a fishing boat, in the warm season, between the islands of Lesina and Lissa, where he had never failed to meet with them every year. I will not desire you to believe every thing my pilot said; but confess that I should be very glad to see the *Paklara* when it had taken hold of the rudder of a bark under sail. The wonderful strength of the muscles of some little marine animals, such as the *Lepades*, that so obstinately resist any attempt to disengage them from their rocks; the stroke proceeding with such rapidity from the Torpedo, known at Venice by the name of *pesce tremolo*, and in the sea of Dalmatia by that of *Trnak*; the vigour shewn by the *Dentici* in their convulsive motions even when out of their own element; not to mention the larger fish, such as, Tunny, Dolphins, &c. give me ground to suspect, that, if all that the ancients wrote concerning the *Remora* be not just literally true, it is not altogether false. It is certainly a thing worthy of some reflection, that Pliny speaks so diffusely concerning this phenomenon, as of a known fact that could not be called in question. The Greeks also adopted the notion of this extravagant fa-

* Ruant venti licet, & sæviant procellæ (echeneis) imperat furori, vireſque tantas compescit, & cogit stare navigia—Fertur actiaco marte tenuisse prætoriam navim Antonii properantis circumire, & exhortari suos, donec transirit in aliam. Ideoque & Cæsariana classis impetu majore protinus venit. Tenuit & nostra memoria Caii principis ab astura antium remigantis. Nec longa fuit illius moræ admiratio, statim causa intellecta quum e tota classe quinquaremis sola non proficeret. Exilientibus protinus qui id quærerent circa navim invenerunt adhærentem gubernaculo, ostenderuntque Caio indignanti hoc fuisse quod se revocaret quadringentorumque remigum obsequio contra se intercederet. Qui tunc, posteaque videre eum limaci magnæ similem esse dicunt. E nostris quidam latinis Remoram appellavere eum. C. Plin. sec. Nat. Hist. l. xxxii. c. 1.

culty, by ſuperſtitiouſly hanging the *Remora* about women with child to prevent abortion.

The *Remora* of the ancients and the *Pailare* of our days have this remarkable difference, that the firſt is almoſt always deſcribed as of the teſtaceous kind, and the ſecond is of the genus of the *Muræna*.

Account of a Wild Man ſeen in the Pyrenees.

THE following relation, concerning a wild man, though but little known, is well authenticated. The account is tranſlated from a work publiſhed laſt year at Paris, intitled, Memoir ſur les Travaux, &c. dans les Pyrenées, &c. by the King's engineer M. Le Roy, who has deſcribed the machines by which the maſts are drawn out of the foreſts of the Pyrenean mountains, for the uſe of the French navy, in a very ſcientific manner.

In the courſe of this work, M. Le Roy ſays,—'In the year 1774, a ſavage, or wild man, was diſcovered by the ſhepherds, who fed their flocks in the neighbourhood of the foreſt of Yuary. This man, who inhabited the rocks that lay near the foreſt, was very tall, covered with hair, like a bear, nimble as the Hiſars, of a gay humour, and, in all appearance, of a mild character, as he neither did, nor ſeemed to intend, harm to any body. He often viſited the cottages, without ever attempting to carry off any thing. He had no knowledge of bread, milk, or cheeſe. His greateſt amuſement was to ſee the ſheep running, and to ſcatter them, and he teſtified his pleaſure at this ſight by loud fits of laughter, but never attempted to hurt thoſe innocent animals. When the ſhepherds (as was frequently the caſe) let looſe their dogs after him, he fled with the ſwiftneſs of an arrow ſhot from a bow, and never allowed the dogs to come too near him. One morning he came to the cottage of ſome workmen, and one of them endeavouring to get near him, and catch him by the leg, he laughed heartily, and then made his eſcape. He ſeemed to be about thirty years of age. As the foreſt in queſtion is very extenſive, and has a communication with vaſt woods that belong to the Spaniſh territory, it is natural to ſuppoſe that this ſolitary, but chearful creature, had been loſt in his infancy, and had ſubſiſted on herbs.'

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

An improved Method of Tanning Leather. By David Macbride, *M. D. From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*

Dublin,
SIR, May 31, 1777.

YOU may pleaſe to remember that I informed you, ſome years ago, of my having found out a way of tanning leather in leſs time, and at ſmaller expence of materials, than can be done by any of the ways hitherto known or practiſed; and promiſed that, as ſoon as I ſhould find myſelf at liberty to diſcloſe it, I would communicate my method to the Royal Society.

Accordingly I take the liberty of incloſing a ſet of inſtructions, which I drew up for the perſon who conducted the buſineſs of a large tan-yard belonging to a company with which I have had an engagement for theſe laſt four years; which I apprehend will be found ſufficiently clear for enabling any intelligent tanner to avail himſelf of my improvements.

I beg you will preſent this paper to the ſociety; but, as it cannot be underſtood by gentlemen who are not already, in ſome degree, acquainted with the ordinary proceſs of tanning, I muſt requeſt their indulgence while I mention the principal operations in this branch of manufacture.

The uſe of tanning is two-fold; firſt, to preſerve the leather from rotting; and, ſecondly, to render it impervious to water.

An infuſion of any ſtrongly-aſtringent vegetable will ſerve to tan leather, ſo far as to prevent its rotting; but if this vegetable does not contain a good deal of gum-reſin, it will not anſwer for enabling it to keep out water: and hence it is that oak-bark, which is more abundant in the gummy-reſinous part than any of our common indigenous aſtringents, is preferred to all other ſubſtances for the purpoſe of tanning.

The tanners prepare their bark by gently drying it on a kiln, and grinding it into a very coarſe powder. They then either uſe it in the way of infuſion, which is called ooze; or they ſtrew the dry powder between the layers of hides and ſkins, when theſe are laid away in the tan-pits.

The ooze is made by macerating the bark in common water, in a particular ſet of holes or pits, which, to diſtinguiſh them from the other holes in the tan-yard, are termed letches.

The firſt operation of the tanner is to cleanſe his hides from all extraneous

taneous filth, and remove any remains of flesh or fat which may have been left behind by the butcher.

The hair is next to be taken off, and this is accomplished either by steeping the hides for a short time in a mixture of lime and water, which is termed liming; or by rolling them up close, and piling them in heaps, where they quickly begin to heat and putrify. The hair being loosened is scraped off, and the tanner proceeds to the operation called fleshing, which consists in further scraping, with a particular kind of knife contrived for the purpose, and cutting away the jagged extremities and offal parts, such as the ears and nostrils.

The raw leather is then put into an alcaline ley, in order to discharge the oil, and render its pores more capable of imbibing the ooze. The tanners of this country generally make their ley of pigeon's dung; but a more active one may be prepared from kelp or pot-ash, taking care, however, not to make it too strong of the alkies, nor to allow the leather to remain too long in the ley.

The oil being sufficiently discharged, the leather is ready for the ooze, and at first is thrown into smaller holes, which are termed handlers; because the hides or skins, during this part of the process, are taken up, from time to time, and allowed to drain; they continue to work the leather in these handlers, every now and then stirring it up with the utensil called a plunger, which is nothing more than a pole with a knob at the end of it, until they think proper to lay it away in the vatts. In these holes, which are the largest in the tan-yard, the leather is spread out smooth, whereas they toss it into the handlers at random; and between each layer of leather they sprinkle on some powdered bark, until the pit is filled by the leather and bark thus laid in *stratum super stratum*: ooze is then poured on, to fill up interstices; and the whole crowned with a sprinkling of bark, which the tanners call a heading.

In this manner the leather is allowed to macerate, until the tanner sees that it is completely penetrated by the ooze: when this is accomplished (which he knows by cutting out a bit of the thickest part of the hide) the manufacture is finished, so far as relates to tanning, since nothing now remains but to dry the goods thoroughly, by hanging them up in airy lofts built for the purpose. Such in general is the process for tanning calf-skins, and those lighter sorts of hides which are called butts; but the large, thick, heavy hides, of which the strongest and most durable kind of sole-leather is made, require to have their pores more thoroughly opened before the ooze can sufficiently penetrate them. For this purpose, while the hides are in the putrescent state, from being allowed to heat in the manner already mentioned, and well soaked in an alcaline ley, they are thrown into a sour liquor, generally brewed from rye, in order that the effervescence which necessarily ensues may open the pores.

The tanners term this operation raising, as the leather is considerably swelled, in consequence of the conflict between the acid and alcali. This is an English invention; for it appears from M. De la Lande, who was employed by the Royal

Royal Academy of Sciences to write on the art of tanning, that the foreign tanners know nothing of this branch of the buſineſs: indeed, their whole proceſs, according to his account, is ſlovenly, and even more tedious than our common method, and muſt make but very indifferent leather.

When the raiſing is accompliſhed, the leather is put into the handlers, and worked in them for the requiſite time; then laid away in the vatts, and there left to macerate until the tanning is found to be completely finiſhed, which, for the heavieſt kind of leather, ſuch as this of which I am now ſpeaking, requires from firſt to laſt full two years. At leaſt, the tanners of this country cannot make ſoal-leather in leſs time; what they are able to perform in England, I am not ſo thoroughly acquainted with.

It is this tedioufneſs of the proceſs which enhances the value of leather; and the returns being ſo ſlow, the trade of tanning never can be carried on to advantage, but by perſons poſſeſſed of a large capital; therefore, one ſure way of increaſing the number of tanners, and of courſe of bringing down the price of their manufacture, is to ſhorten the proceſs; and if at the ſame time we can improve the quality of the leather, and ſave ſomewhat in the expence of tanning materials, the public will be eſſentially benefited in reſpect to one of the neceſſary articles of life.

All this, I will venture to ſay, can be done by purſuing the method which is laid down in the incloſed paper, and which may be introduced into any common tan-yard.

With reſpect to time, it is poſſible, in the way that I have found out, to finiſh leather in a fourth part of what is required in the ordinary proceſs; for I have repeatedly had calf-ſkins tanned in a fortnight or four weeks, which in the common way could not be done in leſs than from two to four months.

I ſhall not pretend, however, to affirm, that that buſineſs can be carried on in the large way with ſuch expedition; becauſe a great deal of this abridgement of time was probably owing to frequent handling and working of the leather; but I am confident, and know it from four years experience, that in the ordinary courſe of buſineſs, and in a common tan-yard, the tanner may ſave at leaſt four months out of twelve, produce better leather, and find his bark go much farther than in the old way of tanning.

Having premiſed thus much, I flatter myſelf that the paper of inſtructions will be found perfectly intelligible. It ſhews, that the principles on which my method is eſtabliſhed are derived from chemiſtry, and therefore it will not appear ſtrange, that theſe improvements ſhould have been made by a perſon of the medical profeſſion: indeed, they took their riſe from a ſeries of experiments carried on purely for medical purpoſes (the very ſame that confirmed me in the opinion that infuſion of malt would cure the ſea ſcurvy) and any perſon who will look into the account of thoſe experiments, will readily underſtand the theory of the new method of tanning*.

* See the Eſſay on the diſſolvent power of quickſilver, among the experimental eſſays on medical and philoſophical ſubjects.

It would be treſpaſſing on the time of the ſociety, to enter into any detail of the circumſtances that firſt induced me to think of this matter, or to give a hiſtory of the progreſs of my experiments, which at firſt were made at home, and with little pieces of raw leather: it is ſufficient to ſay, that the efficacy of this method has been fully proved by the experience of near ten years (during which I have thought proper to keep it ſecret) and I now beſtow it to the public.

I am, &c.

Inſtructions to Tanners, for carrying on the new Method of Tanning, invented by Dr. Macbride, *of* Dublin; *whereby the Leather is not only improved in its Quality, but tanned in much leſs Time, and with a ſmaller Quantity of Bark, than in any other Method hitherto known or practiſed.*

AS the new method of tanning depends on this principle, "That lime-water extracts the virtues of oak-bark more completely than plain water;" the firſt thing in which the tanner is to be inſtructed, is the making of lime-water.

1. Provide a large veſſel, in the nature of a ciſtern, whoſe depth ſhall be at leaſt twice its diameter, and of a capacity adapted to the extent of the tan-yard.

2. This ciſtern muſt be fixed in a convenient corner of the yard, under a ſhed, and ſhould ſtand ſo as that the liquor which is to be drawn off from it may run freely into the letches.

3. There muſt be a cock fixed in the ſide of the ciſtern, about a foot from the bottom, to let off the contents; and there muſt be a hole in the bottom of it, of five or ſix inches diameter, which is to be ſtopped with a plug. Let this hole open over a gutter.

4. The ciſtern muſt be covered with a flooring of boards, ſtrong enough to bear a man's weight; and from ſide to ſide of this lid there muſt be an opening of two or three feet wide.

5. If it can be ſo contrived that a water-pipe may be led into the ciſtern, it will ſave the ſervants a good deal of trouble; but if this cannot be done, a pump muſt be fixed in the moſt convenient way, for the purpoſe of filling it from time to time.

6. The ciſtern being once fixed (which is all the additional apparatus that the new method of tanning requires) the making of lime-water will be found extremely ſimple and eaſy.

7. You are firſt to fill the ciſtern with water, and then, for every hogſhead that it may contain, throw in ten or a dozen pounds weight of unſlaked lime.

8. Mix the lime thoroughly with the whole body of the water, by ſtirring it exceedingly well from the bottom, with a bucket and plunger, until you perceive that the lime is completely diffuſed, and the whole mixture grows as white as milk; leave it then to ſettle for a couple of days, that the undiſſolved part of the lime may entirely ſubſide, and the water become perfectly limpid, and clear as rock-water. Your lime-water will then be fit for immediate uſe.

9. The cock, as already mentioned, is to be fixed at leaſt twelve inches from the bottom of the ciſtern, in order that only the limpid

part

part of the lime-water may run off; and the uſe of the hole in the bottom, which is ordered to be ſtopped with a plug, is to let off the groſs and inſoluble remains of the lime, as often as it may be found neceſſary to clean out the ciſtern.

10. When the firſt brewing (as it may be termed) of lime-water is all expended, you are to fill up the ciſtern with water a ſecond time; ſtir up the lime from the bottom with the bucket and plunger, ſo as to mix it thoroughly with the whole body of the water, as before directed, and then leave it to ſubſide for the requiſite time. Thus you will have a ſecond brewing of lime-water; and you may go on in the ſame manner to make a third, fourth, fifth, or perhaps a ſixth, or more brewings, from the original quantity of lime; provided you ſhall find the lime-water continue ſufficiently ſtrong.

11. There are two ways of knowing when lime-water is ſufficiently ſtrong. The one is by the taſte, and this a little practice will teach you to diſtinguiſh; the other is, by obſerving a certain ſolid ſcum, like the flakes of very thin ice, which collects and forms itſelf on the ſurface of the lime-water.—As long as you find this ſolid ſcum floating on the top of the water in the ciſtern, ſo long you may conclude that there is no neceſſity for throwing in freſh lime.

12. But when the ſcum ceaſes to appear, or you find from the taſte that the lime-water is not ſo ſtrong as it ought to be, you muſt then take out the plug from the bottom of the ciſtern, and clear it by ſweeping away the groſs remains of lime: and after you have cleaned the ciſtern, begin your brewings of lime-water a-new, and proceed in the manner already directed, as to ſtirring up the lime, and leaving it to ſettle for the neceſſary time, ſo as to have your lime-water perfectly limpid. In this manner you may go on from year to year, and conſtantly keep yourſelf in ſtock with reſpect to lime-water.

13. It is this lime-water which is now to be uſed in making your ooze inſtead of the plain common water; and this is all the difference between the old and the new method of tanning; for when your ooze is prepared, by ſteeping your bark in lime-water (in the letches, as you do at preſent, only running it through two letches) you are to make uſe of it in the very ſame way that you have hitherto uſed the common ooze, there not being the leaſt variation required with reſpect to any of the previous management before the ſkins or hides are fitted for the ooze. Every thing that relates to cleaning, liming, fleſhing, &c. is to be conducted preciſely as in the old or common method of tanning; and the goods are to be worked in the handlers for the requiſite time, and then laid away in the vatts, with layers and heading of bark, juſt as you now practiſe; and when you obſerve that the leather is ſufficiently penetrated with the ooze, that is to ſay, completely tanned, you will take it up, dry it, and afterwards dreſs it according to the different uſes for which it is intended. You are always to obſerve, however, that the ooze is to be turned from one letch on another before it is uſed, otherwiſe it will be apt to blacken the leather.

14. What has been hitherto ſaid relates only to butts and calf-ſkins: as to ſoal-leather, which is prepared

pared for the ooze by steeping it in some sour liquor, in order to open its pores, and raise it (according to the tanner's phrase), the new method requires a different practice from the old one.

15. In the old method, the tanners made use of sourings brewed generally from rye, or some other grain; but these liquors are not only troublesome to brew and to ferment, but they are always uncertain as to their degree of sourness or strength, which depends on the state of the weather, and other variable circumstances; these liquors are moreover exceedingly apt to rot the leather, and, without great care, may injure it very materially in its texture.

16. To obviate these inconveniences, you are to imitate the bleachers of linen, who make use of a sour prepared by diluting the strong spirit of vitriol (vulgarly, but improperly, termed oil of vitriol) with a sufficient quantity of plain water.

17. It was not without much difficulty that the bleachers could be prevailed on to quit their old sourings, made either like yours of rye or barley, or of sour buttermilk, from a groundless fear, that the vitriolic souring would corrode their cloth; but the experience of many years has convinced them of their error, and now no other souring is used. In like manner the tanners at first may some of them be afraid to use the vitriol, but a little practice will shew how far superior this souring is to what they have hitherto used. They will never find it subject to any change in respect to strength from variations of weather, or different degrees of heat; and so far from tending to rot the leather, it gives unusual firmness; and the soals which are raised by the vitriolic souring are remarkably sound, and always free from the slightest degree of rottenness. Besides, the same sour may do for many parcels of leather, by adding a little vitriol to it; and it need only be thrown away, when it becomes too dirty for use, by the frequent succession of hides.

18. A wine pint of the strong spirit of vitriol; which will not cost more than nine or ten pence*, is sufficient for fifty gallons of water to prepare the souring at first: therefore all you have to do, in raising the soals, is only to prepare them before-hand in the usual way; and, when they are fitted for the souring, mix up a quantity of vitriol and water, according to the number of hides that you require to have raised, still observing the proportion of a pint to fifty gallons, which will be enough, if the vitriol be of the due degree of strength. The hides may lie in the souring till you find them sufficiently raised, for they will be in no danger of rotting, as they would be in the common corn sourings, which in time might turn putrid, and rot the leather; whereas, the vitriolic souring keeps off putrefaction.

19. When you find your hides sufficiently raised, put them directly into the ooze, and go on with the tanning as in the old way; and you will see that the lime-

* The oil of vitriol is sold by the druggists in large bottles, containing eight or ten gallons.

water

water ooze penetrates raiſed leather even faſter than it does butts or calf-ſkins, allowance being made for their different degrees of thickneſs.

20. Let it be now ſuppoſed that you have your ciſtern fixed, your lime-water prepared, and ſome letches full of lime-water ooze, which has been run through two letches in order that the lime-water may completely ſpend its force on the bark; you are not to throw away what common ooze you have in ſtock in the yard, but only as it ſhall be ſpent; then, indeed, you are to throw it away, and ſupply its place with the lime-water ooze.

21. In a very few days you will perceive the difference between the activity of the two oozes, the new and old, with reſpect to penetrating the leather; and thus, without any kind of loſs or waſte, you will get rid of all your old liquors, and come ſpeedily into a full ſtock of the ooze made with lime-water; and after you have got the new method eſtabliſhed, your buſineſs will go in a regular courſe, and one parcel of goods will ſucceed another, as faſt as you can manufacture and diſpoſe of them.

22. Though it is poſſible to tan ſmall parcels of leather, by way of experiment, by the uſe of lime-water ooze, in a fourth part of the time which is required, if only common ooze be made uſe of; yet the buſineſs of a large tan-yard cannot be carried on with ſo much expedition: but even in large works, and in the common courſe of buſineſs, ſoal leather can be completely tanned and finiſhed in, from eleven to fifteen months, according to the different weight and thickneſs of the hides. Butts in, from eight to twelve months, and calf-ſkins in, from ſix to twelve weeks; in general, the tanner may ſave at leaſt a third of the time that has hitherto been required.

23. The leather, which is manufactured in the new way, is of a ſuperior quality to that of the old tannage, eſpecially the ſoal-leather, which wears remarkably well, and never ſhews the leaſt ſign of rottenneſs.

24. Let it always be remembered, that the lime-water is never to be uſed but when it is ſufficiently ſtrong, and as clear as rock-water.

25. Whenever you make freſh ooze, you muſt always uſe freſh lime-water, and run the ooze through two letches; and the lime-water ooze, when ſpent, from lying on the leather, is never to be returned back upon the bark which is in the letches (as you now return your ſpent ooze) but muſt always be thrown away, as being entirely uſeleſs; for which purpoſe you muſt contrive a gutter in the tan-yard to carry off the ſpent ooze.

26. The letches ought to be under cover, leſt the rain get into them and weaken the ooze, and if the handlers are ſheltered, it will be ſo much the better; but it is of no importance to cover the vatts, provided, when the leather is laid away in them, they are kept conſtantly full to the brim.

27. You muſt always take care to have a ſufficient ſtock of unſlaked lime by you (for if it be ſlaked, it will not anſwer to make lime-water): therefore, get your lime freſh, if poſſible, from the kiln, and immediately pack it in

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any kind of old dry caſks. Weigh one of theſe caſks, and it will enable you to aſcertain the quantity of lime neceſſary to be thrown into the ciſtern each time you begin a freſh brewing of your lime-water, and thus ſave you the trouble of repeated weighings; not that there need be much nicety about the quantity of lime, a ſcore of pounds over or under making no ſenſible difference in the ſtrength of the lime-water.

28. Any expence you may be at in procuring lime, which even in the largeſt tan-yards can amount but to a trifle, will be amply compenſated by the ſaving of bark; becauſe, that lime-water ſo completely exhauſts the bark, and makes it go ſo much farther than when the ooze is made only of plain water. As a proof of this, you may make a pretty ſtrong ooze from the tan or ſpent bark, which you now conſider as completely exhauſted, by infuſing in it lime-water.

Tanners, as they become acquainted with the new method, will find it perfectly eaſy, and may no doubt make further improvements by experience. The foregoing directions were found ſufficiently full for enabling a gentleman at Belfaſt to carry on the buſineſs in an extenſive way for theſe four years paſt; and it is preſumed they will prove equally clear and intelligible to all other perſons in the tanning trade.

Dublin, May the 1ſt, 1777.

Account of the Method of ſalting and drying Cod at Newfoundland.

THE cod that is caught on the bank of Newfoundland, is that which is known in Europe by the name of green or freſh cod. It is ſalted on board the ſhip as ſoon as caught, and keeps in ſalt the whole fiſhing ſeaſon, and till they return to Europe. The curing and ſalting of the cod, requires a great deal of care. The following is the method of curing and ſalting of the green cod.

As ſoon as the fiſherman has caught a fiſh with his line, he pulls out its tongue, and gives the fiſh to another man, whom they call the *beheader*. This man, with a two-edged knife like a lancet, ſlits the fiſh from the anus to the throat, which he cuts acroſs to the bones of the neck; he then lays down his knife, and pulls out the liver, which he drops into a kind of tray, through a little hole made on purpoſe in the ſcaffold he works upon; then, he guts it and cuts off the head. This done, he delivers the fiſh to the next man who ſtands over againſt him. This man, who is called the ſlicer, takes hold of it by the left gill, and reſts its back againſt a board, a foot long and two inches high; he pricks it with the ſlicing knife on the left ſide of the anus, which makes it turn out the left gill; then he cuts the ribs or great bones all along the vertebræ, about half way down from the neck to the anus; he does the ſame on the right ſide; then cuts aſlant three joints of the vertebræ through to the ſpinal marrow; laſtly he cuts all along the vertebræ and ſpinal marrow, dividing them in two, and thus ends his operation.

A third helper then takes this fiſh, and with a kind of wooden ſpatule, he ſcrapes all the blood that has remained along the vertebræ that were not cut. When the cod

is thus thoroughly cleanſed (ſometimes waſhed) he drops it into the hold, through a hole made for that purpoſe, and the *ſalter* is there ready to receive it.

He crams as much ſalt as he can into the belly of the fiſh, lays it down, the tail end loweſt, rubs the ſkin all over with ſalt, and even covers it with more ſalt; then goes through the ſame proceſs with the reſt of the cod, which he heaps one upon another till the whole is laid up. The fiſh thus ſalted and piled up in the hold, is never meddled with any more till it is brought home and unloaded for ſale.

The Manner of preparing and drying Cod.

THE cod intended for drying, is caught and beheaded in the ſame manner as the other, but it is cut up differently. The *ſlicer*, inſtead of cutting the bones along the vertebræ only half way down from the throat to the anus, lays open the fiſh at one ſtroke, quite to the tail, all along the vertebræ, which he divides up to the throat, leaving each half of theſe vertebræ and the ſpinal marrow in the fleſh of the cod.

When the *ſlicer* has thus diſpatched a fiſh, he drops it into a ſledge that holds about half a hundred weight; a boy then drives the ſledge to the place where the *ſalter* ſalts and ſpreads the fiſh of the day.

The *ſalter* lays down the fiſh flat with the fleſh uppermoſt, and placing ſeveral of them ſide by ſide, he forms a layer of ſix, eight, twelve, or fifteen feet long, and three, four, or five broad; then he takes a great wooden ſhovel, about two feet ſquare, and ſprinkles ſalt all over the layer of cod. Care muſt be taken that this ſalt be laid on very even. When this layer is ſufficiently ſalted, he ſpreads another over it, ſalts it in the ſame manner, and ſo on.

When there are large, middling, and ſmall cod, they are kept apart, for a different depth of ſalt is requiſite for different ſizes. Too much ſalt burns up the fiſh, and makes it brittle when it comes to dry, and too little makes it greaſy, and difficult to dry.

The cod is left in ſalt two days at leaſt, and ſometimes above a fortnight; then it is waſhed. For this purpoſe they load it on hand barrows, and empty it out into a laver not unlike a great cage, by the ſea-ſide; there they ſtir it about in ſea-water with paddles, to cleanſe it from the ſalt and ſlime that it is daubed with; and when it is waſhed white, they put it again on the barrows, and carry it upon the gravel where it is to be ſpread. They firſt pile it up five or ſix feet high; the top of the heap terminates like a roof, that the fiſh may drain and harden. Two, three, or four days after, as the weather permits, they undo the pile, and ſpread the fiſh upon the gravel one by one in rows, with the fleſh uppermoſt. When it has lain thus in the morning ſun, they turn it about two in the afternoon, the ſkin uppermoſt, and in the evening if they find that the wind and ſun have dried them enough, they lay five or ſix of them one upon another, and a large one at top, to ſhelter them from the rain. The cod being thus diſpoſed in little heaps, the ſkin upwards, they wait for the firſt fine day to ſpread them again on the

the gravel, firſt with the ſkin uppermoſt, and at noon they turn them, and when they have been thus expoſed a ſecond time to the rays of the ſun, they are again heaped up, fifteen or twenty in a heap, and left till the next fine day, when they once more ſpread them upon the gravel. If after this they find the fiſh thoroughly dry, they place the ſmall ones in round ſharp piles like pigeon-houſes, the middle ſized in heaps of a hundred weight, and the large ones in ſmaller parcels. The former, when they have undergone a fourth ſunning, that is, when they have been ſpread upon the gravel for the fourth time, are laid up in round piles; as to the larger ones, they muſt be ſpread in the ſun five or ſix times at leaſt, before one can venture to pile them up like the others. When they have ſtood ſo for three or four days, they ſpread them all at once upon the gravel in the ſun, and then proceed to a new pile, laying the largeſt fiſh for the groundwork, the middle ſized next, and the ſmalleſt at top; becauſe the larger they are, the greater preſſure they require, to ſqueeze out and throw off their moiſture. This pile is left ſtanding for a fortnight, and then the cod is again ſpread in the ſun, after which the pile is erected once more, but reverſed, ſo that what was at the bottom is now put at the top. This pile may be let alone for a month, after which time the fiſh is once more expoſed to the ſun, and then piled up for the laſt time.

When all this is done, they make choice of a fine day to ſpread out theſe fiſhes, only an arm full at a time, and lay them on the gravel: they examine them one by one, and lay apart thoſe that ſtill retain ſome moiſture; the dry ones are piled up, and the moiſt ones are dried again in the ſun, and then put on the top of the other piles, that they may be at hand to be looked after, and dried again if they ſhould want it. To conclude the whole proceſs, juſt before they are ſhipped, they ſpread them by arms full upon the gravel, to air and dry them thoroughly.

In order to ſhip this cod, they clean out the hold, and lay a kind of floor, either of ſtone or wood, on which they place the fiſh, the firſt layer with the fleſh uppermoſt, and all the reſt with the ſkin uppermoſt. They don't fill the hold from one end to the other, without interruption, but raiſe ſeveral piles, both to keep the good and bad apart, and likewiſe to diſtinguiſh the different ſizes of the fiſh. The large ones make the groundwork of the cargo, the middle ſized come next, and the ſmall ones are laid at top. They line the bottom and ſides of the hold with ſmall twigs with their leaves on, but dried firſt for ſeveral days. The cod being thus laid up in the hold, they cover it with ſails, and never meddle with it more till they unload it for ſale in Europe.

For theſe particulars about the curing of cod in the Iſland of St. Pierre, I am beholden to M. de R**, lieutenant of a frigate, who is perfectly acquainted with theſe matters, having been for a long time employed in that buſineſs on the iſland.

Slitting, ſalting, and drying the cod, are three diſtinct operations, the laſt of which is ſometimes very tedious and difficult. The ſun is ſeldom ſeen at Saint Pierre, and the want of ſunſhine is the loſs of thouſands

thouſands of cod, which rot in the damps and fogs.

On the right hand of the harbour or road, is a houſe built upon piles in the ſea; it is made of boards, and the roof of long poles interwoven; half this roof is covered with turf from one end to the other, and the remaining half is left open: they call this houſe a *chafaud*. This is the place where they ſlit and ſalt the cod. The floor conſiſts of long poles, placed ſo as to let the inteſtines of the fiſh drop down between them into the ſea. Half the roof is left open to let in the rain and freſh air, which carry off part of the naſtineſs and ſtench of the place, that would otherwiſe be intolerable, and the fiſh is cured in that part which is thatched.

The fiſhing boats that are commonly employed in catching cod about the iſland, and bringing it to this *chafaud*, are ſmall craft, with a ſquare ſail. The crew never exceeds two men, commonly attended by a dog, their faithful ſervant and companion. From their boat they ſhoot geolands and other ſea-birds, with which they make their ſoup. The dog ſwims and fetches the bird, without any interruption to his maſter's fiſhery.

Mr. Mudge's *Cure for a recent Catarrhous Cough.*

THE catarrhous cough, or that which is ſubſequent to the catching of cold, our author is of opinion proceeds from the pituitary membrane, which forms the internal ſurface of the lungs, being thickened, and in ſome meaſure inflamed. That ſuch is actually the caſe, before the glands have been unloaded by the diſcharge of the obſtructed mucus, he conſiders as evident from the ſoreneſs which, at the beginning of the diſorder, the cough occaſions in the breaſt, but more particularly at the lower part of the windpipe, about the junction of the clavicles. In conformity to this idea of the diſorder, Mr. Mudge obſerves that the two great indications would be, to prevent as much as poſſible the irritation ariſing from the convulſive ſhocks of the cough on the inflamed parts, and to remove the inflammation itſelf by ſuch emollient applications, as can conveniently be adminiſtered. He farther remarks, that theſe intentions are thoroughly anſwered by opium, and by inhaling warm ſteams into the lungs; for adminiſtering the latter of which he recommends the uſe of the inhaler, an inſtrument which is deſcribed in the following terms.

The body of the inſtrument holds about a pint; and the handle, which is fixed to the ſide of it, is hollow. There is in the lower part of the veſſel, where it is ſoldered to the handle, a hole, by means of which, and three others on the upper part of the handle, the water, when it is poured into the inhaler, will riſe to the ſame level in both. To the middle of the cover a flexible tube, about five or ſix inches long, is fixed, with a mouth-piece of wood or ivory. Underneath the cover there is a valve fixed, which opens and ſhuts the communication between the upper and internal part of the inhaler and the external air, for a purpoſe which ſhall be preſently explained.

When

When the mouth is applied to the end of the tube in the act of inſpiration, the air ruſhes into the handle, and up through the body of warm water, and the lungs become, conſequently, filled with hot vapour. In expiration, the mouth being ſtill fixed to the tube, the breath, together with the ſteam on the ſurface of the water in the inhaler, is forced up through the valve in the cover. In this manner therefore the whole act of reſpiration is performed through the inhaler, without the neceſſity, in the act of expiration, of either breathing through the noſe, or removing the pipe from the mouth.

To this deſcription of the apparatus, we ſhall ſubjoin, in the author's own words, the method directed for uſing it.

In the evening, a little before bed time, the patient, if of adult age, is to take three drachms, or as many tea ſpoonfuls of elixir paregoricum, in a glaſs of water: if the ſubject is younger, for inſtance under five years old, one tea ſpoonful; or within that and ten years, two. [Each tea ſpoonful contains ſomewhat leſs than 1 quarter of a grain of opium.] About three quarters of an hour after, the patient ſhould go to bed, and being covered warm, the inhaler, three parts filled with water nearly boiling (which from the coldneſs of the metal, and the time it ordinarily takes before it is uſed by the patient, will be of a proper degree of warmth) and being wrapped up in a napkin, but ſo that the valve in the cover is not obſtructed by it, is to be placed at the arm-pit, and the bed-cloaths being drawn up and over it cloſe to the throat, the tube is to be applied to the mouth, and the patient ſhould inſpire and expire through it about twenty minutes, or half an hour.

It is very evident, as the whole act of reſpiration is performed through the machine, that in inſpiration the lungs will be filled with air which will be hot, and loaded with vapour, by paſſing through the body of water; and in expiration, all that was contained in the lungs will, by mixing with the ſteam on the ſurface of the water, be forced through the valve in the cover, and ſettle on the ſurface of the body under the bed-cloaths.

The great uſe of this particular conſtruction of the inhaler is this. Firſt, as there is no neceſſity, at the end of every inſpiration, to remove the tube from the mouth, in order to expire from the lungs the vapour which had been received into them, this machine may therefore be uſed with as much eaſe by children as elder people. And, ſecondly, as a feveriſh habit frequently accompanies the diſorder, the valve in that reſpect alſo is of the utmoſt importance; for a ſweat, or at leaſt a free perſpiration, not only relieves the patient from the reſtleſs anxiety of a hot, dry, and ſometimes parched ſkin, but is alſo, of all others, the moſt eligible evacuation for removing the fever; and it will be generally found that, after the inhaler ſo conſtructed hath been uſed a few minutes, the warm vapour under the cloaths will, by ſettling upon the trunk, produce a ſweat, which will gradually extend itſelf to the legs and feet.

In a catarrhous fever, or any feveriſh habit attending this cough, it would be proper to take a draught

draught of warm thin whey a few minutes before the inhaler is uſed; and after the proceſs is over, the ſweat which it has produced may be continued by occaſional ſmall draughts of weak warm whey, or barley water. The ſweating is by no means ſo neceſſary to the cure of the catarrhous cough, as that the ſucceſs of the inhaler againſt that complaint at all depends upon it; yet I cannot help once more remarking, that when this diſorder happens to be accompanied with a feveriſh habit, the advantages of this particular conſtruction will be very important.

After this reſpiratory proceſs is over, the patient uſually paſſes the night without the leaſt interruption from the cough, and feels no farther moleſtation from it than, as I obſerved before, once or twice in the morning to throw off the trifling leakage which, unperceived, had dripped into the bronchiæ and veſicles during the night; the thinner parts of which being evaporated, what remains is ſoon got rid of with a very gentle effort.

Mr. Mudge informs us, that if the inhaler be uſed the ſame night that the catarrhous cough has made its appearance, it will, in ordinary caſes, be productive of an immediate cure; but if the ſoreneſs of the reſpiratory organs, or the violence of the cough, ſhew the cold which has been contracted to be very ſevere, he adviſes that the inhaler, without the opiate, ſhould be repeated for the ſame time the next morning; as it alſo ought, if the uſe of the inhaler has been delayed till the ſecond night. If the cough however has continued ſome days, it will be neceſſary to employ both parts of the proceſs at night and the ſucceeding morning, as the complaint is then more confirmed.

After trying various pectoral ingredients, Mr. Mudge informs us that he found the vapour of none of them ſo inoffenſive and ſalutary as that from warm water alone.

When the inhaler is uſed in a few hours after the ſeizure of the cough, we are told that the patient is infallibly ſurpriſed with an immediate cure; but in proportion as the application of this remedy is delayed, the diſorder becomes more obſtinate.

If, ſays our author, the patient expectorates with eaſe and freedom a thick and well-digeſted inoffenſive phlegm, there is generally but little doubt of his ſpitting off the diſorder, with common care, in a few days; and till that is accompliſhed, a proper doſe of elixir paregoricum for a few ſucceſſive nights will be found very uſeful in ſuppreſſing the fatiguing irritation and ineffectual cough, occaſioned by a matter which, dripping in the early ſtate of the diſeaſe into the bronchiæ during the night, is commonly at that time too thin to be diſcharged by thoſe convulſive efforts.

If, however, notwithſtanding a free and copious expectoration, the cough ſhould ſtill continue, and the diſcharge, inſtead of removing the complaint, ſhould itſelf, by becoming a diſeaſe, be a greater expence than the conſtitution can well ſupport, it is poſſible that a tender patient may ſpit off his life through a weak, relaxed pair of lungs, without the leaſt appearance of purulence, or any ſuſpicion of ſuppuration. In thoſe circumſtances, beſides, as was mentioned be-

ſore, increaſing the general perſpiration by the ſalutary friction of a flannel waiſtcoat, change of ſituation, and more eſpecially long journies on horſeback, conducted as much as poſſible through a thin, ſharp, dry air, will ſeldom fail of removing the complaint.

But, on the contrary, if the cough ſhould, at the ſame time that it is petulant and fatiguing to the breaſt, continue dry, huſky, and without expectoration; provided there is reaſon to hope that no tubercles are forming, or yet actually formed, there is not perhaps a more efficacious remedy for it than half a drachm of gum ammoniacum, with eighteen or twenty drops of laudanum made into pills, and taken at bed-time; and occaſionally repeated. This excellent remedy Sir John Pringle did me the honour to communicate to me, and I have accordingly found it, in a great many inſtances, amazingly ſucceſsful, and generally very expeditiouſly ſo, for it ſeldom fails to produce an expectoration, and to abate the diſtreſſing fatigue of the cough. In thoſe circumſtances I have likewiſe found the common remedy of ʒſs. or ʒii. of balſ. ſulph. aniſat. taken twice a day, in a little powdered ſugar, or any other vehicle, a very efficacious one. I have alſo, many times, known a ſalutary revulſion made from the lungs by the ſimple application of a large plaiſter, about five or ſix inches diameter, of pix Burgund. between the ſhoulders; for the perſpirable matter, which is locked up under it, becomes ſo ſharp and acrid, that in a few days it ſeldom fails to produce a very conſiderable itching, ſome little tendency to inflammation, and, very frequently, a great number of boils. This application ſhould be continued (the plaiſter being occaſionally changed) for three weeks, or a month, or longer, if the complaint is not ſo ſoon removed.

Anecdotes againſt the poiſonous Effects of Arſenic, Corroſive Sublimate, Verdegreaſe, and Lead: Tranſlated from the French *of* M. P. Touſſant Navier, *Phyſician to the King of* France.

FOR perſons who have been poiſoned with arſenic, M. Navier recommends large quantities of milk, as that liquid diſſolves the arſenic as eaſily and as effectually as water, and at the ſame time ſoftens the viſcera that have been irritated by its corroſive influence. He affirms that the arſenic, far from curdling the milk, actually prevents its coagulation: and he prohibits the uſe of oil, becauſe it is incapable of diſſolving the arſenic. After the milk, the patient is to take a drachm of the liver of ſulphur of Mars, in a pint of warm water; but, if this cannot be readily procured, he may take a lixivium gently alkaline, or ſoap-water, and thereupon a ſolution of iron in vinegar or any other acid; or even a portion of ink, if nothing elſe is at hand. The cure is finiſhed by the uſe of milk and warm ſulphureous waters, which experience has ſhewn to be very powerful in removing the numbneſs, convulſions, and paralytic complaints, which are the conſtant effects of poiſon.

The remedies adapted to corroſive ſublimate are the ſame with thoſe employed againſt arſenic, that is to ſay, the different preparations of

of liver of ſulphur, which decompounds or reſolves the mercurial ſalt, and forms by the addition of the alkali to the acid, a neutral ſalt no wiſe cauſtic: eſpecially if the remedy be applied quickly. Acids, even of the moſt gentle kind, are fatal in the preſent caſe, as they evidently increaſe, inſtead of diminiſhing, the poiſonous acrimony: thus even lemonade, and theriaca, or treacle, are pernicious, and contribute to the painful and certain death of the patient.

What this learned and humane Phyſician ſays of the effects of verdegreaſe deſerves a particular degree of attention, as we are daily expoſed to them from the uſe of copper utenſils in cookery: on this ſubject his cautions and admonitions might appear exaggerated, had not the moſt eminent chymiſts and phyſicians of the preſent age given us repeated warnings of the like nature. But, where this poiſon is known to have been recently ſwallowed, he preſcribes, firſt, emetics, and afterwards cold water gently alkaliſed, which muſt be drank plentifully.

Though lead is not to be conſidered as a corroſive poiſon, its pernicious effects will be corrected by the remedies already mentioned; which will render thoſe violent and dangerous purgatives uſually adminiſtered againſt lead unneceſſary: but patients of this claſs may drink largely of acidulated liquors; the liver of ſulphur afterwards makes the principal part of the cure, which will be compleated by gentle purges.

The ſalutary properties of liver of ſulphur, particularly of the liver of ſulphur of Mars, as an antidote againſt theſe deſtructive ſubſtances, is a moſt valuable diſcovery; and one of the happieſt applications of chemiſtry to medical purpoſes, that the preſent age produced.

In our VIth Vol. page 121. *and VIIth Vol. page* 143, *we have inſerted three Papers on the Method of making Nitre: this has occaſioned our being favoured with a ſhort Account of the Proceſs uſed for that purpoſe at* Paris, *as collected on the ſpot (in the year* 1771) *at the deſire of an eminent Phyſician, ſince dead, by* Dr. Thomas Houlſton, *of* Liverpool.

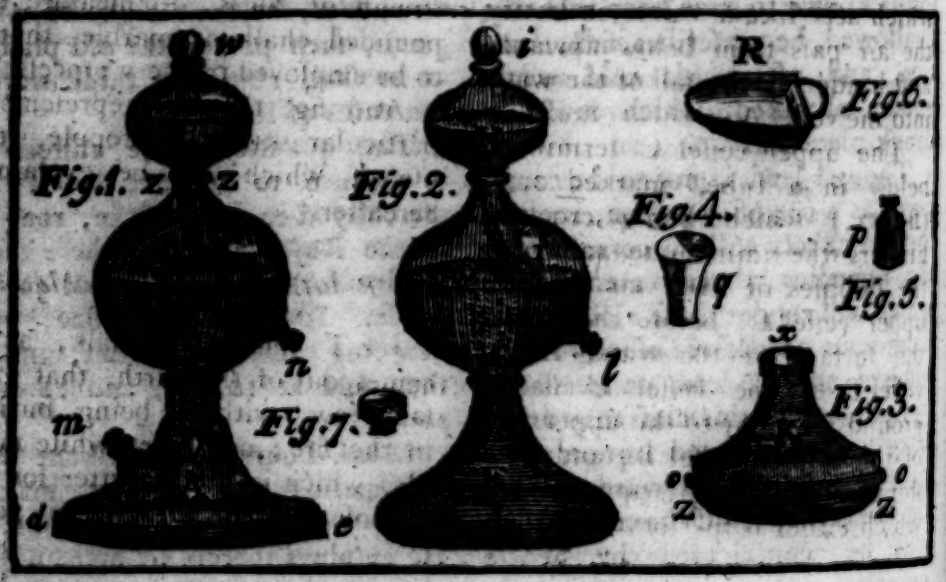
AT Paris, there is a company of perſons employed in making ſalt-petre, in number about twenty. They were incorporated ſo long ago as the reign of Charles IX. and have ſeveral ſtatutes for their regulation. Any of them can, when a houſe is taken down, place a man in it, and, during three days, he has a right to take gratis, ſuch part of the old plaſter as he ſhall chuſe, or think worth the pains of lixiviating.

The quantity made annually, is from 6 to 700,000 lb. They are obliged to deliver it in, rough, to the Royal Arſenal, where they receive for it 7 ſous (about 3*d*. $\frac{1}{2}$) *per* lb. It is there purified, undergoing three lixiviations, and is then ſold at 10, 15, and 18 ſous *per* lb.

Monſ. Bouret, from whom this information was received, makes every year from 35 to 36,000 lb. He employs therein ſix men, night and day, two rooms, twenty large caſks, and three horſes. The caſks are filled half with old palſter, which is changed every time of pouring on water, and the lower half with wood aſhes, which are

changed but once in five lixiviations. The water poured on, ſoaks through both the plaſter and aſhes, and is five times paſſed through freſh plaſter. It is then boiled down in a copper pan, ſo ſet, that the flame paſſes quite round its ſides. The fires are of wood, which is very dear, and forms a conſiderable article of expence. The lixivium, when properly evaporated, is ſet to chryſtallize, and the cryſtals to drain. The ſcum taken off in the boiling, is thrown upon the plaſter collected, which the longer it lies in heaps (wetted from time to time) the ſtronger it becomes; as alſo the more putrid matters are thrown on it. The plaſter uſed in the buildings at Paris, is made of that gypſeous earth, called plaſter of Paris, and found in the neighbourhood of that city. No lime is mixed with it in general, but, where there is lime mixed, it is remarked that the nitre made from thence is not ſo good, nor in ſo great quantity. They know when the old plaſter is worth being collected and employed, by the ſaltiſh taſte of it. The naſtineſs of the French houſes, even in ſome parts of the great ones; the durability of their buildings, the nature of their plaſter, and the regulations of their *police*, give that nation an advantage over us in making nitre, which it will be well if the ingenuity and ſcience of thoſe who attempt it among us, may ſuffice to counterballance. It is made alſo in other great towns in France.

Deſcription of a Glaſs Apparatus for making Mineral Waters, &c.



THE following deſcription of an apparatus for impregnating water with fixed air is extracted from an account, publiſhed by the ingenious *Mr. Magellan*, of his improved method of performing that operation. It can ſcarcely be neceſſary to inform our readers,

en, that the world is obliged for this curious diſcovery to Dr. Prieſtley, who firſt publiſhed his method of making Pyrmont water in the year 1772. Since that time, the machines made uſe of for that purpoſe have received various improvements: that which we are now going to deſcribe, is invented for the purpoſe of remedying the ſlowneſs of the proceſs in the methods before practiſed.

ABC (fig. 1,) repreſents one of the improved machines of Mr. Parker, ſtanding upon a wooden diſh *d e*, in order to avoid any water, if ſpilled, from falling on the table. The middle veſſel B has a neck, which is inſerted into the mouth of the veſſel A, being nicely ground air-tight to it. This lower neck of the middle veſſel B, has a ſtopple V of glaſs, compoſed of two parts, both having holes, ſufficient to let a good quantity of air paſs through them: between theſe two parts is left a ſmall ſpace, containing a plano-convex lens, which acts like a valve, in letting the air paſs from below upwards, and hindering the fall of the water into the veſſel A.

The upper veſſel C terminates below in a tube, marked 2, 1, (fig. 1,) which being crooked, hinders the immediate paſſage of the bubbles of fixed air into the upper veſſel C, before they reach the ſurface of the water in the veſſel B. The veſſel C is alſo ground air-tight to the upper neck of the middle veſſel B; and has a ſtopple *w*, fitted to its upper mouth, which either is perforated through the middle, as *w* and *i* (fig. 1 and 2); or is of a conical form, without any hole. But it will be better to have that kind of ſtopple, which is hereafter deſcribed, p. 137. paragraph 3d. This upper veſſel C contains juſt half the water that can be contained in the under one B; and the end (1,) of its crooked tube (2, 1,) goes no lower than the middle of the ſame veſſel B. Each of the veſſels, A and B, have an opening, *m* and *n*, with ground ſtopples, which are only open when occaſion requires, as will be mentioned hereafter.

Figure the 2d repreſents the two veſſels B and C upon a wooden ſtand F, whilſt ſeparated from the veſſel A.

Figure the 4th repreſents a wide glaſs-funnel *q*, which may enter into the upper mouth of the veſſel A.

Figure the 5th repreſents a ſmall phial *p*, which ſerves to meaſure the quantity of the vitriolic acid to be made uſe of.

Fig. the 6th repreſents a little trough of tin R, to meaſure the pounded chalk or marble, that is to be employed in every proceſs:

And fig. the 7th repreſents a particular kind of ſtopple, the uſe of which will be explained hereafter.

The Proceſs with the Simple Machine.

LET ſome dry chalk, as it comes out of the earth, that is to ſay, raw, without being burned in the fire; or rather white marble, which is much better for the purpoſe *, be reduced to powder;

* White marble being firſt granulated, or pounded like coarſe ſand, is much better for this purpoſe, than the pounded chalk: becauſe the action of

der; and let ſome oil of vitriol be at hand. The veſſel *B*, together with C, (fig. 1.) muſt be taken off from A, and put on the wooden ſtand F (fig. 2). Let the veſſel B be filled with ſpring, or any other drinking water, or even with diſtiled water; and let it be joined again with the upper veſſel C.

Let ſome water be poured on the lower veſſel A, ſo as to cover the riſing part of its bottom: but if this appears too vague a direction, pour in fourteen or ſixteen meaſures of water, with the glaſs *p* (fig. 5.): then fill the ſame phial *p* with oil of vitriol, and pour it into the ſame veſſel A, along with the water.

It will be, however, much eaſier to have made beforehand the mixture of oil of vitriol and water, in the above proportion. In this caſe it will not be liable to ſuch bad conſequences, as ſometimes happen with ſtrong oil of vitriol, which, if ſpilt, burns and deſtroys almoſt every thing it meets with. But when weakened by the mixture of about fourteen or ſixteen times as much water, as its own bulk (or twenty times its bulk, if the oil of vitriol is well concentrated) hardly will it then be able to do any miſchief, no more than the juice of lemons, or any other ſuch acid, as vinegar, *&c.* It is true that it's bulk becomes greatly increaſed: but it's carriage will be faſer, and it's value very conſiderably cheaper to the purchaſer.

After the acid is poured into the veſſel A, let the glaſs-funnel *q* (fig. 4.) be put into the ſame veſſel: and filling the trough *R* (fig. 6.) with the pounded chalk or marble, let it be thrown into it. Take off the funnel *q*, which is uſed only to prevent the chalk from touching the inſide of the mouth of this veſſel; ſince otherwiſe it will ſtick ſo ſtrongly to the neck of the veſſel B, as not to allow the taking it off again without breaking. Then immediately place the two veſſels B and C, as they are, over the mouth of the veſſel A; and all the fixed air which is diſengaged from the chalk or marble, by the force of the diluted acid, will paſs up, through the valve V, into the veſſel B. When this fixed air comes to the top of the veſſel B, it will diſlodge from thence as much water as its bulk: and this water, ſo diſlodged, will go up, by the crooked tube 2, 1, into the veſſel C.

Care muſt be taken not to ſhake the veſſel A, when the powdered chalk is poured in; for otherwiſe a great and ſudden efferveſcence will enſue, which will, perhaps, expel part of the contents. In ſuch a caſe, it will be neceſſary to open the ſtopple *m*, in order to give vent to the efferveſcence for a moment; otherwiſe the veſſel A

the diluted acid upon the marble, laſts a very conſiderable time; and the ſupply of the *fixed air*, which is diſengaged by this efferveſcence, is much more regular than otherwiſe. In general it continues to furniſh *fixed air* more than twenty-four hours. When no more air is produced, if I decant out of the veſſel A, all the acid fluid, already ſaturated, and waſh off the thin, white ſediment, I may employ again the remaining granulated marble, by adding to it freſh water, and a new quantity of vitriolic acid; which will then furniſh a further ſupply of *fixed air*: and this may be repeated over again, until all the marble is diſſolved; which will not be very ſoon.

may

may happen to burſt. Perhaps it will be neceſſary to throw away the contents, to waſh the veſſel with water (becauſe the boiling matter will ſtick between the necks of theſe veſſels, and will cement them together) and to begin the operation afreſh. But if the powdered chalk is thrown in, without any conſiderable ſhake of the machine, there will be but a ſmall effervescence at the beginning. When this operates well, the veſſel *C* will ſoon be filled with water, and the veſſel *B* half filled with air; which when done will be eaſily perceived, by the air going up in large bubbles by the crooked tube 1, 2; this will take place in about two or three minutes.

Whenever the effervescence nearly ceaſes in the veſſel A, it will be revived again by giving it a gentle ſhake, ſo that ſome part of the powdered chalk which is in a heap at the bottom of A, may be mixed with the diluted vitriolic acid, and diſengage more fixed air. However, when it happens that the whole is exhauſted, and no more air ruſhes up to the middle veſſel from the lower one, either more powdered chalk muſt be put in, or more oil of vitriol; or at laſt more water, if neither of the two firſt produced the deſired effect. Theſe additions may be performed by letting them in, either through the opening *m*, or through the mouth of the veſſel A. In this caſe uſe muſt always be made of the funnel *q*, in order to avoid the ſticking of the junctures above-mentioned. If theſe veſſels be ſuffered to ſtand ſix or ſeven hours, the water will be ſufficiently impregnated, without any further trouble, provided the ſupply of fixed air be copious: and ſtill more ſo, if it is there compreſſed any way. It will be of ſome advantage to ſhake the whole apparatus very gently, once or twice in every hour: In this caſe the water may be impregnated by the *fixed air*, in four hours, and perhaps leſs. It was, however, to avoid even this delay, that I invented the following additional veſſels, by means of which the whole operation is conſiderably ſhorter.

Deſcription of the New double Machine.

BESIDES the two veſſels B and C (fig. 1.), I have added two others perfectly alike, repreſented by G and H (fig. 2.). The veſſel H is furniſhed with a ſtopple *i*, either of a conical form, or equally perforated as the other *w*: this veſſel contains half as much as the veſſel G. Both theſe veſſels are ſet upon the wooden ſtand F; and the lower neck of the veſſel G is, not only furniſhed with a valve and ſtopple, as already deſcribed, when ſpeaking of the veſſel B; but it is fitted, and ground air-tight, to the neck of the ſame veſſel A; and has an opening *l*, with a ground ſtopple, which is only opened when occaſion requires, as will be mentioned hereafter.

The wooden ſtand *K* (fig. 3.) is ſo contrived, that a thick piece of glaſs *x*, like a ſmall tumbler, muſt be cemented on the top, after it has been ground air-tight to the under neck of the veſſels B and G. The form of this ſtand is eaſily conceived by fig. 3, it being plane at the bottom, turns up in

a kind of convexity *x z* towards it's edges, and has a round moulding *a b*, which hinders its tumbling, when moderately pushed sideways.

The Process, with the double Glass-Machine.

THE two middle vessels B and G (fig. 1. and 2.), are to be filled with pure water, and put on the stands K and F, with their upper ones C and H, as in the figure. The mixture of oil of vitriol, water, and powdered chalk, or rather marble, must be done in the same manner, as was said in p. 134. par. 2d. and finally the vessels B and C are to be put on the vessel A, as was said p. 134. par. 4th. and following. But as soon as the vessel C is filled with water, thrown up by the air, which dislodges it from the vessel B, through the crooked tube 1. 2, both these vessels B and C are to be removed together as they are, from the vessel A, to the stand K (fig. 3.), and the other vessels G H, which are in the stand F, are to be put in their stead, upon the vessel A. Whilst the operation is going on in these last, you must hold the vessels B C, which are in the stand K, by the neck and stopple *w* with your right hand, and the under neck V with your left: incline them a little sideways, and shake them very briskly, so that the water within B, be very much agitated, presenting many fresh surfaces in contact with the *fixed air*; the greatest part of which will be absorbed into the water: as it will soon appear, by the end of the crooked tube being considerably under the surface of the water in the vessel B.

It will suffice to shake the water in this manner during two or three minutes; which done, loosen the upper vessel C, so that the remaining water may fall into the vessel B; and the unabsorbed air may go out. Then taking off these vessels from the stand K, put them, joined together as they are, on the stand F. By this time the vessel G will be half filled with *fixed air*; and the upper vessel H will be filled with the water thrown up by it. Take then these vessels to the stand K, and replace the others B C, on the mouth of the vessel A, after letting out the unmixed air, as aforesaid; so that these vessels may be half filled again with fixed air, whilst the water in the vessels G H is briskly shaked in the same manner, as the others have been.

When this operation has been repeated three, or at most four times alternately, with each set of vessels, throwing out the remaining air which does not incorporate with the water, after it has been briskly shaked; and adding fresh quantities of *fixed air*, with which it must be well agitated; in this case, the water contained in both the vessels B and C, will be fully saturated in a few minutes.

These artificial mineral waters, are much more pleasant to taste, than the natural Pyrmont or Seltzer's waters, which, besides their *fixed air* (the only part perhaps which affords their renewed virtues, and which is hardly half of what this artificial water may absorb) contain some disagreeable saline taste; and it is known that this

this alone, does not contribute at all to their medicinal virtues; but on the contrary, it may be hurtful in ſome complicated caſes.

The artificial waters will remain as limpid and as tranſparent as before, although there has been abſorbed above as much air as their own bulk. The whole proceſs will hardly take above a quarter of an hour, by this method; and the quantity will be double of that which could be made in the ſimple glaſs-machine.

The water may be taken out by the opening *l* or *n*, to be drank immediately; if not, it will be better to let it remain in the machine, where it has no communication with the external air; otherwiſe, the fixed air goes off by degrees, and it becomes vapid and flat; as it happens alſo to the natural acidulous waters. Theſe artificial waters may, however, be kept a very long time, in bottles well corked, placed with their mouths downwards.

In general they are ſo ſimilar to the natural acidulous waters, that they may be even made to ſparkle like Champaign wine. Mr. Warltire has actually brought theſe waters to this ſtate, by keeping the fixed air compreſſed upon the ſurface of the water in the middle veſſel; as appears by his letter printed in the Appendix to your third volume of *Experiments and Obſervations on Air*, page 366. The ſame end will be obtained, if, inſtead of the ſtopples *w* and *i*, uſe is made of the ſolid one repreſented (fig. 7.) which has a kind of a baſon at the top, in order to hold ſome additional weight. This ſtopple muſt be of a conicle figure, and very looſe; but ſo well ground and ſmooth in its contact, as to be air-tight by its preſſure, which may be increaſed by ſome additional weights in its baſon. If the veſſels are ſtout enough, there is no danger of their burſting in the operation.

Theſe waters may alſo be rendered ferugineous (or chalybeate) very eaſily, by putting, in the middle veſſel, two or more ſlender phials, filled with cuttings of fine iron-binding wire; otherwiſe with ſmall iron nails: becauſe the impregnated water will diſſolve the iron ſo faſt, as to become well ſaturated with it in a few hours, according to the experiment of Mr. Lane. If the iron nails, or the cuttings of wire, were not confined in the ſmall phials, but ſet looſe in the middle veſſel; their ruſt or ſediment would ſoon ſtop the paſſages of the *fixed air* from the under veſſel; in ſuch a caſe the veſſel A muſt burſt; and the whole machine be broken into pieces.

According to Sir John Pringle, there may be added to each pint of theſe waters, from eight to ten drops of *tinctura martis cum ſpiritu ſalis*, in order to reſemble more nearly to the genuine Pyrmont water. But the method of rendering Chalybeate theſe artificial waters, uſed by Dr. Hulme, is to add one grain of ſalt of ſteel to each pint (16 ounces) of water already impregnated with fixed air. There is no doubt but theſe artificial waters may be advantageouſly employed in many medical purpoſes; not only by diſſolving in them the very ſalts, which are found to be contained in many natural ſprings, renowned for their different virtues; but by applying them ſimply without any other mixture. The

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ſame able phyſician, Dr. Hulme, has lately publiſhed an *Account of different Caſes and Experiments*, by which it clearly appears, that *fixed air*, adminiſtered internally, has a powerful action for diſſolving the ſtone in the bladder, and againſt nephritic complaints. Its efficacy is equally beneficial againſt the ſcurvy, the gout, the fevers, even the hectick ones with conſumption, the dyſentery, and the worms *. Theſe artificial waters may be even applied as a vehicle to many draughts, and internal medicines, which will be then leſs nauſeous to the patients, and perhaps more agreeable to the ſtomach, giving to it a tonical ſtrength.

The advantages derived from *fixed air* in œconomical purpoſes, deſerve to be taken notice of in this place. Mr. William Lee and his neighbours, at Hartwell, did preſerve fleſh meat perfectly ſweet for ten days, which was as long as they had occaſion for, in the laſt hot weather of this ſummer (1778), one of the hotteſt we ever had in this country; and this was obtained by waſhing the meat two or three times a day with water impregnated with *fixed air*; even meat that had begun to change was totally recovered by the ſame proceſs, as the ſaid gentleman aſſerted in a letter I have ſeen, directed to a friend of mine.

I ſhall conclude this ſubject by obſerving with you, that fixed air may be given to wine, beer, cyder, and to almoſt any liquor whatſoever. Even when beer has become flat, or dead as it is called, it may be revived by employing the ſame method: but the delicate, though briſk, and agreeable flavour, or acidulous taſte, communicated by the fixed air, and which is ſo manifeſt in water, will hardly be perceived in wine, or other liquors, which have much taſte of their own.

* Dr. Hulme's method is, to give fifteen grains of ſalt of tartar, diluted with three ounces of pure or diſtilled water, four times a day, drinking immediately after, at every time, the ſame quantity of water impregnated with twenty drops of weak ſpirit of vitriol. See his treatiſe, intituled, *Safe and Eaſy Remedy*, &c.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

Account of the first Institution of the Office of Poet Laureat. *From* Warton's *History of English Poetry.*

GREAT confusion has entered into this subject, on account of the degrees in grammar, which included rhetoric and versification, anciently taken in our universities, particularly at Oxford: on which occasion, a wreath of laurel was presented to the new graduate, who was afterwards usually styled *Poeta Laureatus*. These scholastic laureations, however, seem to have given rise to the appellation in question. I will give some instances at Oxford, which at the same time will explain the nature of the studies for which our academical philologists received their rewards. About the year 1470, one John Watson, a student in grammar, obtained a concession to be graduated and laureated in that science; on condition that he composed one hundred Latin verses in praise of the university, and a Latin comedy. Another grammarian was distinguished with the same badge, after having stipulated, that, at the next public act, he would affix the same number of hexameters on the great gates of St. Mary's church, that they might be seen by the whole university. This was at that period the most convenient mode of publication. About the same time, one Maurice Byrchensaw, a scholar in rhetoric, supplicated to be admitted to read lectures, that is, to take a degree, in that faculty; and his petition was granted, with a provision, that he should write one hundred verses on the glory of the university, and not suffer Ovid's Art of Love, and the Elegies of Pamphilus, to be studied in auditory. Not long afterwards, one John Bulman, another rhetorician, having complied with the terms imposed, of explaining the first book of Tully's Offices, and likewise the first of his Epistles, without any pecuniary emolument, was graduated in rhetoric; and a crown of laurel was publicly placed on his head by the hands of the chancellour of the university. About the year 1489, Skelton was laureated at Oxford, and in the year 1493, was permitted to wear his laurel at Cambridge. Robert Whittington affords the last instance of a rhetorical degree at Oxford. He was a secular priest, and eminent for his various treatises in grammar, and for his facility in Latin poetry: having exercised his art many years, and submitting to the customary demand of an hundred verses, he was honoured with the laurel in the year 1512. This title is prefixed to one of his grammatical systems. "ROBER-

ET WHITTINTONI, *Lichfeldienſis, Grammatices Magiſtri,* PROTOVATIS *Angliæ, in florentiſſima Oxonienſi Academia* LAUREATI, DE OCTO PARTIBUS ORATIONIS." In his Panegyric to Cardinal Wolſey, he mentions his laurel.

Suſcipe LAURICOMI munuſcula parva Roberti.

With regard to the poet laureate of the king's of England, an officer of the court remaining under that title to this day, he is undoubtedly the ſame that is ſtyled the King's Verſifier, and to whom one hundred ſhillings were paid as his annual ſtipend, in the year 1251. But when or how that title commenced, and whether this officer was ever ſolemnly crowned with laurel at his firſt inveſtiture, I will not pretend to determine, after the ſearches of the learned Selden on this queſtion have proved unſucceſsful. It ſeems moſt probable, that the barbarous and inglorious name of *verſifier* gradually gave way to an appellation of more elegance and dignity; or rather, that at length, thoſe only were in general invited to this appointment, who had received academical ſanction, and had merited a crown of laurel in the univerſities for their abilities in Latin compoſition, particularly Latin verſification. Thus the *king's laureate* was nothing more than "a *graduated* rhetorician employed in the ſervice of the king." That he originally wrote in Latin, appears from the ancient title *verſificator*: and may be moreover collected from the two Latin poems, which Baſton and Gulielmus, who appear to have reſpectively acted in the capacity of royal poets to Richard the Firſt and Edward the Second, officially compoſed on Richard's cruſade, and Edward's ſiege of Striveling Caſtle.

Andrew Bernard, ſucceſſively poet laureate of Henry the Seventh and the Eighth, affords a ſtill ſtronger proof that this officer was a Latin ſcholar. He was a native of Tholouſe, and an Auguſtine monk. He was not only the king's poet laureate, as it is ſuppoſed, but his hiſtoriographer, and preceptor in grammar to Prince Arthur. He obtained many eccleſiaſtical preferments in England. All the pieces now to be found, which he wrote in the character of poet laureate, are in Latin. Theſe are, "an *Addreſs* to Henry the Eighth for the moſt auſpicious beginning of the tenth year of his reign, with an *Epithalamium* on the marriage of Francis the dauphin of France with the king's daughter." *A New Year's Gift* for the year 1515. And verſes wiſhing proſperity to his majeſty's thirteenth year. He has left ſome Latin hymns; and many of his Latin proſe pieces, which he wrote in the quality of hiſtoriographer to both monarchs, are remaining.

I am of opinion, that it was not cuſtomary for the royal laureate to write in Engliſh, till the reformation of religion had begun to diminiſh the veneration for the Latin language; or rather, till the love of novelty, and a better ſenſe of things, had baniſhed the narrow pedantries of monaſtic erudition, and taught us to cultivate our native tongue. In the mean time it is to be wiſhed, that another change might at leaſt be ſuffered to take place in the execution of this inſtitution, which is confeſſedly Gothic, and unaccommodated to modern

dern manners. I mean, that the more than annual return of a compoſition on a trite argument would be no longer required. I am conſcious I ſay this at a time, when the beſt of kings affords the moſt juſt and copious theme for panegyric: but I ſpeak it at a time, when the department is honourably filled by a poet of taſte and genius, which are idly waſted on the moſt ſplendid ſubjects, when impoſed by conſtraint, and perpetually repeated.

The Order and Manner of creating Knights of the Bath in the Time of Peace, according to the Cuſtom of England.

1. WHEN an eſquire comes to court, to receive the order of knighthood, in the time of peace, according to the cuſtom of England, he ſhall be honourably received by the officers of the court; *&c.* the ſteward or the chamberlain, if they be preſent, but otherwiſe by the marſhalls and uſhers. Then there ſhall be provided two eſquires of honour, grave, and well ſeen in courtſhip and nurture, as alſo in the feats of chivalrie, and they ſhall be eſquires, and governours in all things relating to him, which ſhall take the order aforeſaid.

2. And if the eſquire do come before dinner, he ſhall carry up one diſh of the firſt courſe to the king's table.

3. And after this the eſquire's governours ſhall conduct the eſquire, that is to receive the order, into his chamber, without any more being ſeen that day.

4. And in the evening the eſquire's governours ſhall ſend for the barbour, and they ſhall make ready a bath, handſomely hung with linen, both within and without the veſſel, taking care that it be covered with tapiſtrie and blankets, in reſpect of the coldneſs of the night. And then ſhall the eſquire be ſhaven, and his hair cut round. After which the eſquire's governours ſhall go to the king, and ſay, *Sir, it is now in the evening, and the eſquire is fitted for the bath when you pleaſe:* Whereupon the king ſhall command his chamberlain that he ſhall take along with him unto the eſquire's chamber, the moſt gentle and grave knights that are preſent, to inform, counſel, and inſtruct him touching the order, and feats of chivalrie; and, in like manner, that the other eſquires of the houſehold, with the minſtrells, ſhall proceed before the knights, ſinging, dancing, and ſporting, even to the chamber door of the ſaid eſquire.

5. And when the eſquire's governours ſhall hear the noiſe of the minſtrells, they ſhall undreſs the ſaid eſquire, and put him naked into the bath: but, at the entrance into the chamber, the eſquire's governours ſhall cauſe the muſic to ceaſe, and the eſquires alſo for a while. And this being done, the grave knights ſhall enter into the chamber without making any noiſe, and, doing reverence to each other, ſhall conſider which of themſelves it ſhall be that is to inſtruct the eſquire in the order and courſe of the bath. And when they are agreed, then ſhall the chief of them go to the bath, and, kneeling down before it, ſay, with a ſoft voice: *Sir! be this bath of great honour to you*; and then he ſhall declare unto him the feats of the order, as far as

he can, putting part of the water of the bath upon the ſhoulder of the eſquire; and having ſo done, take his leave. And the eſquire's governours ſhall attend at the ſides of the bath, and ſo likewiſe the other knights, the one after the other, till all be done.

6. Then ſhall theſe knights go out of the chamber for a while; and the eſquire's governours ſhall take the eſquire out of the bath, and help him to his bed, there to continue till his body be dry; which bed ſhall be plain and without curtains. And as ſoon as he is dry, they ſhall help him out of bed, they ſhall cloath him very warm, in reſpect of the cold of the night; and over his inner garments ſhall put on a robe of ruſſet, with long ſleives, having a hood thereto, like unto that of an hermite. And the eſquire being out of the bath, the barbour ſhall take away the bath, with whatſoever appertaineth thereto, both within and without, for his fee; and likewiſe for the coller (about his neck) be he earl, baron, baneret, or batcheler, according to the cuſtom of the court.

7. And then ſhall the eſquire's governours open the dore of the chamber, and ſhall cauſe the antient and grave knights to enter, to conduct the eſquire to the chapell: and when they are come in, the eſquires, ſporting and dancing, ſhall go before the eſquire, with the minſtrells, making melodie to the chapell.

8. And being entered the chapell, there ſhall be wine and ſpices ready to give to the knights and eſquires. And then the eſquire's governours ſhall bring the ſaid knights before the eſquire to take their leave of him; and he ſhall give them thanks all together, for the pains, favour, and courteſie which they have done him; and this being performed, they ſhall depart out of the chapell.

9. Then ſhall the eſquire's governours ſhut the dore of the chapell, none ſtaying therein except themſelves, the prieſt, the chandler, and the watch. And, in this manner ſhall the eſquire ſtay in the chapell all night, till it be day, beſtowing himſelf in oriſons and prayers, beſeeching Almighty God, and his bleſſed mother, that, of their good grace, they will give him ability to receive this high temporal dignitie, to the honour, praiſe, and ſervice of them; as alſo of holy church, and the order of knighthood. And, at day break, one ſhall call the prieſt to confeſs him of all his ſins, and, having heard mattines and maſs, ſhall afterwards be commended, if he pleaſe.

10. And after his entrance into the chapell, there ſhall be a taper burning before him; and ſo ſoon as maſs is begun, one of the governours ſhall hold the taper untill the reading of the goſpell; and then ſhall the governour deliver it into his hands, who ſhall hold it himſelf, till the goſpel be ended; but then ſhall receive it again from him, and ſet it before him, there to ſtand during the whole time of maſs.

11. And at the elevation of the hoſt, one of the governours ſhall take the hood from the eſquire, and afterwards deliver it to him again, untill the goſpell *in principio*; and at the beginning thereof the governour ſhall take the ſame hood again, and cauſe it to be carried away,

away, and ſhall give him the taper again into his own hands.

12. And then, having a peny, or more, in readineſs, near to the candleſtick, at the words *verbum caro factum eſt*, the eſquire, kneeling, ſhall offer the taper and the peny; that is to ſay, the taper to the honour of God, and the peny to the honour of the perſon that makes him a knight. All which being performed, the eſquire's governours ſhall conduct the eſquire to his chamber, and ſhall lay him again in bed till it be full day light. And when he ſhall be thus in bed, till the time of his riſing, he ſhall be cloathed with a covering of gold, called Singleton, and this ſhall be lined with blew Cardene. And when the governours ſhall ſee it fit time, they ſhall go to the king, and ſay to him; *Sir, when doth it pleaſe you that our maſter ſhall riſe?* Whereupon the king ſhall command the grave knights, eſquires, and minſtrells, to go to the chamber of the ſaid eſquire for to raiſe him, and to attire and dreſs him, and to bring him before him into the hall. But, before their entrance, and the noiſe of the minſtrells heard, the eſquire's governours ſhall provide all neceſſaries ready for the order, to deliver to the knights, for to attire and dreſs the eſquire.

And when the knights are come to the eſquire's chamber, they ſhall enter with leave, and ſay to him; *Sir, Good morrow to you, it is time to get up and make yourſelf ready*; and thereupon they ſhall take him by the arm to be dreſſed, the moſt antient of the ſaid knights reaching him his ſhirt, another giving him his breeches, the third his doublet; and another putting upon him a kirtle of red Tartarin, two other ſhall raiſe him from the bed, and two other put on his nether ſtockings, with ſoles of leather ſowed to them; two other ſhall lace his ſleives, and another ſhall gird him with a girdle of white leather, without any buckles thereon; another ſhall combe his head; another ſhall put on his coife; another ſhall give him his mantle of ſilk (over the baſes or kirtle of red Tartarin) tyed with a lace of white ſilk, with a pair of white gloves hanging at the end of the lace. And the chandler ſhall take for his fees all the garments, with the whole array and neceſſaries wherewith the eſquire ſhall be apparelled and cloathed on the day that he comes into the court to receive the order; as alſo the bed wherein he firſt lay after his bathing, together with the ſingleton and other neceſſaries; in conſideration of which fees, the ſame chandler ſhall find, at his proper coſt, the ſaid coife, the gloves, the girdle, and the lace.

13. And when all this is done, the grave knights ſhall get on horſeback, and conduct the eſquire to the hall, the midſtrells going before making muſick: but the horſe muſt be accoutred as followeth: the ſaddle having a cover of black leather, the bow of the ſaddle being of white wood quartered. The ſtirrup-leathers black, the ſtirrups gilt; the paitrell of black leather gilt, with a croſs-paté gilt, hanging before the breaſt of the horſe, but without any crooper: the bridle black, with long notched rains, after the Spaniſh faſhion, and a croſs-paté on the front. And there muſt be provided a young eſquire, courteous, who ſhall ride

before

before the eſquire, bareheaded, and carry the eſquire's ſword, with the ſpurs hanging at the handle of the ſword; and the ſcabbard of the ſword ſhall be of white leather, and the girdle of white leather, without buckles. And the youth ſhall hold the ſword by the point, and after this manner muſt they ride to the king's hall, the governours being ready at hand.

14. And the grave knights ſhall conduct the ſaid eſquire; and ſo ſoon as they come before the hall dore, the marſhalls and huiſhers are to be ready to meet him, and deſire him to alight; and being alighted, the marſhall ſhall take the horſe for his fee, or elſe c s. Then ſhall the knights conduct him into the hall, up to the high table, and afterwards up to the end of the ſecond table, until the king's coming, the knights ſtanding on each ſide of him, and the youth holding the ſword upright before him, between the two governours.

15. And when the king is come into the hall, and beholdeth the eſquire ready to receive this high order and temporal dignitie, he ſhall aſke for the ſword and ſpurs, which the chamberlain ſhall take from the youth, and ſhew to the king; and thereupon the king, taking the right ſpur, ſhall deliver it to the moſt noble and gentile perſon there, and ſhall ſay to him, *Put this upon the eſquire's heel*; and he kneeling on one knee, muſt take the eſquire by the right leg, and, putting his foot on his own knee, is to faſten the ſpur upon the right heel of the eſquire; and then making a croſs upon the eſquire's knee, ſhall kiſs him; which being done, another knight muſt come and put on his left ſpur in the like manner. And then ſhall the king, of his great favour, take the ſword and gird the eſquire therewith; whereupon the eſquire is to lift up his arms, holding his hands together, and the gloves betwixt his thumbs and fingers.

16. And the king, putting his own armes about the eſquire's neck, ſhall ſay, *Be thou a good knight*, and afterwards kiſs him. Then are the antient knights to conduct this new knight to the chapell, with much muſick, even to the high altar, and there he ſhall kneel, and, putting his right hand upon the altar, is to promiſe to maintain the rights of the holy church, during his whole life.

17. And then he ſhall ungirt himſelf of his ſword, and, with great devotion to God and holy church, offer it there; praying unto God and all his ſaints, that he may keep that order, which he hath ſo taken, even to the end: all which being accompliſhed, he is to take a draught of wine.

18. And, at his going out of the chapell, the king's maſter-cook being ready to take off his ſpurs, for his own fee, ſhall ſay, *I the king's maſter-cook am come to receive your ſpurs for my fee; and if you do any thing contrary to the order of knighthood, (which God forbid), I ſhall hack your ſpurs from your heels.*

19. After this the knights muſt conduct him again into the hall, where he ſhall ſit the firſt at the knight's table, and the knights about him, himſelf to be ſerved as the others are; but he muſt neither cut nor drink at the table, nor ſpit, nor look about him, upwards or downwards, more than a bride. And this being done, one

of

of his governours having a handkerchief in his hand, ſhall hold it before his face when he is to ſpit. And when the king is riſen from the table, and gone into his chamber, then ſhall the new knight be conducted, with great ſtore of knights, and minſtrells proceeding before him, into his own chamber; and at his entrance, the knights and minſtrells ſhall take leave of him, and go to dinner.

20. And the knights being thus gone, the chamber dore ſhall be faſtened, and the new knight diſrobed of his attire, which is to be given to the king's of armes, in caſe they be there preſent; and if not, then to the other heralds, if they be there; otherwiſe, to the minſtrells, together with a mark of ſilver, if he be a knight bacheler; if a baron, double to that; if an earl, or of a ſuperior rank, double thereto. And the ruſſet night-cap muſt be given to the watch, or elſe a noble.

Then is he to be cloathed again with a blew robe, the ſleives whereof to be ſtreight, ſhaped after the faſhion of a prieſt's; and upon his left ſhoulder to have a lace of white ſilk hanging: and he ſhall wear that lace upon all his garments, from that day forwards, untill he have gained ſome honour and renown by arms, and is regiſtred of as high record as the nobles, knights, eſquires, and heralds of arms; and be renowned for ſome feats of arms as aforeſaid; or, that ſome great prince, or moſt noble ladie, can cut that lace from his ſhoulder, ſaying, *Sir! we have heard ſo much of the true renown concerning your honour, which you have done in divers parts, to the great fame of Chivalrie, as to yourſelf, and of him that made you a knight, that it is meet this lace be taken from you.*

21. After dinner, the knights of honour and gentlemen, muſt come to the knight, and conduct him into the preſence of the king, the eſquire's governours going before him, where he is to ſay, *Right noble and renowned Sir! I do, in all that I can, give you thanks for theſe honours, curteſies, and bountie, which you have vouchſafed to me.* And having ſo ſaid, ſhall take his leave of the king.

22. Then are the eſquire's governours to take leave of this their maſter, ſaying, *Sir! we have, according to the king's command, and as we were obliged, done what we can; but if through negligence we have in aught diſpleaſed you, or by any thing we have done amiſs at this time, we deſire pardon of you for it. And, on the other ſide, Sir, as right is, according to the cuſtoms of the court, and antient kingdoms, we do require our robes and fees, as the king's eſquires, companions to batchelors and other lords.*

The Origin of Lotteries in England.

THE firſt we meet with was drawn A. D. 1569. It conſiſted of 40,000 lots, at ten ſhillings each lot: the prizes were plate; and the profits were to go towards repairing the havens of this kingdom. "It was drawn at the weſt door of St. Paul's cathedral. The drawing began on the 11th of January, 1569, and con-

tinued inceſſantly drawing, *day and night*, till the 6th of May following;" as Maitland, from Stowe, informs us in his Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 257. There were then only *three* lottery-offices in London. The propoſals for this lottery were publiſhed in the years 1567 and 1568. It was at firſt intended to have been drawn at the houſe of Mr. Dericke, her Majeſty's ſervant (i. e. her jeweller), but was afterwards drawn as above mentioned.

Dr. Rawlinſon ſhewed the Antiquary Society, 1748, "A Propoſal for a very rich Lottery, generall without any Blankes, contayning a great number of good prizes, as well of redy money as of plate and certain ſorts of merchandizes, having been valued and priſed by the commandment of the Queenes moſt excellent Majeſties order, to the entent that ſuch commodities as may chance to ariſe thereof after the charges borne may be converted towards the reparations of the havens and ſtrength of the realme, and towards ſuch other public good workes. The number of lotts ſhall be foure hundred thouſand, and no more; and every lott ſhall be the ſumme of tenne ſhillings ſterling only, and no more. To be filled by the feaſt of St. Bartholomew. The ſhew of priſes ar to be ſeen in Cheapſide, at the ſign of the Queenes Armes, the houſe of Mr. Dericke, goldſmith, ſervant to the Queen. Some other orders about it in 1567-8. Printed by Hen. Bynneman."

"In the year 1612, King James, in ſpecial favour for the preſent plantation of Engliſh colonies in Virginia, granted a lottery, to be held at the weſt end of St. Paul's; whereof one Thomas Sharplys, a taylor of London, had the chief prize, which was four thouſand crowns, in fair plate." Baker's Chronicle.

See an account of the prizes, &c. of this lottery, in Smith's Hiſtory of Virginia.

In the reign of Queen Anne, it was thought neceſſary to ſuppreſs lotteries, as nuiſances to the public. See Dr. King's Works, Vol. II. p. 169.

Abſtract of an Account of ſome remarkable ancient Ruins, lately diſcovered in the Highlands *and northern parts of* Scotland. *By* John Williams, *Mineral Engineer.*

THE Highlands of Scotland having been formerly almoſt an inacceſſible country, made it very little known; yet, I believe few countries abound more in monuments of antiquity. Amongſt theſe, the vitrified forts are particularly worthy of our attention, though they appear to have hitherto eſcaped the curioſity of thoſe few travellers, that have had the courage to penetrate into that remote part of the iſland.

Each of the vitrified forts I have yet ſeen, are ſituate on the top of a ſmall hill. Theſe hills every where overlook, and command the view of a beautiful valley, or widely extended level country.

They have always a level area on the ſummit, of leſs or greater extent; and this level area has been ſurrounded by a wall, which, as far as I can judge by the ruins, has been very high, and very ſtrong: but what is moſt extraordinary,

dinary, these walls have been vitrified, or run and compacted together by the force of fire; and that so effectually, that most of the stones have been melted down; and any part of the stones not quite run to glass, has been entirely enveloped by the vitrified matter; and in some places the vitrification has been so complete, that the ruins appear now like vast masses, or fragments of coarse glass, or slags.

Though these fortified hills have a level area on the summit, yet they are always difficult of access, except in one place, which has every where been strengthened by additional works.

I have seen some of these hills of a long oval figure, which were accessible at both ends; and when that is the figure, such have been strongly fortified at each end, as now appears by the ruins.

For your farther satisfaction, and for your instruction, if you should travel through that country, I will point out a few places, where I have seen these extraordinary ruins.

The first I will take notice of, is on the hill of Knockfarril, the south side the valley of Strathpeffar, two miles west of Dingwall in Rossshire.

This hill is about nine hundred feet of perpendicular height above the valley; has a perfect command of the view of the whole valley, and of the country for some miles eastward.

This hill is of a long figure, exceeding steep on both sides; but the ridge falls on both ends with an easy slope.

The area within the walls is about a hundred and twenty paces long, and about forty broad. But as they could not, it seems, conveniently take in the whole length of the ground that was moderately level, there have been very high, and apparently very strong works at each end, without the surrounding wall.

At the desire of the honourable board of annexed estates, I made a section quite through the ruins of the vitrified fort here, beginning without all the ruins, and cutting to the rock all the way, not only through the ruins, but also through the inclosed area, in order to observe every thing that appeared, both in going through the ruins, and under the green surface of the area, within the ruins of the walls.

I began the cut at Knockfarril, not exactly in the middle, but a little nearer the east end, to be quite clear of two hollow places, which, upon examination, I found to have been wells. These wells I have invariably found in all the forts.

I began to dig here, quite on the outside of all the ruins. At first we met with nothing in digging, but rich black mold, mixed with large stones, and fragments of the vitrified ruins.

This continued the same for several yards, only that the stones and fragments increased more and more as we advanced; and when we came near the ruins of the wall, we met with little besides stones, and fragments of the vitrified matter.

When we had advanced to the ruins of the wall, on the south side, we found it difficult to get through; for, though it is evident the wall has fallen down, and

broke to pieces in the fall, yet many of the fragments are ſo large and ſtrong, and the vitrification ſo entire, that it was not eaſy breaking through. However, with the help of the crows, and plenty of hands, we tumbled over ſome very large fragments; which at firſt began to go whole down the hill, but when they gained velocity of motion, they daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks, and ended in a furious ſhower at the bottom of the hill.

I was obliged to get under one large fragment, which I left as a bridge over the ſouth end of the cut.

On the north ſide, we began on the outſide of the wall, immediately in the rubbiſh of the vitrified ruins, and ſoon came to pretty high ruins of a wall, more hard and ſtrong than any thing of the kind I had ſeen before; which I did not expect here, as this wall was almoſt wholly grown over with heath and graſs. I found it neceſſary to undermine the ruins of this north wall, to let its own weight contribute its help to bring it down.

The height of the ruins of this north wall, is now no leſs than twelve feet perpendicular, though certainly all fallen down; what then muſt it have been when ſtanding? It appears quite evident, that the whole of the vitrified wall, ſurrounding the incloſed area, has fallen flat outward.

It appears to me from the examination I was enabled to make, that the wall on Knockfarril, has been run together by vitrification, much more perfectly than moſt of the kind I have ſeen.

In ſome others, the ſtones ſeem to have been partly run down, and partly enveloped by the vitrid matter; but here, the whole wall has been run together into one ſolid maſs: at the ſame time, in any ſection of this wall, or of the fragments of it, we ſee many pieces and ends of ſtones, not quite melted down; but theſe are ſo much one maſs with the vitrified matter, that it is evident the whole wall was melted down, and run together in the building of it, and that it was not any matter they poured among the ſtones in the wall; for I could never ſee in this wall, which I examined very minutely, ſo much as one ſtone, nor a piece of a ſtone, that was not affected by the fire, and leſs or more of it vitrified.

Immediately on the inſide of this ſurrounding wall, there are ruins of vitrified buildings, which ſeem to have been worſe done, and ſo are fallen into more decay than the outer walls. I imagine theſe inner works have been a range of habitations, reared againſt, or under the ſhade of the outer wall.

Theſe inner buildings appear to have gone quite round; but they have been much higher and larger on the north ſide, facing the ſun, than on the ſouth ſide, facing the north.

I ſaw nothing in the middle of the area, but rich black mold, mixt with ſtones, bits of bones, which the Highland workmen ſaid were deers bones, and ſmall fragments of the vitrified ruins, which evidently had been ſcattered in the courſe of time, and mixed with the ſoil.

I opened both the holes which looked like the ruins of wells, and ſoon came to water.

I alſo

I alſo made a cut into a very high heap of ruins, without the ſurrounding wall, at the weſt end of this place of ſtrength. This ſeems to have been an outwork of great ſtrength and conſequence, as the ruins are very high, and very wide; but of what ſort it has been, is hard to determine, as it is now an undiſtinguiſhable heap of rubbiſh.

I began low enough here, that I might be certain I was without the foundation of all former buildings. At firſt, I met with nothing but rich black mold, mixt with large ſtones, and fragments of the vitrified walls, as in the ſection of the incloſed area; and when we advanced into the ruins, I found nothing but a confuſed heap of calcined ſtones, duſt reſembling aſhes, with larger and ſmaller fragments of the vitrified matter.

I only went half way through this heap of ruins, which is no leſs than twenty-three feet perpendicular, from the top of the heap of ruins, down to the foundation; from which it plainly appears, it has been of great height when ſtanding.

I ſaid above, that this vaſt ruin is only an undiſtinguiſhable heap of rubbiſh; notwithſtanding, it is very evident, it has been a vitrified building, as there are in it fragments of the vitrified walls, of different dimenſions, and in different degrees of decay. Some of theſe fragments are many feet every way, and ſo ſtrong I could hardly get them broke; others, large indeed, but eaſily broken to pieces, and a great deal fallen down into rubbiſh, which appeared like calcined ſtones and aſhes; and when we were advanced into the middle, it was all one heap of vitrified ruins from top to bottom, broken and cruſhed to pieces by its own weight.

At the out-ſkirts of theſe ruins, and at the bottom of the hill below; there is a great quantity of large ſtones of all ſizes and ſhapes, which have not been touched by fire; from which it appears to me, there has been ſome ſort of ſtone buildings going round, on the outſide of the vitrified walls: and I imagine theſe dry ſtone buildings have been raiſed on the ſouth ſide only, with a proper ſpace between them and the vitrified walls, for the purpoſe of keeping in, and ſecuring their cattle from their enemies. One great reaſon why I think ſo, is, that when cutting into the outwork at the weſt end of Knockfarril, I ſaw, under the ruins, a ſtratum of dung, about three inches deep, preſſed hard by the weight of the ruins. This ſtratum of dung continued for many yards, as we advanced.

I have obſerved the remains of dry ſtone ruins going round ſome part of the outſide of all the vitrified forts I have ſeen, and always at ſome little diſtance from the vitrified ruins; and, to the beſt of my memory, they are on the ſouth ſide of the ruins of the fort, where the ſituation will admit of it: They are always ſure to be on the flatteſt ſide of the hill, for the eaſe of the cattle ſtanding or lying, and on the ſunny ſide, if poſſible, for their comfort. And I have frequently obſerved, that where there was not room enough on the level area above, to have this dry ſtone incloſure without the ſurrounding vitrified wall, on the ſummit, they have made a large ditch on

that ſide of the hill which has the eaſieſt ſlope; and on the outſide of theſe ditches, there are every where dry ſtone ruins; which makes it evident to me, that theſe outer fences have been to ſecure their cattle. Where they had not room on the level above, they were obliged to cut a level place below, as the cattle could not ſtand upon the ſlope.

The full name of this remarkable fortified hill, is Knockfarril-naphian, which I am told by gentlemen ſkilled in the Gallic language, is Fingal's place on Knockfarril, this being the name of the hill.

The tradition of the common people concerning this place, is, that it was the habitation of giants; and that the chief of theſe giants was Ree Phian M'Coul, which, I am told, means King Fingal the ſon of Coul.

The next vitrified fort I will point out to you, is on the hill of Craig-Phadrick, immediately above the houſe of Muirtoun, two miles weſt of Inverneſs.

There is one thing here, peculiar only to this ruin, which I have not yet ſeen on any other fortified hill; viz. There are here diſtinct ruins of two vitrified walls quite round the incloſed area, and three at the entrance on the eaſt end: but it is common in other places of this kind, to have additional works at the entry.

The inner wall here appears to have been very high and ſtrong; but, on the contrary, the outer wall ſeems to me, never to have been of any great height. It is founded on the bare, ſolid rock, about ſix or eight paces from the inner wall; goes quite round, but what remains of it is ſo low, that I cannot think it was deſigned for defence, unleſs it was to ſecure their cattle, which I imagine it was intended for, as I do not remember to have ſeen any dry ſtone ruins here.

I ſaw a good deal of this outer wall, ſeeming to me entire, ſticking to the firm, bare rock, where it was firſt run, not above four or five feet high, but it muſt have been ſomewhat higher.

I cannot help looking upon what remains entire of this low vitrified wall, as the greateſt curioſity of any ruins in Europe.

This is a ſpecimen in little of the vitrified walls, not fallen to total ruin, which may help to give an idea of what ſort of ſtructures they were, that have produced ſuch vaſt, though undiſtinguiſhable ruins.

About twelve or fourteen miles from Inverneſs, there are other two of theſe fortified hills, called Caſtle-Finlay, two miles north-eaſt, and Dun-Evan, two miles ſouth-weſt of the caſtle of Calder, in the ſhire of Nairn.

I have ſeen a ſmall vitrified ruin, three miles from Fort-Auguſtus, which I think is called Tor-dun Caſtle; and a much more conſiderable one, on the weſt ſide of Gleneves, in Lochaber, about three miles ſouth ſide the garriſon of Fort William.

The forts I have already enumerated, are ſituated in the Highlands and north. I will now beg leave, to lead you at once as far ſouth as the caſtle-hill of Finaven. The vitrified ruins at Finaven, are about a ſhort mile weſt ſide the kirk of Aberlemny, about half a mile north ſide the public road, half

half way between Brechin and Forfar, in the ſhire of Angus.

The area within walls here, is the longeſt I have yet ſeen, being about a hundred and fifty paces long, and thirty-ſix broad. Before I ſaw this place, I was very curious to know if there were any of theſe extraordinary ruins ſouth ſide the Grampians. This one ſatisfied me in that point. I make no doubt of many more being found, if I had time to ſearch for them. Now I am anxious to know, if there be any of them on the ſouth ſide the Forth, and in other parts of the iſland. The following hints may aſſiſt thoſe, whoſe curioſity may lead them to ſearch for theſe antiquities.

Many of the fortified hills are about the height of Arthur's ſeat, near Edinburgh; ſome of them a little higher, and ſome lower. The vitrified ruins often appear at a diſtance, crowning the head of the hill, like ſome ſort of an incloſure which one cannot underſtand the meaning of. The fortified hills are generally very ſteep on one or more of the ſides. If a great head of large ſtones are ſeen, near the head of ſuch a hill, or going round any part of the ſides of it, they ſhould examine the ſummit with great care and accuracy; for in ſome places the vitrified ruins are nearly all grown over with heath and graſs, and often appear, at firſt ſight, like the ruins of ſome earth or ſod buildings, which, perhaps, is one reaſon why theſe extraordinary ruins were not diſcovered ſooner.

With regard to the conſtruction of theſe vitrified walls, it muſt be obſerved in the firſt place, that, the rock of all the fortified hills I have yet ſeen, is more or leſs of that coagulated kind, commonly called the plumpudding rock. The rock on the head of Knockfarril, and half way down, is ſo ſtrong a ſpecies of it, that it appears like vaſt ſtrata of water-rounded ſtones and gravel, like the ſea beach, cemented together with lime, and ſome iron.

This ſort of ſtone is eaſily run down with a ſtrong fire; and I have obſerved in other places, where the rock was leſs of this kind, and had not much lime in the compoſition of the ſtone, that the vitrification ſeemed not to be ſo well done, as the ruins in ſuch places appear like calcined ſtones and aſhes, with here and there a fragment ſticking together, to make me ſure it is the ruins of a vitrified building.

Mr. Watt, engineer, whoſe deſcription of Craig Patrick is annexed to our author's account, obſerves, that the rock of which the mountain conſiſts, is of a granite ſpecies,—but not an uniform ſtone. It is compoſed principally of round water-worn pieces of a red granite, mixed with pieces of a ſtone which I call *granulated quartz*, which are generally of a greyiſh colour; and alſo with pieces of the common quartz. The whole is cemented together, and the interſtices filled up, by a coarſe ſand of the red granite.

The materials of which, upon examination, he found the walls to be compoſed, greatly reſemble, he ſays, the cinders or clinkers produced in a lime-kiln, being, in ſome parts, a vitrified ſpongy maſs, with a gloſſy ſurface; and, in

other places, when it has been broke into for a ſmall depth, you may ſee calcined, though unvitrified matters mixed in large pieces among the ſpongy ſlag. It is evidently the native rock, vitrified: and the granite parts ſeem to be the only ones which have come into fuſion, and have formed the ſlag.

That a very ſtrong fire would melt the ſtones, is a fact of which the rudeſt nations might have frequent experience; but ſtill it is difficult to conceive how they could erect ſuch vaſt buildings, run, and compacted together, by the force of fire.

I am inclined to imagine that they raiſed two parallel dykes of earth or ſods, in the direction or courſe of their intended wall or building; and left a ſpace between them, juſt wide enough for the wall. I ſuppoſe theſe two parallel dykes, the groove, or mould in which they were to run their wall. This groove between the two dykes I ſuppoſe they packed full of fuel, on which they would lay a proper quantity of the materials to be vitrified. There is no doubt but a hot fire would melt down the ſtones, eſpecially if they were of the plumpudding kind, and not too large. And the frame of earth would keep the materials, when in fuſion, from running without the breadth of their intended wall.

This being the foundation, I ſuppoſe they have added new fires, and more materials, and raiſed their mould of earth by degrees, till they brought the whole to the intended height, and then have removed the earth from both ſides the vitrified wall.

I am confident, from the appearance of the ruins, that the materials were run down by the fire, in ſome ſuch method as this. In all the ſections of the larger and ſmaller fragments of the vitrified ruins I have ſeen, I never ſaw the leaſt appearance of a ſtone being laid in any particular way. I never ſaw a large ſtone in any fragment of theſe ruins; nor any ſtone, nor piece of a ſtone, that was not affected by the fire, and ſome part of it vitrified; and all the bits of ſtone that appear in theſe fragments, appear juſt as we would ſuppoſe they would fall down in the fire, when the materials were in a ſtate of fuſion.

The ingenious Dr. Joſeph Black, profeſſor of chymiſtry in the univerſity of Edinburgh, in a letter to the author, thinks it very probable, that they were executed in ſome ſuch manner as is here imagined. He adds, there are in moſt parts of Scotland, different kinds of ſtone, which can, without much difficulty, be melted or ſoftened by fire, to ſuch a degree, as to make them cohere together. Such is the grey ſtone, called whin-ſtone, which, for ſome time paſt, has been carried to London to pave the ſtreets. Such alſo is the granite, or moor-ſtone, which is applied to the ſame uſe, and pieces of which are plainly viſible in ſome ſpecimens of theſe vitrified walls, which I received from my friends. — There are alſo many lime ſtones, which, in conſequence of their containing certain proportions of ſand and clay, are very fuſible: and there is no doubt, that ſand ſtone, and pudden-ſtone, when they happen to contain certain

tain proportions of iron, mixed with the ſand and gravel of which they are compoſed, muſt have the ſame quality.——A pudden-ſtone compoſed of pieces of granite, muſt neceſſarily have it.

There is abundance of one or other of theſe kinds of ſtone in many parts of Scotland; and as the whole country was anciently a foreſt, and the greater part of it overgrown with wood, it is eaſy to underſtand how thoſe who erected theſe works, got the materials neceſſary for their purpoſes.

Further Remarks on the ſuppoſed ancient Poems, aſcribed to Rowlie.

IN a former volume (19th) we gave our readers an account of the diſcovery ſaid to have been made by one Chatterton, of ſome ancient poems in the church of St. Mary of Radcliffe, near Briſtol, and aſcribed by him to Thomas Rowlie, a monk of that city. In this age of literary forgeries, it is not to be wondered, that the ſuſpicious circumſtances under which theſe poems made their firſt appearance, ſhould have created many doubts with regard to their authenticity. There were not, however, wanting many perſons, and amongſt thoſe, men of conſiderable note as antiquarians, who imagined they ſaw in theſe productions indubitable proofs of their antiquity. Critics of another claſs, judging from the ſtyle, thoughts and verſification of thoſe compoſitions, did not heſitate to pronounce them ſpurious. The opinion of Mr. Warton, whoſe knowledge, as an antiquarian, and judgment, as a man of taſte, are univerſally acknowledged, muſt neceſſarily be deciſive.

"I am of opinion, he ſays, (Hiſt. of Engl. Poet. Vol. 2. p. 153.) that none of theſe pieces are genuine. The Execution of Sir Charles Baudwin, is now allowed to be modern, even by thoſe who maintain all the other poems to be antient. The Ode to Ella, and the Epiſtle to Lydgate, with his Anſwer, were written on one piece of parchment; and, as pretended, in Rowlie's own hand. This was ſhewn to an ingenious critic and intelligent antiquary of my acquaintance; who aſſures me, that the writing was a groſs and palpable forgery. It was not even ſkilfully counterfeited. The form of the letters, although artfully contrived to wear an antiquated appearance, differed very eſſentially from every one of our early alphabets. Nor were the characters uniform and conſiſtent: part of the ſame manuſcript exhibiting ſome letters ſhaped according to the preſent round hand, while others were traced in imitation of the antient court and text hands. The parchment was old; and that it might look ſtill older, was ſtained on the outſide with ochre, which was eaſily rubbed off with a linen cloth. Care had alſo been evidently taken to tincture the ink with a yellow caſt. To communicate a ſtronger ſtamp of rude antiquity, the Ode was written like proſe: no diſtinction, or termination, being made between the ſeveral verſes. Lydgate's Anſwer, which makes a part of this manuſcript, and is written by the ſame hand, I have already proved to be a manifeſt impoſition. This parchment has ſince been unfortunately loſt. I have myſelf carefully examined the original manu-

manuſcript, as it is called, of the little piece intitled, Account of W. Cannynge's Feaſt. It is likewiſe on parchment, and, I am ſorry to ſay, that the writing betrays all the ſuſpicious ſignatures which were obſerved in that of the Ode to Ella. I have repeatedly and diligently compared it with three or four authentic manuſcripts of the time of Edward the fourth, to all which I have found it totally unlike. Among other ſmaller veſtiges of forgery, which cannot be ſo eaſily deſcribed and explained here, at the bottom are added in ink two coats of arms, containing empalements of Cannynge and of his friends or relations, with family-names, apparently delineated by the ſame pen which wrote the verſes. Even the ſtyle and drawing of the armorial bearings diſcover the hand of a modern herald. This, I believe, is the only pretended original of the poetry of Rowlie, now remaining.

As to internal arguments, an unnatural affectation of ancient ſpelling and of obſolete words, not belonging to the period aſſigned to the poems, ſtrikes us at firſt ſight. Of theſe old words combinations are frequently formed, which never yet exiſted in the unpoliſhed ſtate of the Engliſh language: and ſometimes the antiquated diction is moſt inartificially miſapplied, by an improper contexture with the preſent modes of ſpeech. The attentive reader will alſo diſcern, that our poet ſometimes forgets his aſſumed character, and does not always act his part with conſiſtency: for the chorus, or interlude, of the damſel who drowns herſelf, which I have cited at length from the Tragedy of Ella, is much more intelligible, and free from uncouth expreſſions, than the general phraſeology of theſe compoſitions. In the Battle of Haſtings, ſaid to be tranſlated from the Saxon, Stonehenge is called a Druidical temple. The battle of Haſtings was fought in the year 1066. We will grant the Saxon original to have been written ſoon afterwards: about which time, no other notion prevailed concerning this miraculous monument, than the ſuppoſition which had been delivered down by long and conſtant tradition, that it was erected in memory of Hengiſt's maſſacre. This was the eſtabliſhed and uniform opinion of the Welſh and Armorican bards, who moſt probably received it from the Saxon minſtrels: and that this was the popular belief at the time of the battle of Haſtings, appears from the evidence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote his hiſtory not more than eighty years after that memorable event. And in this doctrine Robert of Glouceſter and all the monkiſh chroniclers agree. That the Druids conſtructed this ſtupendous pile for a place of worſhip, was a diſcovery reſerved for the ſagacity of a wiſer age, and the laborious diſcuſſion of modern antiquaries. In the Epiſtle to Lydgate, prefixed to the Tragedy, our poet condemns the abſurdity and impropriety of the religious dramas, and recommends ſome great ſtory of human manners, as moſt ſuitable for theatrical repreſentation. But this idea is the reſult of that taſte and diſcrimination, which could only belong to a more advanced period of ſociety.

But, above all, the caſt of thought, the complexion of the ſentiments,

ſentiments, and the ſtructure of the compoſition, evidently prove theſe pieces not antient. The Ode to Ella, for inſtance, has exactly the air of modern poetry; ſuch, I mean, as is written at this day, only diſguiſed with antique ſpelling and phraſeology. That Rowlie was an accompliſhed literary character, a ſcholar, an hiſtorian, and an antiquarian, if contended for, I will not deny. Nor is it impoſſible that he might write Engliſh poetry. But that he is the writer of the poems which I have here cited, and which have been ſo confidently aſcribed to him, I am not yet convinced.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe, that theſe poems were compoſed by the ſon of the ſchoolmaſter before mentioned; who inherited the ineſtimable treaſures of Cannynge's cheſt in Radcliffe-church, as I have already related at large. This youth, who died at eighteen, was a prodigy of genius; and would have proved the firſt of Engliſh poets, had he reached a maturer age. From his childhood, he was fond of reading and writing verſes: and ſome of his early compoſitions, which he wrote without any deſign to deceive, have been judged to be moſt aſtoniſhing productions by the firſt critic of the preſent age. From his ſituation and connections, he became a ſkilful practitioner in various kinds of hand-writing. Availing himſelf therefore of his poetical talent, and his facility in the graphic art, to a miſcellany of obſcure and neglected parchments, which were commodiouſly placed in his own poſſeſſion, he was tempted to add others of a more intereſting nature, and ſuch as he was enabled to forge, under theſe circumſtances, without the fear of detection. As to his knowledge of the old Engliſh literature, which is rarely the ſtudy of a young poet, a ſufficient quantity of obſolete words and phraſes were readily attainable from the gloſſary to Chaucer, and to Percy's Ballads. It is confeſſed, that this youth wrote the Execution of Sir Charles Baudwin: and he who could forge that poem, might eaſily forge all the reſt.

In the mean time, we will allow, that ſome pieces of poetry written by Rowlie might have been preſerved in Cannynge's cheſt: and that theſe were enlarged and improved by young Chatterton. But if this was the caſe, they were ſo much altered as to become entirely new compoſitions. The poem which bids the faireſt to be one of theſe originals is Cannynge's Feaſt. But the parchment-manuſcript of this little poem has already been proved to be a forgery. A circumſtance which is perhaps alone ſufficient to make us ſuſpect that no originals ever exiſted.

It will be aſked, for what end or purpoſe did he contrive ſuch an impoſture? I anſwer, from lucrative views; or perhaps from the pleaſure of deceiving the world, a motive which, in many minds, operates more powerfully than the hopes of gain. He probably promiſed himſelf greater emoluments from this indirect mode of exerciſing his abilities: or, he might have ſacrificed even the vanity of appearing in the character of an applauded original author, to the private enjoyment of the ſucceſs of his invention and dexterity.

I have obſerved above, that Cannynge ordered his iron cheſt in Radcliffe-

Radcliffe-church to be ſolemnly viſited once in every year, and that an annual entertainment ſhould be provided for the viſitors. In the notices relating to this matter, which ſome of the chief patrons of Rowlie's poetry have lately ſent me from Briſtol, it is affirmed, that this order is contained in Cannynge's will: and that he ſpecifies therein, that not only his manuſcript evidences abovementioned, but that the poems of his confeſſor Rowlie, which likewiſe he had depoſited in the aforeſaid cheſt, were alſo to be ſubmitted to this annual inſpection. This circumſtance at firſt ſtrongly inclined me to think favourably of the authenticity of theſe pieces. At leaſt it proved, that Rowlie had left ſome performances in verſe. But on examining Cannynge's will, no ſuch order appears. All his bequeſts relating to Radcliffe-church, of every kind, are the following. He leaves legacies to the vicar, and the three clerks, of the ſaid church: to the two chantry-prieſts, or chaplains, of his foundation: to the keeper of the *pyxis oblationum*, in the north-door: and to the fraternity *Commemoracionis martirum*. Alſo veſtments to the altars of Saint Catharine, and Saint George. He mentions his tomb built near the altar of Saint Catharine, where his late wife is interred. He gives augmentations to the endowment of his two chantries, at the altars of Saint Catharine and Saint George, abovementioned. To the choir, he leaves two ſervice-books, called *Liggers*, to be uſed there, on either ſide, by his two chantry-prieſts. He directs, that his funeral ſhall be celebrated in the ſaid church with a *month's mind*, and the uſual ſolemnities *.

Thoſe who have been converſant in the works even of the beſt of our old Engliſh poets, well know, that one of their leading characteriſtics is inequality. In theſe writers, ſplendid deſcriptions, ornamental compariſons, poetical images, and ſtriking thoughts, occur but rarely: for many pages together, they are tedious, proſaic, and unintereſting. On the contrary, the poems before us are every where ſupported: they are, throughout, poetical and animated. They have no imbecilities of ſtyle or ſentiment. Our old Engliſh bards abound in unnatural conceptions, ſtrange imaginations, and even the moſt ridiculous abſurdities. But Rowlie's poems preſent us with no incongruous combinations, no mixture of manners, inſtitutions, cuſtoms, and characters. They appear to have been compoſed after ideas of diſcrimination had taken place; and when even common writers had begun to conceive, on moſt ſubjects, with preciſion and propriety. There are indeed, in the Battle of Haſtings, ſome great anacroniſms; and practices are mentioned which did not exiſt till afterwards. But theſe are

* The ſupporters of the authenticity of the poems aſſert, on the other hand, that the appointment of the viſitors, &c. though not mentioned in the will, is in a deed, now in Mr. Barret's hands: and that mention is there made of a particular portion of Mr. Cannynge's eſtates ſet apart for defraying the expences upon that occaſion, and that the cheſt itſelf is moſt particularly deſcribed. It is alſo alledged, that this deed is written in Latin, and that Chatterton was not known to have had any knowledge of that language.

ſuch

ſuch inconſiſtencies, as proceeded from fraud as well as ighorance: they are ſuch as no old poet could have poſſibly fallen into, and which only betray an unſkilful imitation of ancient manners. The verſes of Lydgate and his immediate ſucceſſors are often rugged and unmuſical: but Rowlie's poetry ſuſtains one uniform tone of harmony: and, if we bruſh away the aſperities of the antiquated ſpelling, conveys its cultivated imagery in a poliſhed and agreeable ſtrain of verſification. Chatterton ſeems to have thought, that the diſtinction of old from modern poetry conſiſted only in the uſe of old words. In counterfeiting the coins of a rude age, he did not forget the uſual application of an artificial ruſt: but this diſguiſe was not ſufficient to conceal the elegance of the workmanſhip.

The Battle of Haſtings, juſt mentioned, might be proved to be a palpable forgery for many other reaſons. It is ſaid to be tranſlated from the Saxon of Turgot. But Turgot died in 1015, and the battle of Haſtings was fought in 1066. We will, however, allow, that Turgot lived in the reign of the Conqueror. But, on that ſuppoſition, is it not extraordinary, that a cotemporary writer ſhould mention no circumſtances of this action which we did not know before, and which are not to be found in Malmſbury, Ordericus Vitalis, and other ancient chroniclers? Eſpecially as Turgot's deſcription of this battle was profeſſedly a detached and ſeparate performance, and at leaſt, on that account, would be minute and circumſtantial. An original and a cotemporary writer, deſcribing this battle, would not only have told us ſomething new, but would otherwiſe have been full of particularities. The poet before us dwells on incidents common to all battles, and ſuch as were eaſily to be had from Pope's Homer. We may add, that this piece not only detects itſelf, but demonſtrates the ſpuriouſneſs of all the reſt. Chatterton himſelf allowed the firſt part of it to be a forgery of his own. The ſecond part, from what has been ſaid, could not be genuine. And he who could write the ſecond part was able to write every line in the whole collection. But while I am ſpeaking of this poem, I cannot help expoſing the futility of an argument which has been brought as a deciſive evidence of its originality. It is urged, that the names of the chiefs who accompanied the Conqueror, correſpond with the Roll of Battle-Abbey. As if a modern forger could not have ſeen this venerable record. But, unfortunately, it is printed in Hollinſhead's Chronicle.

It is ſaid that Chatterton, on account of his youth and education, could not write theſe poems. This may be true; but it is no proof that they are not forged. Who was their author, on the hypotheſis that Rowlie was not, is a new and another queſtion. I am, however, of opinion that it was Chatterton. For if we attend only to ſome of the pieces now extant in a periodical magazine, which he publiſhed under his own ſignature, and which are confeſſedly of his compoſition, to his letters now remaining in manuſcript, and to the teſtimony of thoſe that were acquainted with his converſation, he will appear to have been a ſingular inſtance of a prematurity of abilities; to have acquired a ſtore of general information far exceeding

his

his years, and to have poſſeſſed that comprehenſion of mind, and activity of underſtanding, which predominated over his ſituations in life, and his opportunities of inſtruction. Some of his publications in the magazines diſcover alſo his propenſity to forgery, and more particularly in the walk of ancient manners, which ſeem greatly to have ſtruck his imagination. Theſe, among others, are Ethelgar, a Saxon poem in proſe; Kenrick, tranſlated from the Saxon; Cerdich, tranſlated from the Saxon; Codred Crovan, a poem, compoſed by Dothnel Syrric, King of the Iſle of Man; the Hirlas, compoſed by Blythyn, Prince of North Wales; Gothmund, tranſlated from the Saxon; Anecdote of Chaucer, and of the Antiquity of Chriſtmas Games. The latter piece, in which he quotes a regiſter of Keinſham nunnery, which was a priory of black canons, and advances many imaginary facts, ſtrongly ſhews his track of reading, and his fondneſs for antiquarian imagery. In this monthly collection he inſerted ideal drawings of ſix atchievements of Saxon heraldry, of an inedited coin of Queen Sexburgeo, wife of King Kinewalch, and of a Saxon amulet; with explanations equally fantaſtic and arbitrary. From Rowlie's pretended parchments he produced ſeveral heraldic delineations. He alſo exhibited a draught by Rowlie of Briſtol caſtle in its perfect ſtate. I very much doubt if this fortreſs was not almoſt totally ruinous in the reign of Edward IV. This draught, however, was that of an edifice evidently fictitious. It was exceedingly ingenious; but it was the repreſentation of a building which never exiſted, in a capricious and affected ſtyle of Gothic architecture, reducible to no period or ſyſtem.

To the whole that is here ſuggeſted on this ſubject, let us add Chatterton's inducements and qualifications for forging theſe poems, ariſing from his character, and way of living. He was an adventurer, a profeſſed hireling in the trade of literature, full of projects and inventions, artful, enterpriſing, unprincipled, indigent, and compelled to ſubſiſt by expedients.

It is with regret that I find myſelf obliged to pronounce Rowlie's poems to be ſpurious. Ancient remains of Engliſh poetry, unexpectedly diſcovered and fortunately reſcued from a long oblivion are contemplated with a degree of fond enthuſiaſm: excluſive of any real or intrinſic excellence, they afford thoſe pleaſures ariſing from the idea of antiquity which deeply intereſt the imagination. With theſe pleaſures we are unwilling to part. But there is a more ſolid ſatisfaction reſulting from the detection of artifice and impoſture."

In Addition to what we have inſerted in our Twelfth Volume, for 1769, *page* 152. *relative to the ancient Mode of Electing Members for Parliament, the following may be ſubjoined; taken from a Memorandum MSS. of* J. Harington, *Eſq; of* Kelſton, *in* Somerſetſhire; *dated* 1646.

A Note of my Bathe *Buſineſs about the Parliament.*

SATURDAY, December 26th, 1646, went to Bathe, and dined withe the Maior and citizens; conferred about my election to

to ſerve in parliament, as my father was helpleſs and ill able to go any more;—went to the George Inn at night, met the bailifs, and deſired to be diſmiſſed from ſerving; drank ſtrong beer and metheglin; expended about iijs. went home late, but could not get excuſed, as they entertained a good opinion of my father.

Monday, Dec. 28th, went to Bathe; met Sir John Horner; we were choſen by the citizens to ſerve for the city. The Maior and citizens conferred about parliament buſineſs. The Maior promiſed *Sir John Horner and myſelf a horſe apiece*, when we went to London to the parliament, which we accepted of; and we talked about the ſynod and eccleſiaſtical diſmiſſions. I am to go again on Thurſday, and meet the citizens about all ſuch matters, and take advice thereon.

Thurſday, 31, went to Bathe; Mr. Aſhe preached. Dined at the George Inn with the Maior and four citizens; ſpent at dinner vj ſh. in wine.

	s.	*d.*
Laid out in victuals at the George Inn — —	xj	4
Laid out in drinking —	vij	ij
Laid out in tobacco and drinking veſſels —	iiij	4

Jan. 1. My father gave me 4l. to bear my expences at Bathe.

Mr. Chapman the Maior, came to Kelſton and returned thanks, for my being choſen to ſerve in parliament, to my father, in name of all the citizens. My father gave me good advice, touching my ſpeaking in parliament as the city ſhould direct me. Came home late at night from Bathe, much troubled hereat concerning my proceeding truly for mens good report and mine own ſafety.

Note, I gave the city meſſenger ij ſh. for bearing the Maiors letter to me. Laid out, in all, 3l. vij ſh. for victuals, drink, and horſe-hire, together with divers gifts.

N. B. The editor is not quite certain that this election was in 1646, as the date is obſcure in the MSS. but it was within a year or two of that time.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

The Origin of Knighthood and the Judicial Combat, of Torneaments and Blazonry. The Sources of Chivalry. From Stuart's *View of Society in* Europe.

WHEN the inhabitants of Germany ſallied from their woods, and made conqueſts, the change of condition they experienced produced a change in their manners. Narrow communities grew into extenſive kingdoms, and petty princes, and temporary leaders, were exalted into monarchs. The ideas, however, they had formerly entertained, and the cuſtoms with which they had been familiar, were neither forgotten nor neglected. The modes of thought and of action which had been diſplayed in their original ſeats, advanced with them into the territories of Rome, continued their operation and power in this new ſituation, and created that uniformity of appearance which Europe every where exhibited. Their influence on the forms of government and polity which aroſe, was deciſive and extenſive; and, it was not leſs efficacious and powerful on thoſe inferior circumſtances which join to conſtitute the ſyſtem of manners, and to produce the complexion and features that diſtinguiſh ages and nations.

The inclination for war entertained by the Germanic ſtates, the reſpect and importance in which they held their women, and the ſentiments they had conceived of religion, did not forſake them when they had conquered. To excel in war was ſtill their ruling ambition, and uſages were ſtill connected with arms. To the ſex they ſtill looked with affection and courteſy. And their theology was even to operate in its ſpirit, after its forms were decayed, and after chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed. Arms, gallantry, and devotion, were to act with uncommon force; and, to the foreſts of Germany, we muſt trace thoſe romantic inſtitutions, which filled Europe with renown, and with ſplendour; which, mingling religion with war, and piety with love, raiſed up ſo many warriours to contend for the palm of valour and the prize of beauty.

The paſſion for arms among the Germanic ſtates was carried to extremity. It was amidſt ſcenes of death and peril that the young were educated: it was by valour and feats of proweſs that the ambitious ſignalized their manhood. All the honours they knew were allotted to the brave. The ſword opened the path to glory. It was in the field that the ingenuous and the noble flattered moſt their pride, and acquired

acquired an aſcendancy. The ſtrength of their bodies, and the vigour of their counſels, ſurrounded them with warriours, and lifted them to command.

But, among theſe nations, when the individual felt the call of valour, and wiſhed to try his ſtrength againſt an enemy, he could not of his own authority take the lance and the javelin. The admiſſion of their youth to the privilege of bearing arms, was a matter of too much importance to be left to chance or their own choice. A form was invented by which they were advanced to that honour.

The council of the diſtrict, or of the canton to which the candidate belonged, was aſſembled. His age and his qualifications were inquired into; and, if he was deemed worthy of being admitted to the privileges of a ſoldier, a chieftain, his father, or one of his kindred, adorned him with the ſhield and the lance. In conſequence of this ſolemnity, he prepared to diſtinguiſh himſelf; his mind opened to the cares of the public; and the domeſtic concerns, or the offices of the family from which he had ſprung, were no longer the objects of his attention.

To this ceremony, ſo ſimple and ſo intereſting, the inſtitution of *knighthood* is indebted for its riſe. The adorning the individual with arms, continued for ages to characteriſe his advancement to this dignity. And this rite was performed to him by his ſovereign, his lord, or ſome approved warriour. In conformity, alſo, to the manners which produced this inſtitution, it is to be obſerved, that even the ſons of a king preſumed not to approach his perſon before their admiſſion to its privileges; and the nobility kept their deſcendants at an equal diſtance. It was the road, as of old, to diſtinction and honour. Without the advancement to it, the moſt illuſtrious birth gave no title to perſonal rank.

Their appetite for war, and their predatory life, taught the Germans to fancy that the gods were on the ſide of the valiant. Force appeared to them to be juſtice, and weakneſs to be crime. When they would divine the fate of an important war, they ſelected a captive of the nation with whom they were at variance, and oppoſed to him a warriour out of their own number. To each champion they preſented the arms of his country; and, according as the victory fell to the one or the other, they prognoſticated their triumph or defeat. Religion interfered with arms and with valour; and the party who prevailed, could plead in his favour the interpoſition of the deity. When an individual was called before the magiſtrate, and charged with an offence, if the evidence was not clear, he might challenge his accuſer. The judge ordered them to prepare for battle, made a ſignal for the onſet, and gave his award for the victor.

Nor was it only when his intereſt and property were at ſtake, that the German had recourſe to his ſword. He could bear no ſtain on his perſonal character. To treat him with indignity or diſdain, was to offend him mortally. An affront of this kind covered him with infamy, if he forgave it. The blood of his adverſary could alone wipe it away; and

he called upon him to vindicate his charge, or to perish.

In these proceedings, we perceive the source of the *judicial combat*, which spread so universally over Europe, and which is not only to be considered as a precaution of civil polity, but as an institution of honour.

These nations, so enamoured of valour, and so devoted to arms, courted dangers even in pastime, and sported with blood. They had shows or entertainments, in which the points of the lance and the sword urged the young and the valiant to feats of a desperate agility and boldness; and in which they learned to confirm the vigour of their minds, and the force of their bodies. Perseverance gave them expertness, expertness grace, and the applause of the surrounding multitude was the envied recompense of their audacious temerity.

These violent and military exercises followed them into the countries they subdued, and gave a beginning to the *jousts* and *torneaments*, which were celebrated with so unbounded a rage, which the civil power was so often to forbid, and the church so loudly to condemn; and which, resisting alike the force of religion and law, were to yield only to the progress of civility and knowledge.

Unacquainted with any profession but that of war, disposed to it by habit, and impelled to it by ambition, the German never parted with his arms. They accompanied him to the senate-house, as well as to the camp, and he transacted not without them any matter of public or of private concern. They were the friends of his manhood, when he rejoiced in his strength, and they attended him in his age, when he wept over his weakness. Of these, the most memorable was the *shield*. To leave it behind him in battle, was to incur an extremity of disgrace, which deprived him of the benefit of his religion, and of his rank as a citizen. It was the employment of his leisure to make it conspicuous. He was sedulous to diversify it with *chosen colours*; and, what is worthy of particular remark, the ornaments he bestowed, were in time to produce the art of *blazonry* and the occupation of the herald. These chosen colours were to be exchanged into representations of acts of heroism. Coats of arms were to be necessary to distinguish from each other, warriours who were cased compleatly from head to foot. Christianity introduced the sign of the cross; wisdom and folly were to multiply devices; and speculative and political men, to flatter the vanity of the rich and great, were to reduce to regulation and system what had begun without rule or art.

It is thus I would account for knighthood, and the single combat, for torneaments and blazonry; institutions which were to operate with an influence not less important than extensive. And, in the same distant antiquity, we meet the source of that gallantry and devotion, which were to mount them to so wild a height.

To the women, while he was yet in his woods, the German behaved with respect and observance. He was careful to deserve their approbation; and they kept alive in his mind the fire of liberty, and the sense of honour. By example, as well

well as exhortation, they encouraged his elevation of ſentiment and his valour. When the Teutones were defeated by Marius, their women ſent a deputation to that commander, to require that their chaſtity might be exempted from violation, and that they might not be degraded to the condition of ſlaves. He refuſed their requeſt; and, on approaching their encampment, he learned, that they had firſt ſtabbed their infants, and had then turned their daggers againſt themſelves. To ſome German women taken in war, Caracalla having offered the alternative of being ſold or put to the ſword, they unanimouſly made choice of death. He ordered them, notwithſtanding, to be led out to the market. The diſgrace was inſupportable; and, in this extremity, they knew how to preſerve their liberty, and to die. It was amidſt this fierceneſs and independency, that gallantry and the point of honour grew and proſpered. It was the reproach of theſe women, which, on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, filled the coward with the bitterest ſorrow, and ſtained him with the moſt indelible infamy. It was their praiſe which communicated to the brave the livelieſt joy and the moſt laſting reputation. *Hi*, ſays Tacitus, *cuique ſanctiſſimi teſtes, hi maximi laudatores.*

Theſe notions did not periſh when the Germans had made conqueſts. The change of air, and of ſituation, did not enfeeble this ſpirit. The women were ſtill the judges of perſonal merit; and, to ſome diſtinguiſhed female, did the valorous knight aſcribe the glory of his atchievements. Her ſmile and approbation, he conſidered as the moſt precious recompenſe; and, to obtain them, he plunged into dangers, and covered himſelf with duſt and with blood. *Ah! ſi ma Dame me voyoit!* exclaimed the knight when performing a feat of valour.

Nor were arms and the attachment to women the only features of importance in the character of the German. Religion, which, in every age and in every nation, gives riſe to ſo many cuſtoms, mingled itſelf in all his tranſactions. He adored an inviſible being, to whom he aſcribed infinite knowledge, juſtice, and power. To profit by his knowledge, he applied to divination; to draw advantage from his juſtice, he made appeals to his judgment; and to acquire, in ſome degree, his power, he had recourſe to incantation and magic. The elements and the viſible parts of nature, he conceived, at the ſame time, to be the reſidence of ſubordinate divinities, who, though the inſtruments only of the agency of the ſupreme intelligence, had a great ſuperiority over men, and were entitled to their attention and reverence. Every tree and every fountain had its genius; the air, the woods, the water, had their ſpirits. When he made a ſtep, or looked around him, he felt an impulſe of awe and of devotion. His anxiety, his amazement, his curioſity, his hope, and his terror, were every moment excited. The moſt ample ſcope was afforded by this theology for the marvellous. Every thing, common as well as ſingular, was imputed to ſupernatural agents. Elves, fairies, ſprights, magicians, dwarfs, inchanters,

chanters, and giants, aroſe. But, while the leſſer divinities of theſe nations attracted notice, it was to the ſupreme intelligence, that the moſt ſincere and the moſt flattering worſhip was directed; and this god, amidſt the general cares which employed him, found leiſure to attend more particularly to war, and valued his votary in proportion to his courage. Thus religion and love came to inflame, and not to ſoften the ferocity of the German. His ſword gained to him the affection of his miſtreſs, and conciliated the favour of his deity. The laſt was even fond of obeying the call of the valiant; he appeared to them in battle, and fought by their ſide. Devotion, of conſequence, was not leſs meritorious than love or than valour. Chriſtianity did not aboliſh this uſage. It deſcended to the middle ages. And, to love *God* and the *ladies*, was the firſt leſſon of chivalry.

But, though arms, gallantry, and devotion, produced the inſtitutions of chivalry, and formed its manners, it is not to be fancied, that they operated theſe effects in a moment; and that, immediately on the ſettlements of the barbarians, this fabric was erected. The conquerors of Rome continued to feel and to practiſe in its provinces, the inſtincts, the paſſions, and the uſages to which they had been accuſtomed in their original ſeats. They were to be active and ſtrenuous, without perceiving the lengths to which they would be carried. They were to build, without knowing it, a moſt magnificent ſtructure. Out of the impulſe of their paſſions, the inſtitutions of chivalry were gradually to form themſelves. The paſſion for arms, the ſpirit of gallantry, and of devotion, which ſo many writers pronounce to be the genuine offſpring of theſe wild affectations, were in fact their ſource; and it happened, by a natural conſequence, that, for a time, the ceremonies and the uſages produced by them, encouraged their importance, and added to their ſtrength. The ſteps which marked their progreſs, ſerved to foſter their ſpirit; and, to the manners of ages, which we too often deſpiſe as rude and ignoble, not to political reflection or legiſlative wiſdom, is that ſyſtem to be aſcribed, which was to act ſo long and ſo powerfully in ſociety, and to produce infinite advantage and infinite calamity.

It is to thoſe only who apply to rude ſocieties the ideas of a cultivated æra, that the inſtitutions of chivalry ſeem the production of an enlightened policy. They remember not the inexperience of dark ages, and the attachment of nations to their antient uſages. They conſider not, that if an individual, in ſuch times, were to ariſe of a capacity to frame ſchemes of legiſlation and government, he could not reduce them to execution. He could not mould the conceptions of ſtates to correſpond to his own. It is from no pre-conceived plan, but from circumſtances which exiſt in real life and affairs, that legiſlators and politicians acquire an aſcendency among men. It was the actual condition of their times, not projects ſuggeſted by philoſophy and ſpeculation, that directed the conduct of Lycurgus and Solon.

Of Manners and Refinement. The diſſolute Conduct of the Women amidſt the Decline and Oppreſſions of Fiefs. The general Corruption which invades Society.

WHILE the varying ſituation of fiefs and chivalry was to produce the moſt important conſequences in polity and government, it was to be no leſs powerful in changing the general picture of ſociety; and the manners, which were to figure in their ſtate of confuſion and diſorder, are a contraſt to thoſe which attended their elevation and greatneſs. The romantic grandeur and virtue which grew out of the feudal aſſociation, in its age of cordiality and happineſs, could not exiſt when that cordiality and happineſs were decayed. The diſorders of fiefs had operated on chivalry; and the deviations of both from perfection, affecting ſtrongly the commerce of life and the condition of the female ſex, were to terminate in new modes of thinking, and new ſyſtems of action.

The diſaſtrous ſtate of fiefs, diſuniting the intereſts of the lord and the vaſſal, gave riſe to oppreſſions and grievances. Theſe produced a proneneſs to venality and corruption. All ranks of men, from the ſovereign to the ſlave, ſeemed at variance. Rapacity and inſolence were to characteriſe the ſuperior and the maſter; chicane and diſaffection, the vaſſal and the ſervant. A relaxation of morals, total and violent, was to prevail. Chivalry, loſing its renown, the purity of the knightly virtues was to be tarniſhed. When it fell as a military eſtabliſhment, its generous manners were not to remain in vigour. The women were to loſe their value and their pride. The propenſity to vice, foſtered by political diſorder, and the paſſion for gallantry, driven to extremity by the romantic admiration which had been paid to the ſex, were to engender a voluptuouſneſs, and a luxury which, in the circle of human affairs, are uſually to diſtinguiſh and to haſten the decline and the fall of nations.

Manners, too ſtately and pure for humanity, are not to flouriſh long. In the ruined ſtates of fiefs and chivalry, there prevailed not, in the one ſex, the ſcrupulous honour, the punctilious behaviour, and the diſtant adoration of beauty, which had illuſtrated the æra of their greatneſs; nor, in the other, were there to be remarked, the cold and unconquerable chaſtity, the majeſtic air, and the ceremonious dignity which had lifted them above nature. A gallantry, leſs magnificent, and more tender, took place. The faſtidiouſneſs and delicacies of former ages wore away. The women ceaſed to be idols of worſhip, and became objects of love. In an unreſerved intercourſe, their attractions were more alluring. The times, prone to corruption, were not to reſiſt their vivacity, their graces, their paſſion to pleaſe. Love ſeemed to become the ſole buſineſs of life. The ingenious and the ſentimental found a laſting intereſt and a bewitching occupation in the aſſiduities, the anxieties, and the tenderneſs of intrigue. The coarſe and intemperate, indulging their indolence and appetite, ſought the haunts, and threw themſelves into the arms of proſtituted beauty.

The talents which, of old, recorded the deeds of valour, and the

atchievements of war, were now devoted to the fair. In every country of Europe, the poet, or the *Troubadour*, was to conſecrate to them his homage and his ſongs. And, to the faſhions of gallantry, the riſe of literature is to be aſcribed. Men of genius, and men who fancied they poſſeſſed it, reſorted to the courts of princes, and to the palaces of the noble; and the praiſe, which they knew how to laviſh, got them attention and patronage. To make verſes was the road to preferment. No lady was without her poet. Nor was poetry the exerciſe only of thoſe who wiſhed to better their fortunes. While it was to give riches and reſpect to the obſcure, by the connections it was to gain to them, it was to be an ornament and an honour to the great. Princes and barons, as well as knights and gentlemen, found it the ſureſt recommendation to their miſtreſſes. They ſung their charms, their diſdain, and their rigours. Even the artificial tenderneſs of the poet often grew into reality; and the fair one, who, at firſt, only liſtened to praiſe, was to yield to paſſion. The adulation paid to beauty, diſpoſed it to approve; complaints led to pity; pity to love. The enchantment of perpetual flatteries, of proſtrations reſpectful and paſſionate, of vows repeated with ardour, of ſighs ever meant to allure, corrupted a ſex, of which the ſenſibilities are ſo exquiſite. The rite of marriage, formerly ſo ſanctimonious, was only courted to be abuſed. The pride of condition, more powerful than modeſty, was, indeed, a check to the virgin; but ſhe was to wait reluctantly the moment, when her coyneſs and timidities, inſtead of rebuking the paſſions, were to be a zeſt to them. All the fopperies of fancy were exhibited, all the labyrinths of love were explored. A licentiouſneſs, which knew no reſtraint from principle, was rendered more ſeducing by the decorums and decorations of a fantaſtic gallantry.

Religion, which muſt ever mix in human affairs, is oftner to debaſe than to enlighten. It is, for the moſt part, a maſs of ſuperſtitions, which encourage the weakneſſes of mankind. This was the caſe with chriſtianity in the darkneſs of the middle times. The votaries of beauty did not ſcruple to addreſs the Deity to ſoften its obſtinacy. In the heat of intrigue they invoked the Trinity and the ſaints for ſucceſs. Religion was employed to give a poignancy to the diſorders of proſtitution and luſt. The rich were to have houſes of debauch in the form of monaſteries, conſiſting of many cells or apartments, and under the government of abbeſſes. The profaneneſs of gallantry diſturbed and deformed even the meditations of the moſt pious. The devotee was to ſeek a miſtreſs in heaven. He was to look up to the virgin with the eyes of a lover, and to contemplate the beauties of her perſon, and the graces of her carriage. What is more extravagant, the felicities of futurity ſeemed a trifle unworthy of acceptance, without the contacts and the vanities of an irreverent courteſy. 'I would not,' ſaid a *Troubadour*, 'be in Paradiſe, but on the condition of making love to her whom I adore.'

The vices and example of the clergy added to the general contagion.

gion. They were to exceed not only in ſuperb living, and in the luxuries of the table, but in the paſtimes and the gratifications of illicit love. It was in vain that laws were made to prohibit them from entertaining, in their houſes, 'any virgins dedicated to God.' The arts of the popes to tear them from their women, would fill volumes. No eccleſiaſtic was without his concubines. The ſins of the ſaint were groſs and comfortable. In contempt of all decency, they were even to educate publicly the fruits of their amours. Rampant and diſſolute, they preached religion, and were a diſgrace to it; virtue and they were in haſte to contemn it; another world and they were immerſed in the enjoyments of the preſent.

An univerſal corruption diffuſed itſelf. To be deep in debauch, and ſucceſsful with the ladies, were certain marks of worth. They were parts of the eminence to which the deſerving were to aſpire. To be amorous and deceitful, were not leſs meritorious than to be brave and witty. There was exhibited a ſtrange picture of fierceneſs and effeminacy, oppreſſion and politeneſs, impiety and devotion.

The age, in which ſo many armies, inflamed with zeal, were to fight for the recovery and poſſeſſion of the holy ſepulchre, was remarkable for the moſt criminal depravity. The pilgrims and cruſaders exported the vices of Europe, and imported thoſe of Aſia. Saint Louis, during his pious and memorable expedition, could not prevent the moſt open licentiouſneſs and diſorder. He found houſes of proſtitution at the doors of his tent. His character, his example, and his precautions, were reſtraints, ineffectual and fruitleſs.

While the ladies of rank were to be beſieged in form, to be purſued in all the windings of affectation and caprice, and to oppoſe to their impatient lovers all the obſtacles of a delicacy pretended or real, the women of inferior condition were to be approached with familiarity. It even appears to have been common for huſbands to make a traffic of the chaſtity of their wives, though ſevere regulations were enacted to repreſs this practice. The offices of the laundreſs and the milliner, being yet no particular profeſſions, there were in the habitations and the palaces of the rich, apartments for women, who, while they performed the ſervices peculiar to theſe, were alſo debauched to impurity, and ſubſervient to luſt. Juriſdiction, being yet ambulatory, and kings, making frequent progreſſes through their dominions, it was uſual for proſtitutes to follow the court; and officers were appointed to keep them in ſubjection and order. To be *marſhal of the King's whores* in particular places and diſtricts, was an honour and a dignity.

To this degeneracy and profaneneſs, I am inclined to trace the law, which, in the declining condition of fiefs, made it a forfeiture of the eſtate, for the vaſſal to debauch the ſiſter, the daughter, or the wife of his ſuperior.

In the greater towns, there were women who lived openly by proſtitution, exerciſing it as a profeſſion. There were even whole ſtreets which were inhabited by them. In Paris and in London, the number

of public brothels was incredible. In the latter, in the days of Richard II. a lord-mayor imported ſtrumpets from Flanders, and kept ſtew-houſes, where the dainty and the ſqueamiſh were to trade in this foreign merchandize. Bordelloes or ſtews were permitted and ſanctioned by the authority of government in every country of Europe. To twelve of theſe Henry VII. gave his licenſe; and ſigns painted on their walls diſtinguiſhed them, and invited the paſſenger. So general was the licentiouſneſs which ſpread itſelf, that the proprietors of houſes found it neceſſary to let them out under the expreſs condition, that the leſſee ſhould keep and harbour no common women. Henry VIII. who approved not love in any form, but that of matrimony, ſuppreſſed many ſtew-houſes in Southwark, and ordained, that proſtitutes ſhould not receive the rites of the church while they lived, nor have a chriſtian burial, when they were dead.

Such were the manners which were produced by the oppreſſions and diſorders of fiefs and chivalry. And thus, notwithſtanding what many writers have aſſerted, I am entitled to conclude, that the ſpirit of chivalry was not uniform any more than that of fiefs; and that, at different periods, its manners were oppoſite and contradictory.

On the Prevalence of the Feudal Syſtem in the Eaſt in early Times. Traces of it in Perſia; *in* Arabia; *in* Hindoſtan; *in* Turkey; *in* Tartary. *Apparently introduced into* Germany *and* Scandinavia, *by the* Tartars, *before the Irruption of the* Goths *into the* Roman *States. From* Richardſon's *Preface to his Arabic and Perſian Dictionary.*

THE feudal ſyſtem, which was introduced and diffuſed over Europe by the conquerors of the Roman power, produced, in a civil light, an alteration in laws, government, and habits, no leſs important than the diſmemberment of the empire by their arms. Our greateſt lawyers, hiſtorians, and antiquaries, whoſe object has been leſs to trace its origin than to mark its influence, have uniformly attributed this great foundation of the juriſprudence of modern Europe to the military policy of the northern nations; and ſeem in general rather to have conſidered it as a conſequence of their ſituation, after their conqueſts, than as exiſting previous to their irruptions. It appears not only to have formed, however, their great ſyſtem of polity before the grand invaſion, but to have flouriſhed in the Eaſt with much vigour in very early times.

In Perſia, Tartary, India, and other eaſtern countries, the whole detail of government, from the moſt ancient accounts down to the preſent hour, can hardly be defined by any other deſcription. We obſerve, in general, one Great King, to whom a number of ſubordinate princes pay homage and tribute: all deviation from this ſyſtem ſeeming merely temporary and accidental. Poſſeſſed of every eſſential power of royalty, the degree of dependence of theſe ſecondary kings, we find, has ever been proportioned to the vigour or imbecility of the paramount ſovereign; for

for where no ſolid code of conſtitutional laws prevails, the brilliant or diſgraceful periods in the hiſtory of a people will generally depend upon the genius of one man. A great monarch will give to the component parts the appearance of one deſpotic whole; whilſt the approaches to diſobedience will ever be proportioned to the weakneſs of adminiſtration. Conſtantly recurring, however, to firſt principles, every variation of oriental rule preſents only, to our alternate view, an overgrown empire, feebly governed, crumbling into independent kingdoms; and independent kingdoms again uniting, to form the empire of ſome more fortunate and enterpriſing ſovereign.

A general view of the hiſtories of eaſtern nations would, perhaps, ſufficiently ſupport the above poſitions; but I ſhall venture to offer a few particular authorities. The more ancient facts, it may be obſerved, like every remote event, will not admit of poſitive proof; but in tracing manners or modes of government, abſolute hiſtorical or chronological preciſion is by no means requiſite. The actions of one prince may be imputed to another; anacroniſms and miſnomers may abound; and the atchievements of twenty warriors may ſwell the renown of one hero: but no writer will attribute to his nation cuſtoms and ideas of government, to which they or their anceſtors were ſtrangers; and againſt which the opinions of his fellow-ſubjects muſt inſtantly and loudly revolt. When uncommon and great innovations happen, in the cuſtoms of a country, writers are careful to trace their origin, to fix their introduction, and to obſerve their influence. But when circumſtances, however intereſting, are ſimply mentioned, without particular obſervation or commentary, we may rationally conclude, that ſuch cuſtoms are of high antiquity; and no more deſerving of ſpecial animadverſion than the general complexion, configuration, or temperament of their countrymen. The riſe and progreſs of the feudal ſyſtem in Europe is marked: it was an exotic plant; and it has, of conſequence, engaged the attention of our ableſt antiquaries. But in the Eaſt it is indigenous, univerſal, and immemorial: and the eaſtern hiſtorians have never dreamt of inveſtigating its ſource, any more than the origin of regal government. Both have long been to them equally familiar; and the firſt extenſive monarchy gave probably a beginning to the firſt dependence of feudal chiefs. It may be thought too, that examples of this, or any other cuſtom, brought from events, ſubſequent to their introduction into Europe, can be no corroborative proof of their ſubſiſting in the Eaſt, previous to their appearance in the Weſt. But the leaſt attention to oriental manners will clearly ſhow, that the characteriſtic habits of thoſe people, even at this hour, are, in every reſpect, ſimilar to the moſt remote accounts: nor have we ground to believe, that (the Mohammedan religion and fire arms excepted) there is one ſingle cuſtom peculiar to the Perſians, the Arabians, or the Tartars, of the preſent day, which did not prevail amongſt their anceſtors at a period too remote for human reſearch. With a wonderful predilection for their own ancient manners, they

have

have a peculiar and invincible antipathy to thoſe of Europe. They are ſo oppoſite to their genius, to their hereditary prejudices, and to every idea political and religious, that no inſtance can be produced, perhaps, of one ſingle cuſtom originally European having ever been adopted by the Aſiatic nations: the Turks even, whoſe vicinity expoſes them moſt to weſtern innovation, preſerving ſtill unchanged that remarkable diſtinction of character which they poſſeſſed before they croſſed the Boſphorus of Thrace. On this ground, therefore, I give no anecdotes as unqueſtioned truths: they are mentioned by Aſiatic hiſtorians; and I offer them ſimply as beliefs in original cuſtoms. We may not ſubſcribe to the apparition of Cæſar's ghoſt before the battle of Philippi; but we may reſt aſſured, that it would not have been recorded by Plutarch, had it not, in his time, been univerſally believed.

Above 800 years before the chriſtian era, an uſurper called Zohak, we are informed, reigned in Perſia. His government was oppreſſive, and became at length unſupportable. The citizens of Iſpahan flew to arms; and, headed by a blackſmith named Gao, attacked, defeated, and killed the tyrant. Gao, after this victory, diſcovering the retreat of Feridoun, the heir to the crown, placed him on the throne; and received, in return, Iſpahan, with its dependencies, as a feudal principality. What truth may be in this remote event it is impoſſible to determine; but it is a generally recorded fact, that the blackſmith's apron, ſaid to have been diſplayed by Gao, when marching againſt Zohak, as a banner, from the point of a ſpear, was taken by the Arabians at the battle of Cadeſſia, when they conquered Perſia in the year 636. It had been laid up in the treaſury of the Perſian kings, and was enriched with jewels to a prodigious value. It was conſidered as the great ſtandard and palladium of the empire; and was never carried to the field but on important emergencies, or when the King marched in perſon.—Roſtam is a hero whoſe proweſs is highly celebrated. He is equally the favourite of hiſtory and romance. He was a ſucceſsful general under the firſt kings of the Kaianian dynaſty; and received, in reward for his ſervices, the provinces of Sejeſtan and Zableſtan, as feudal appannages of the crown of Perſia: on the condition of marching a body of forces, as the exigencies of the ſtate might require; but particularly to repulſe the inroads of the Tartars.—Babylonia, Syria, Aſſyria, and Media, as formerly obſerved, ſeem to have been merely feudatory kingdoms of the old Perſian empire.—Alexander the Great divided the eaſtern provinces of Perſia amongſt the princes to whoſe families they had originally belonged. On this occaſion they received a banner from the hands of the conqueror, paid homage, and engaged to maintain a certain number of troops, upon a footing (ſays the author of the Tarikh Montekheb) ſomewhat reſembling the military vaſſals of the Ottoman empire, called *Sanjacs* and *Timars*. Theſe princes are called by the Mohammedan writers *Molouku'l Tawayif* (kings of the nations); and are by ſome conſidered as a particular dynaſty, between the Kaianians

nians and the Aſhcanians, commonly called Arſacides by Europeans. They ſtrictly performed, it is added, their feudal engagements to Alexander; but on his death, as the Grecian commanders ſeized upon the weſtern kingdoms, they alſo aſſumed an independency in their reſpective provinces. This account ſeems highly probable; as the ſucceſſors of Alexander, according both to the eaſtern and weſtern writers, ſoon loſt all ſovereignty to the eaſtward of the Tigris.

The Tobba, or King of Arabia Felix, was the acknowledged paramount ſovereign in very old times of a number of tribes.—Moſt of the provinces of Arabia on the Perſian gulph, with thoſe ſtretching towards Babylonia, held of the Perſian kings of the Saſſanian dynaſty; who often appointed feudatory princes on the death or miſconduct of their predeceſſors.—The Khalif Almamon gave Khoraſan, which he himſelf held as a feudal ſovereignty under his father Haron Arraſhid, to his great general Thaher; where he ſoon after became independent, and founded the dynaſty of Thaherians.—Motamed, the fifteenth Khalif of the houſe of Abbas, gave, in the year 874, the great province of Mawarannahar, as a feudal government, to Naſſer ben Ahmed; which his brother and ſucceſſor Iſmael, eighteen years afterwards, erected into a monarchy, and founded the dynaſty of the Samanides.—Similar grants were made or extorted from ſucceeding Khalifs; ſo that partly by gift, partly by uſurpation, the Khalifat, from the middle of the ninth century, till its diſſolution in the year 1258, was in fact one immenſe feudatory empire: where every Sultan acknowledged the ſuperiority of the Khalif; but, like the great feudal chiefs in Europe, paid him juſt that degree of obedience which each judged conſiſtent with his own intereſt.—A ſimilar ſyſtem prevails to the preſent hour in Hindoſtan; through a regular gradation of *Subahs*, *Nabobs*, *Foujdars*, *Killadars*, and other ſubordinate chiefs; who all conſider the *Great Mogul* as lord paramount of the empire.—In the Ottoman government there are many remarkable traces of the feudal ſyſtem; eſpecially in the Khan of the Crim Tartars, in the Wavyodes of Moldavia, Wallakhia, and other European diſtricts; in Algiers and other Barbary ſtates; in the Sherif of Mecca; in ſeveral Sheiks or princes of Syria; as well as in the military fiefs, which, under the titles of *Sanjacs*, *Zayms*, and *Timariots*, are beſtowed with the expreſs condition of ſupporting bodies of men, but eſpecially of horſe, ready to take the field at the order of the Sultan.

In *Tartary* we ſee it ſtrong. Temujin, afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the more celebrated name of Jengiz Khan, was the ſon of a chief, who had ſeveral feudatories; yet he himſelf held of Thogrul, the Khan of Caracum, better known by the name of *Preſter John*. Thogrul, though a prince of great power, was ſtill ſubject to the Emperor of Katha, the paramount of Tartary; who accordingly, in the true feudal ſtile, ſummoned him with his arriére vaſſals to aſſiſt in quelling a dangerous rebellion. Thogrul, attended by young Temujin, obeyed; a deciſive victory was gained over the inſurgents; in which

which both behaved with ſo much gallantry, that the Emperor created Thogrul *Vang Khan*, which is a high royal title; and gave Temujin a conſiderable command in his army. When Temujin, by his ſucceſs and abilities, had riſen to a great degree of power, about the year 1205 a grand council of the Tartar nations aſſembled. Nine of the chief Khans appeared at the rendezvous, each attended by his vaſſals. They diſplayed nine large banners of command. They placed Jengiz upon an eminence, with a piece of black felt-cloth under his feet. The ſpeaker of the aſſembly addreſſed him: he recognized him as emperor in the name of the whole; and told him, if merciful and juſt, that God would proſper his government; if not, his perſon and memory would become black and deſpicable as the felt on which he ſtood. A prophet called *Cockza*, and ſurnamed *the Image of God*, declared, that he had received a revelation from heaven, ordering Temujin to take, from that time, the name of *Jengiz*, which ſignifies *The moſt Great*. The Khans then advanced and paid him homage, bending the knee nine times; the nobles followed; and then the body of the people, making the ſame number of genuflections, proclaimed him emperor with loud acclamations. We find ſome variation of ceremony in the inauguration of Tamerlane in the year 1369. He mounted a magnificent throne: he wore a brilliant crown: he girded himſelf publicly with his ſword: his feudatory princes acknowledged his ſovereignty by a profuſion of precious ſtones which they ſhowered over his head; whilſt a holy man put into his hands a drum, and a ſtandard, as the inſignia of imperial authority.

Every thing in the hiſtories of thoſe princes is indeed completely feudal. Before their great expeditions, we find them iſſuing orders for the attendance of their great vaſſals, with their contingents of troops. And we alſo obſerve a conſtitutional parliament or meeting of eſtates: who, amongſt other privileges, claimed that of trying great offenders. Artok Buga, one of the grandſons of Jengiz Khan, having revolted againſt his brother the Emperor Coblai Khan, was at length defeated: but Coblai did not puniſh him, till he had called an aſſembly of the ſtates; where he was tried and condemned to be ſhut up between four walls, made of the tragacanth tree, where he lived twelve months. A feudatory prince of Herat, called Pir Ali, being ſuſpected of a deſign to revolt ſoon after Tamerlane's inauguration, was cited to appear before the general aſſembly: he evaded the ſummons till he had fortified his capital: upon which a decree was paſſed ſimilar to the Ban of the empire in Germany; and Tamerlane being deſired to reduce him to obedience, he was accordingly put to death in conſequence of this ſentence. It is needleſs to multiply examples; but it may not be improper to obſerve, that thoſe general meetings, called *Kouriltai*, bear ſo near a reſemblance to the diets of the Gothic nations, that a ſtrong additional argument may thence be drawn to ſupport the hypotheſis of the early Tartar eſtabliſhments in Germany and Scandinavia. Jengiz and Tamerlane, powerful and deſpotic as they were, held

held many of thoſe diets. The Great Khans, though generally choſen from the ſons of the late ſovereign, were elected by them; and primogeniture was of little conſequence. Jengiz Khan, for example, nominated his ſecond ſurviving ſon Octay, as his ſucceſſor: but though uncommon deference was paid to the will of a man whom the Tartars almoſt adored, the new emperor was not acknowledged, as ſuch, till the meeting of the great aſſembly two years afterwards; where, upon his expreſſing ſome reluctance to accept of the imperial dignity, his elder and younger brothers, Jagathay and Tuli, taking him by the hands, inſtalled him on the throne, and ſaluted him *Khan*. Olug Nuvin, the youngeſt of Jengiz Khan's ſons, as maſter of the houſhold, preſented him with a cup of wine: and all the people making nine genuflections to their ſovereign, and three to the ſun, hailed him Emperor.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the ſituation of *Olug Nuvin* is a curious inſtance of a ſingular cuſtom, long prevalent in Tartary, as well as among the northern nations; and even to be found in our old Saxon tenures, under the deſcription of *Borough Engliſh*: where the youngeſt ſon ſucceeds to his father in preference to his elder brothers. Sir William Blackſtone, after mentioning the opinions of Littleton and other eminent lawyers, in regard to the origin of this ſtrange cuſtom, conjectures, with great judgment, that it might be deduced from the Tartars. Amongſt thoſe people, the elder ſons, as they grew to man's eſtate, migrated from their father with a certain portion of cattle; and the youngeſt ſon only remaining at home, became in conſequence the heir to his father's houſe, and all his remaining poſſeſſions. Jengiz Khan had, agreeably to this idea, given to his four eldeſt ſons great governments and great offices; but Olug always attended his perſon. During the interval of forty days, therefore, from the meeting of the Great Tartar Aſſembly, till the inſtallation of Octay Khan, this youngeſt brother ſeems to have been acknowledged by him and the other princes as Lord of the family: he was a kind of public adminiſtrator during this interregnum; and preſented the Great Khan with the cup on his enthronement, as the higheſt token of eaſtern hoſpitality, which the maſter of a family can ſhow to a gueſt.

In the above outlines, we can obſerve ſeveral ſtrong traces of Gothic government. We can perceive the ruder draughts of ſtates general, of parliaments, of juries; and, in the circumſtances of the electors and the elected, ſome ſtriking features of that ſyſtem, which ſtill unites the great Germanic body. We can ſee, in the bent of national genius, the ſtrongeſt marks of wild freedom; with a regular gradation of military vaſſals: and although in their own country, from a general attachment to paſtoral life, fiefs, or poſſeſſions in land, formed no part of Tartar juriſprudence or property; yet when they ſettled in the Weſt, a difference of ſituation would naturally ſuggeſt an alteration adapted to it. The more ſteady temper of the native Scandinavians and Germans would modify

dify the roaming Scythian ſpirit; a ſuperior attachment to a particular ſpot would naturally ariſe. As the country became more populous, ground would become more valuable; and what was formerly in common, to avoid diſputes, would then be portioned off. A wiſh to defend this property from new inroads might ſoon produce a more permanent and ſolid ſyſtem of ſubordination. And the more irregular ideas of the Tartars, improved by territorial poſſeſſion, pave thus, by degrees, the way for that more refined ſyſtem, ſo peculiarly adapted to the ſituation of ſettling invaders; which, in the fifth and following centuries, almoſt univerſally took place in Europe.

Obſervations on an Equal Land-Tax; by Dr. Burn.

IT is a vulgar miſtake, ſays our author, (in the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Weſtmoreland,) that the former of theſe counties paid no ſubſidies during the exiſtence of the border ſervice, as ſuppoſing it to be exempted from ſuch payment merely upon that account; for we find all along ſuch and ſuch perſons [mentioned as] collectors of the ſubſidies in this county granted both by clergy and laity.

The land-tax ſucceeded into the place of ſubſidies; being not ſo properly a new tax, as an old tax by a new name.

From the reign of Edward III. downward, certain ſums and proportions were fixed upon the ſeveral townſhips within the reſpective counties, according whereunto the taxation hath conſtantly been made.

In proceſs of time this valuation may be ſuppoſed to have become unequal, eſpecially ſince, by the increaſe of trade and manufactures in ſome large towns, much wealth is accumulated within a ſmall compaſs, the tax upon ſuch diviſion continuing the ſame: and hence a new valuation hath often been ſuggeſted to render this tax more adequate, which nevertheleſs from the nature of the thing muſt always be fluctuating according to the increaſe or diminution of property in different parts of the kingdom. But in reality this notion proceeds upon a very narrow and partial principle: an equal tax, according to what a man is worth, is one thing; and an equal land-tax, all the other taxes being unequal, is quite another.

Setting aſide the populous manufacturing towns, let us take the county of Weſtmoreland in general, in which there is no ſuch manufacturing town, Kendal only excepted; and we ſhall find that this county, upon the whole, taking all the taxes together, pays more to the government, in proportion to the wealth of the inhabitants, than, perhaps, any other county in the kingdom; and that is, by reaſon of its comparative populouſneſs.

Suppoſe a townſhip (which is a common caſe in Weſtmoreland) worth 400l. a year: in this townſhip there are about forty meſſuages, and a family in each meſſuage; and, at the proportion of five perſons to a family, there are two hundred inhabitants. Theſe, by their labour and what they conſume, are worth to the public double and treble the value of the land-tax in its higheſt eſtimation. Theſe forty meſſuages, at 3s. each, pay yearly 6l. houſe-

6l. house-duty; and so many of them perhaps have above seven windows as will make up 6l. more. Now let us advance further south, and an estate of 400 a-year is there frequently in one hand. There is one family, perhaps, of fifteen or twenty persons; one house-duty of 3s. some few shillings more for windows, and a tenth part of the consumption of things taxable; as salt, soap, leather, candles, and abundance of other articles. Now where is the equality! One man for five or ten pounds a-year pays as much house-duty as another person for 400l. a-year. In Westmoreland many persons (and the clergy almost in general) dwell in houses that pay more house and window duty than the house itself would let for: and in other respects the public is as much benefited by three or four families occupying 10 or 20l. a-year each, as in the other case by one family occupying ten times as much.

It hath been computed by political calculators, that every person, one with another, is worth to the public 4l. a-year. On that supposition, the inhabitants in one case are estimated at 800l. in the other case at 80l. so, if we reduce the sum to half, or a quarter, or any other sum, it will always come out the same that the one and the other are of value to the public just in the proportion of ten to one.

In short, populousness is the riches of a nation, not only from the consumption of things taxable, but for the supply of hands to arts, manufactures, war, and commerce.

A man who purchases an estate and lays it to his own, making one farm of what was two before, deprives the public of a proportionable share of every tax that depends upon the number of houses and inhabitants.

A man that gets a whole village or two into his possession by this means, consisting of an hundred antient feudal tenements, evades ninety-nine parts in an hundred of such taxes, and throws the burden upon others, who, by reason of the smallness of their property, are proportionably less able to bear it; for a man of an hundred pounds a-year can better spare twenty pounds, than a man of ten pounds a-year can spare forty shillings, for the one has eighty pounds left, the other only eight pounds.

This is a new argument against altering the established mode of collecting the land-tax, added to that of the danger of every innovation, how specious soever the pretence.

The two following Letters were written by Mr. Addison, *in the Year* 1708, *to the young Earl of* Warwick, *who afterwards became his Son-in-Law, when that Nobleman was very young. Though the Subject is puerile, yet, as they are full of that Good-Nature and Humour for which Mr.* Addison *was so eminently distinguished, we doubt not that our Readers will be pleased with the Perusal of them.*

My dear Lord,

I Have employed the whole neighbourhood in looking after birds-nests, and not altogether without success. My man found one last night; but it proved a hen's with fifteen eggs in it, covered with an old broody duck, which may satisfy your Lordship's curiosity a little, though

though I am afraid the eggs will be of little use to us. This morning I have news brought me of a nest that has abundance of little eggs, streaked with red and blue veins, that, by the description they give me, must make a very beautiful figure on a string. My neighbours are very much divided in their opinions upon them: some say they are a sky-lark's; others will have them to be a canary-bird's; but I am much mistaken in the colour and turn of the eggs, if they are not full of tom-tits. If your Lordship does not make haste, I am afraid they will be birds before you see them; for, if the account they gave me of them be true, they can't have above two days more to reckon.

Since I am so near your Lordship, methinks, after having passed the day among more severe studies, you may often take a trip hither, and relax yourself with these little curiosities of nature. I assure you, no less a man than Cicero commends the two great friends of his age, Scipio and Lælius, for entertaining themselves at their country-house, which stood on the seashore, with picking up cockle-shells, and looking after birds-nests. For which reason I shall conclude this learned letter with a saying of the same author, in his treatise of Friendship. *Absint autem tristitia, & in omni re severitas: habent illa quidem gravitatem; sed amicitia debet esse lenior & remissior, & ad omnem suavitatem facilitatemque morum proclivior**. If your Lordship understands the elegance and sweetness of these words, you may assure yourself you are no ordinary Latinist; but if they have force enough to bring you to Sandy-End, I shall be very well pleased. I am, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most affectionate,

And most obedient,

May 20, 1708. J. ADDISON.

My dearest Lord,

I Can't forbear being troublesome to your Lordship, whilst I am in your neighbourhood. The business of this is to invite you to a concert of music, which I have found out in a neighbouring wood. It begins precisely at six in the evening, and consists of a black-bird, a thrush, a robin-red-breast, and a bull-finch. There is a lark that, by way of overture, sings and mounts till she is almost out of hearing, and afterwards, falling down leisurely, drops to the ground, or as soon as she has ended her song. The whole is concluded by a nightingale, that has a much better voice than Mrs. Tofts, and something of the Italian manner in her divisions. If your Lordship will honour me with your company, I will promise to entertain you with much better music, and more agreeable scenes, than you ever met with at the opera; and will conclude with a charming description of a nightingale, out of our friend Virgil:

Qualis populeâ mœrens Philomela sub umbrâ
Amissos queritur fœtus, quos durus arator

* But far be stateliness and severity from us. There is, indeed, a gravity in these; but friendship ought to be gentle and relaxed, condescending to the utmost sweetness and easiness of manners.

Observans

Observans nidos implumes detrudit; at illæ
Flet noctem, ramique sedens, miserabile carmen
Integrat, & mœstis late loca questibus implet.

So, close in poplar shades, her children gone,
The mother nightingale laments alone:
Whose nest some prying churl had found, and thence,
By stealth, convey'd th' unfeather'd innocence.
But she supplies the night with mournful strains,
And melancholy music fills the plains.
Dryden.

Your Lordship's most obedient,

May 27, 1708. J. ADDISON.

Account of the Reception of King James *at* Cambridge, *in the year* 1614. *From the* Hardwick *State Papers.*

Mr. Chamberlain *to Sir* Dudley Carleton *at* Turin.

My very good Lord,

I Am newly returned from Cambridge, whither I went some two days after I wrote you my last. The King made his entry there the 7th of this present, with as much solemnity and concourse of gallants and great men, as the hard weather and extreme foul ways would permit. The Prince came along with him, but not the Queen, by reason (as it is said) that she was not invited; which error is rather imputed to their chancellor, than to the scholars, that understand not these courses. Another defect was, that there were no ambassadors, which no doubt was upon the same reason; but the absence of women may be the better excused for default of language, there being few or none present, but of the Howards, or that alliance; as the Countess of Arundel, with her sister, the Lady Elizabeth Grey; the Countess of Suffolk, with her daughters of Salisbury and Somerset; the Lady Walden and Henry Howard's wife; which were all that I remember. The Lord Treasurer kept there a very great port and magnificent table, with the expence of a thousand pounds a day, as is said; but that seems too large an allowance; but sure his provisions were very great, besides plenty of presents; and may be in some sort estimated by his proportion of wine, whereof he spent twenty-six tun in five days. He lodged and kept his table at St. John's College; but his lady and her retinue at Magdalen College, whereof his grandfather Audley was founder. The King and Prince lay at Trinity College, where the plays were represented; and the hall so well ordered for room, that above 2000 persons were conveniently placed. The first night's entertainment was a comedy, and acted by St. John's men, the chief part consisting of a counterfeit Sir Edward Ratcliffe, a foolish tutor of physic; which proved but a lean argument; and though it were larded with pretty shews at the beginning and end, and with somewhat too broad speech for such a presence, yet it was still dry. The second night was a comedy of Clare Hall, with the help of two or three good actors from other houses, wherein David Drummond in a hobby horse, and Brakin the recorder of the town, under the name of Ignoramus, a common lawyer, bare great parts. The thing was full of mirth and variety,

with many excellent actors (among whom the Lord Compton's ſon, though leaſt, was not worſt), but more than half marred with extreme length. The third night was an Engliſh comedy, called Albumazar, of Trinity College's action and invention; but there was no great matter in it, more than one good Clown's part. The laſt night was a Latin paſtoral of the ſame houſe, excellently written, and as well acted, which gave great contentment, as well to the King, as to the reſt. Now this being the ſtate of their plays, their acts and diſputations fell out much after the ſame manner; for the divinity act was performed reaſonably well, but not anſwerable to the expectation; the law and phyſic acts ſtark naught; but the philoſophy act made amends, and indeed was very excellent; inſomuch that the ſame day, the Biſhop of Ely ſent the moderator, the anſwerer, the varier or prevaricator, and one of the repliers, that were all of his houſe, twenty angels a piece. Now, for orations and *conſcius ad clerum*, I heard not many; but thoſe I did, were extraordinary; and the better, for that they were ſhort. The univerſity orator, Netherſole, though he be a proper man, and think well of himſelf, yet he is taxed for calling the Prince *Jacobiſſime Carole*; and ſome will needs add, that he called him *Jacobule* too; which neither pleaſed the King nor any body elſe. But ſure the King was exceedingly pleaſed many times, both at the plays and diſputations; for I had the hap to be, for moſt part, within hearing; and often at his meals he would expreſs as much. He viſited all the colleges ſave two or three, and commends them beyond Oxford, yet I am not ſo partial, but therein I muſt crave pardon not to be of his opinion. Though I endured a great deal of penance by the way for this little pleaſure, yet I would not have miſſed it, for that I ſee thereby the partiality of both ſides; the Cambridge men pleaſing and applauding themſelves in all, and the Oxford men as faſt condemning and detracting all that was done; wherein yet I commended Corbet's modeſty whilſt he was there; who being ſeriouſly dealt withal by ſome friends to ſay what he thought, anſwered, that he had left his malice and judgment at home, and came thither only to commend.

Paul Tomſon the gold-clipper hath his pardon, and not only ſo, but is abſolved *a pœna et culpa*, whereby he keeps his livings, and never came to trial; and I heard he had the face to appear in the town, whilſt the King was there.

Sir Arthur Ingram is, in a ſort, *deſurranné*, for Sir Marmaduke Dorrel is appointed to keep the table, and diſpatch the buſineſs of the cofferer, and he only to retain the name till Michaelmas, that the accompts may be made up, and in the mean time order taken, that he may be reimburſed of ſuch monies as he hath lawfully laid out, or can challenge in this cauſe.

Old Sir John Cutts is lately dead, and here is ſuch a ſpeech of the Lord Roſſe, but there is no great credit given to it, becauſe it comes only out of the low countries. Your nephew Carleton is arreſted with the ſmall-pox, which hindered his journey to Cambridge.

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I had almoſt forgotten, that almoſt all the courtiers went forth maſters of arts, at the King's being there; but few or no doctors, ſave only Younge, which was done by a mandate, being ſon to Sir Peter, the King's ſchool-maſter. The Vice Chancellor and univerſity were exceeding ſtrict in that point, and refuſed many importunities of great men, among whom was Mr. Secretary, that made great means for Mr. Weſtfield; but it would not be; neither the King's intreaty for John Dun would prevail; yet they are threatened with a mandate, which, if it come, it is like they will obey; but they are reſolved to give him ſuch a blow withal, that he were better be without it. Indeed the Biſhop of Chicheſter, Vice Chancellor, hath been very ſtiff, and carried himſelf very peremptory that way, wherein he is not much to be blamed, being a matter of more conſequence than at firſt was imagined. He did this part every way, as well in moderating the divinity act, as in taking great pains in all other things, and keeping exceeding great cheer.

I have here ſent you the queſtions in brief, for otherwiſe they would bear too great a bulk. And ſo I commend you to the protection of the Almighty. From London the 16th of March 1614.

Your Lordſhip's to command,

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

On Wit and Raillery. From Lord Cheſterfield's Letters.

LETTER VIII.

My dear little Boy, *Bath.*

IF God gives you wit, which I am not ſure that I wiſh you, unleſs he gives you at the ſame time, at leaſt an equal portion of judgment, to keep it in good order, wear it like your ſword in the ſcabbard, and do not brandiſh it to the terror of the whole company. If you have real wit, it will flow ſpontaneouſly, and you need not aim at it; for, in that caſe, the rule of the goſpel is reverſed; and it will prove, *ſeek*, and you ſhall not find. Wit is a ſhining quality that every body admires; moſt people aim at it, all people fear it, and few love it, unleſs in themſelves. A man muſt have a good ſhare of wit himſelf to endure a great ſhare in another. When wit exerts itſelf in ſatire, it is a moſt malignant diſtemper; wit, it is true, may be ſhewn in ſatire; but ſatire does not conſtitute wit, as many imagine. A man of wit ought to find a thouſand better occaſions of ſhewing it.

Abſtain, therefore, moſt carefully from ſatire, which, though it fall on no particular perſon in company, and momentarily, from the malignancy of the human heart, pleaſes all; yet, upon reflection, it frightens all too. Every one thinks it may be his turn next, and will hate you for what he finds you could ſay of him, more than be obliged to you for what you do not ſay. Fear and hatred are next-door neighbours; the more wit

you have, the more good-nature and politeneſs you muſt ſhew, to induce people to pardon your ſuperiority; for that is no eaſy matter. Learn to ſhrink yourſelf to the ſize of the company you are in. Take their tone, whatever it may be, and excel in it, if you can; but never pretend to give the tone. A fine converſation will no more bear a dictator, than a free government will.

The character of a man of wit is a ſhining one, that every man would have, if he could, though it is often attended with ſome inconveniences: the dulleſt alderman ever aims at it; cracks his dull joke, and thinks, or at leaſt hopes, that it is wit: but the denomination is always formidable, and very often ridiculous. Theſe *titular wits* have commonly much leſs wit than petulance and preſumption: they are at beſt the *rieurs de leur quartier*, in which narrow ſphere they are at once feared and admired.

You will perhaps aſk me, and juſtly, how, conſidering the deluſion of ſelf-love and vanity, from which no man living is abſolutely free, how you ſhall know, whether you have wit or not? To which the beſt anſwer I can give you is, not to truſt to the voice of your own judgment, for it will deceive you, nor to your ears, which will always greedily receive flattery, if you are worth being flattered; but truſt only to your eyes, and read in the countenances of good company their approbation or diſlike of what you ſay. Obſerve carefully too, whether you are ſought for, ſolicited, and in a manner preſſed into good company. But even all this will not abſolutely aſcertain your wit; therefore, do not, upon this encouragement, flaſh your wit in peoples' faces *a ricochets*, in the ſhape of *bons mots*, epigrams, ſmart repartees.

Appear to have rather leſs than more wit than you really have. A wiſe man will live at leaſt as much within his wit as his income. Content yourſelf with good ſenſe and reaſon, which at the long-run are ever ſure to pleaſe every body who has either; if wit comes into the bargain, welcome it, but never invite it. Bear this truth always in your mind, that you may be admired for your wit, if you have any; but that nothing but good ſenſe and good qualities can make you be beloved: they are ſubſtantial every-day's wear. Wit is for *le jour de gala*, where people go chiefly to be ſtared at.

LETTER IX.

My dear little Boy, *Bath.*

THERE is a ſpecies of minor wit, which is much uſed and much more abuſed; I mean raillery. It is a moſt miſchievous and dangerous weapon, when in unſkilful or clumſy hands; and it is much ſafer to let it quite alone than to play with it; and yet almoſt every body do play with it, though they ſee daily the quarrels and heart-burnings that it occaſions. In truth, it implies a ſuppoſed ſuperiority in the *railleur* to the *railli*, which no man likes even the ſuſpicion of, in his own caſe, though it may divert him in other people.

An innocent *raillerie* is often inoffenſively begun, but very ſeldom inoffenſively ended; for that depends upon the *raillé*, who, if he cannot defend himſelf, will grow brutal; and, if he can, very poſſibly his *railleur* baffled becomes ſo. It is a ſort of trial of wit, in which no man can bear to have his inferiority made appear.

The character of a *railleur* is more generally feared and more heartily hated than any one. I know that in the world, the injuſtice of a bad man is ſooner forgiven, than the inſults of a witty one; the former only hurts one's liberty and property, but the latter hurts and mortifies that ſecret pride which no human breaſt is free from. I will allow that there is a ſort of raillery which may not only be inoffenſive, but even flattering, as when, by a genteel irony, you accuſe people of thoſe imperfections which they are moſt notoriouſly free from, and conſequently inſinuate that they poſſeſs the contrary virtues. You may ſafely call Ariſtides a knave, or a very handſome woman an ugly one. Take care, however, that neither the man's character, nor the lady's beauty, be in the leaſt doubtful. But this ſort of raillery requires a very light and ſteady hand to adminiſter it. A little too ſtrong, it may be miſtaken into an offence; and a little too ſmooth, it may be thought a ſneer, which is a moſt odious thing.

There is another ſort, I will not call it wit, but merriment and buffoonery, which is *mimickry*. The moſt ſucceſsful mimick in the world is always the moſt abſurd fellow, and an ape is infinitely his ſuperior. His profeſſion is to imitate and ridicule thoſe natural defects and deformities for which no man is in the leaſt accountable, and, in the imitation of which, he makes himſelf, for the time, as diſagreeable and ſhocking as thoſe he mimicks. But I will ſay no more of thoſe creatures who only amuſe the loweſt rabble of mankind.

There is another ſort of human animals, called Wags, whoſe profeſſion is to make the company laugh immoderately, and who always ſucceed, provided the company conſiſt of fools; but who are equally diſappointed in finding that they never can alter a muſcle in the face of a man of ſenſe. This is a moſt contemptible character, and never eſteemed even by thoſe who are ſilly enough to be diverted by them.

Be content for yourſelf with ſound good-ſenſe, and good-manners, and let wit be thrown into the bargain, where it is proper and inoffenſive. Good-ſenſe will make you be eſteemed; good-manners, beloved; wit gives a luſtre to both. In whatever company you happen to be, whatever pleaſures you are engaged in, though perhaps not of a very laudable kind, take care to preſerve a great perſonal dignity; I do not in the leaſt mean a pride of birth and rank, that would be too ſilly; but I mean a dignity of character. Let your moral character of honeſty and honour be unblemiſhed, and even unſuſpected. I have known ſome people dignify even their vices, firſt, by never boaſting of them; and, next, by not practiſing them in an illiberal and indecent

decent manner. If they were addicted to women, they never degraded and dirtied themſelves in the company of infamous proſtitutes: if they loved drinking too well, they did not practiſe that beaſtly vice in beaſtly companies; but with thoſe whoſe good-humour in ſome degree ſeemed to excuſe it, though nothing can juſtify it. When you ſee a drunken man, as probably you will ſee many, ſtudy him with attention, and aſk yourſelf ſoberly, whether you would, upon any account, be that beaſt, that diſgrace to human reaſon. The Lacedemonians very wiſely made their ſlaves drunk, to deter their children from being ſo; and with good effect, for nobody ever yet heard of a Lacedemonian drunk.

LETTER X.

My dear little Boy, *Bath.*

IF there is a lawful and proper object of raillery, it ſeems to be a coxcomb, as an uſurper of the common rights of mankind: but here ſome precautions are neceſſary. Some wit, and great preſumption, conſtitute a coxcomb; for a true coxcomb muſt have wit. The moſt conſummate coxcomb I ever knew, was a man of the moſt wit, but whoſe wit, boaſted with preſumption, made him too big for any company, where he always uſurped the ſeat of empire, and crowded out common ſenſe.

Raillery ſeems to be a proper rod for theſe offenders; but great caution and ſkill are neceſſary in the uſe of it, or you may happen to catch a Tartar as they call it, and then the laughter will be againſt you. The beſt way with theſe people is to let them quite alone, and give them rope enough.

On the other hand, there are many, and perhaps more, who ſuffer from their timidity, and *mauvaiſe honte*, which ſink them infinitely below their level. Timidity is generally taken for ſtupidity, which, for the moſt part, it is not, but proceeds from a want of education in good company. Mr. Addiſon was the moſt timid and aukward man I ever ſaw; and no wonder, for he had been wholly cloiſtered up in the cells of Oxford till he was five and twenty years old. La Bruyere ſays, and there is a great deal of truth in it, *Qu'on ne vaut dans ce monde que ce que l'on veut valoir*; for, in this reſpect, mankind ſhew great indulgence, and value people at pretty near the price they ſet on themſelves, if it be not exorbitant.

I could wiſh you to have a cool intrepid aſſurance, with great ſeeming modeſty, never *demonte*, and never forward. Very aukward timid people, who have not been uſed to keep good company, are either ridiculouſly baſhful, or abſurdly impudent. I have known many a man impudent from ſhamefacedneſs, endeavouring to act a reaſonable aſſurance, and laſhing himſelf to what he imagined to be a proper and eaſy behaviour. A very timid baſhful man is annihilated in good company, eſpecially of his ſuperiors; he does not know what he ſays or does; and it is a ridiculous agitation, both of body and mind. Avoid both extremes, and endeavour to poſſeſs yourſelf with coolneſs and ſteadineſs: ſpeak to the King with full

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as little concern, though with more reſpect, as you would to your equals. This is the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of a gentleman, and a man of the world.

The way to acquire this moſt neceſſary behaviour is, as I have told you before, to keep company, whatever difficulty it may coſt you at firſt, with your ſuperiors and with women of faſhion, inſtead of taking refuge, as too many young people do, in low or bad company, in order to avoid the reſtraint of good-breeding. It is, I confeſs, a very difficult, not to ſay an impoſſible thing, for a young man, at his firſt appearance in the world, and unuſed to the ways and manners of it, not to be diſconcerted and embarraſſed, when he firſt enters what is called the beſt company. He ſees that they ſtare at him, and, if they happen to laugh, he is ſure that they laugh at him. This aukwardneſs is not to be blamed, as it often proceeds from laudable cauſes, from a modeſt diffidence of himſelf, and a conſciouſneſs of not yet knowing the modes and manners of good company. But let him perſevere with a becoming modeſty, and he will find that all people of good-nature and good-breeding will, at firſt, help him out, inſtead of laughing at him; and then a very little uſage of the world, and an attentive obſervation, will ſoon give him a proper knowledge of it.

It is the characteriſtic of low and bad company, which commonly conſiſts of wags and witlings, to laugh and diſconcert, and, as they call it, bamboozle a young fellow of ingenuous modeſty. You will tell me, perhaps, that, to do all this, one muſt have a good ſhare of vanity: I grant it; but the great point is, *Ne quid nimis*; for I fear Monſieur de la Rocheſoucault's maxim is too true, *Que la vertue n'iroit pas loin, ſi la vanite ne lui tenoit compagnie.* A man who deſpairs of pleaſing will never pleaſe; a man that is ſure that he ſhall always pleaſe wherever he goes, is a coxcomb; but the man who hopes and endeavours to pleaſe, will moſt infallibly pleaſe.

Extracts from a Letter from Mr. Horne *to* John Dunning, *Eſq; on the Conſtruction of certain* Engliſh *Particles.*

THE author of this letter takes occaſion, from an expreſſion in a precedent, quoted at his trial, to enter into a train of grammatical ſpeculations.

The point in debate is thus opened and explained.

A *ſuppoſed* omiſſion, in the information againſt Lawley, is produced to juſtify a *real* omiſſion, in the information againſt me; when indeed there was *no* omiſſion in the precedent. But the averment ſaid to be omitted, was, not only ſubſtantially, but literally made.

"The exception taken was, that it was not poſitively averred, that Crooke was indicted, it was only laid, that ſhe ſciens, that Crooke had been indicted, and was to be tried for forgery, did ſo and ſo."—That is (according to Mr. Horne's conſtruction) literally thus: "Crooke had been indicted for forgery" (there is the averment literally made)—"ſhe knowing that, did ſo and ſo."

Such, Sir, he adds, is, in all caſes, the unſuſpected conſtruction not only in our own, but in every lan-

guage in the world, where the conjunction *that*, or ſome equivalent word, is employed. I ſpeak confidently, becauſe I know, a priori, that it muſt be ſo; and I have likewiſe tried it in a great variety of languages, ancient as well as modern, Aſiatic as well as European.

The word *that*, he thinks, is therefore not to be conſidered as a conjunction, but as an article, or a pronoun: and to prove this, he produces, among many others, the following examples: I wiſh you to believe, *that* I would not wilfully hurt a fly. In this inſtance the conſtruction, he ſays, is to be thus reſolved: I would not wilfully hurt a fly, I wiſh you to believe *that* (aſſertion).—"Thieves riſe by night, *that* they may cut men's throats." — Reſolution: Thieves may cut men's throats; (for) *that* (purpoſe) they riſe by night.

He adds: This method of reſolution takes place in thoſe languages, which have different conjunctions for the ſame purpoſe: for the original of the laſt example, where *ut* is employed, and not the Latin neuter article *quod*, will be reſolved in the ſame manner.

Ut jugulent homines, ſurgunt de nocte latrones.

Though Sanctius, who ſtruggled ſo hard to withdraw *quod* from among the conjunctions, ſtill left *ut* among them without moleſtation, yet is *ut* no other than the Greek article ὅτι, adopted for this conjunctive purpoſe by the Latins, and by them originally written *uti*: the *o* being changed into *u* from that propenſity which both the ancient Romans had, and the modern Italians ſtill have, upon many occaſions, to pronounce even their own *o* like an *u*. The reſolution therefore of the original will be like that of the tranſlation:

Latrones jugulent homines (*di*) ὅτι ſurgunt de nocte.

But how are we to bring out the article *that*, when two conjunctions come together in this manner?

"*If that* the king
Have any way your good deſerts forgot,
He bids you name your griefs." Shakeſ.

The truth of the matter is, that *if* is merely a verb, the imperative mood of the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon verbs *giſan*; and in thoſe languages, as well as in the Engliſh formerly, this ſuppoſed conjunction was pronounced and written, as the common imperative *giſ*. Thus, in Ben Johnſon's Sad Shepherd, it is written:

"My largeſſe
Hath lotted her to be your brother's miſtreſſe,
Giſ ſhe can be reclaimed; *giſ* not, his prey."

Accordingly our corrupted *if* has always the ſignification of the preſent Engliſh imperative *give*, and no other. So that the reſolution of the conſtruction, in the inſtance produced from Shakeſpeare, will be as before in the others. The king may have forgotten your good deeds: *give that* in any way, he bids you name your griefs.

And here, as an additional proof, we may obſerve, that whenever the datum, upon which any concluſion depends, is a ſentence, the article *that*, if not expreſſed, is underſtood; as, in the inſtance produced above, the poet might have ſaid,

Giſ (that) ſhe can be reclaimed, &c.

For the reſolution is: "She can be reclaimed, *give that*, my largeſſe

geſſe hath lotted her to be your brother's miſtreſſe: ſhe cannot be reclaimed, *give that*, my largeſſe hath lotted her to be your brother's prey."—

We have in Engliſh another word, which (though now rather obſolete) uſed frequently to ſupply the place of *if*. As,

"*An* you had an eye behind you, you might ſee more detraction at your heels, than fortunes before you."

No doubt it will be aſked; in this and in all ſimilar inſtances what is *an?*

I do not know that any perſon has ever attempted to explain it, except Dr. S. Johnſon in his Dictionary. He ſays—"*an* is ſometimes, in old authors, a contraction of *and if*."—Of which he gives a very unlucky inſtance from Shakeſpeare; where both *an* and *if* are uſed in the ſame line:

"He cannot flatter, he!
An honeſt mind and plain; he muſt ſpeak truth!
An they will take it,—So. *If* not, he's plain."

Where, if *an* was a contraction of *and if*; *an* and *if* ſhould rather change places.

But I can by no means agree with Johnſon's account. A part of one word only, employed to ſhew that another word is compounded with it, would indeed be a curious method of *contraction*: although even this account of it would ſerve my purpoſe; but the truth will ſerve it better: for *an* is alſo a verb, and may very well ſupply the place of *if*: it being nothing elſe but the imperative mood of the Anglo-Saxon verb *anan*, which likewiſe means to *give* or to *grant*.

Nor does *an* ever (as Johnſon ſuppoſes) ſignify *as if*; nor is it a contraction of them.

I know indeed that Johnſon produces Addiſon's authority for it.

"My next pretty correſpondent, like Shakeſpeare's lion in Pyramus and Thiſbe, roars *an* it were any nightingale."

Now if Addiſon had ſo written, I ſhould anſwer roundly, that he had written falſe Engliſh. But he never did ſo write. He only quoted it in mirth. And Johnſon, an editor of Shakeſpeare, ought to have known and obſerved it. And then, inſtead of Addiſon's or even Shakeſpeare's authority from whom the expreſſion is borrowed; he ſhould have quoted Bottom's, the weaver: whoſe language correſponds with the character Shakeſpeare has given him.

"I will aggravate my voice ſo (ſays Bottom) that I will roar you as gently as any ſucking dove: I will roar you *an* 'twere any nightingale."

Our author, having thus accounted for *if* and *an*, aſſerts that thoſe words, which are called conditional conjunctions, are to be accounted for in all languages, in the ſame manner. Not that they muſt all mean preciſely *give* and *grant*, but ſomething equivalent: as, *be it*, *ſuppoſe*, *allow*, *permit*, *ſuffer*, &c.

Hitherto the doctrine of conjunctions has been the crux grammaticorum. Theſe troubleſome words have cauſed them infinite labour and perplexity. Yet all their etymologies have been vague and unſatisfactory. Mr. Harris tells us, that a conjunction is a part of ſpeech, 'void of ſignification;' and he compares them to

cement

cement in a building. Lord Monboddo ſays, 'prepoſitions, conjunctions, and ſuch like words, are rather the pegs and nails that faſten the ſeveral parts of the language together, than the language itſelf.' Mr. Locke declares himſelf diſſatisfied with all the accounts of them, that he had ſeen. Sanctius reſcued *quod* particularly from the number of theſe myſterious conjunctions. Servius, Scioppius, Voſſius, Perizonius, and others, have diſplaced and explained many other ſuppoſed adverbs and conjunctions. Dr. Johnſon ſays, 'the particles are, among all nations, applied with ſo great a latitude, that they are not eaſily reducible under any regular ſcheme of interpretation.' He adds: I have laboured them with diligence, I hope with ſucceſs: ſuch at leaſt as can be expected in a taſk, which no man, however learned or ſagacious, has yet been able to perform.—Our author however has undertaken to perform this taſk; and has actually reduced our principal conjunctions under a regular ſcheme of interpretation. As this then appears to be a matter of importance, in the theory of our language, we ſhall give our readers a ſummary view of the moſt material remarks, in this diſſertation.

IF is the imperative *gif* of the Saxon verb *giſan*, to *give*.

AN is the imperative *an*, of *unan*, to *grant*. Theſe words may be uſed mutually and indifferently to ſupply each others place. *Gif* is to be found in all our old writers. G. Douglas almoſt always uſes *gif*; once or twice only he has uſed *if*; and once he uſes *geve* for *gif*. Chaucer commonly uſes *if*; but ſometimes *yeve*, *yef*, and *yf*. And it is to be obſerved, that in Chaucer, and other old writers, the verb to *give* ſuffers the ſame variations in the manner of writing it, however uſed, whether conjunctively, or otherwiſe.

Well ought a prieſt enſample for to *yeve*,
Prol. to Cant. Tales.

Gin is often uſed in our northern counties, and by the Scotch, as we uſe *if* or *an*: which they do with equal propriety, and as little corruption: for *gin* is no other than the participle *given*, *gi'en*, *gi'n*.

UNLESS, *Onles*, is the imperative of the Saxon *onleſan*, to *diſmiſs*. This word is written by Horne, Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, *onles*, *onelts*, *onleſſe*, *oneleſſe*: by Biſhop Gardiner, *onles*, *oneleſſe*.—*Les* the imperative of *leſan*, which has the ſame meaning as *onleſan*, is likewiſe uſed ſometimes by old writers inſtead of *unleſs*. It is the ſame imperative at the end of thoſe words which are called adjectives, ſuch as *hopeleſs*, *motionleſs*, i. e. *diſmiſs hope*, *diſmiſs motion*.

EKE is the imperative *eac* of *eacan*, to *add*.

YET is the imperative *get* or *gyt*, of *getan* or *gytan*, to *get*.

STILL is the imperative *ſtell* or *ſtall*, of *ſtellan*, or *ſtaallian*, to *put*. Theſe words may very well ſupply each others place, and be indifferently uſed for the ſame purpoſe.

ELSE. This word formerly written *alles*, *alles*, *alys*, *alyſe*, *ellis*, *ellus*, *ellis*, *els*, is no other than *ales* or *alys*, the imperative of *aleſan*, or *alyſan*, to *diſmiſs*.

THO' or THOUGH, or as our country folks more purely pronounce it, *thaf*, *thauf*, *thof*, is the imperative *thaf*, or *thafig* of the verb

verb *thafian* or *thafigan*, to *allow*. In confirmation of this etymology it may be obſerved, that anciently writers often uſed *algife*, *algyff*, *allgyff*, and *algive*, inſtead of *although*: as,

" —— whoſe pere is hard to fynd,
Allgyf England and Fraunce were thorow
ſaught." Skelton.

BŪT is the imperative *bot* of *botan*, to *boot*, i. e. to ſuperadd, to ſupply, to ſubſtitute, to compenſate with, to remedy with, to make amends with, to add ſomething more, in order to make up a deficiency in ſomething elſe.

BŪT is the imperative *be-utan* of *beon utan*, to *be out*. It was this word, *but*, which Mr. Locke had chiefly in view, when he ſpoke of conjunctions as making ſome ſtands, turns, limitations, and exceptions of the mind. And it was the corrupt uſe of this one word *but* in modern Engliſh for two words, *bot* and *but*, originally in the Anglo-Saxon very different in ſignification, though, by repeated abbreviation and corruption, approaching in ſound, which chiefly miſled him. G. Douglas, notwithſtanding he frequently confounds theſe two words, and uſes them improperly, does yet, without being himſelf aware of the diſtinction, and from the mere force of cuſtomary ſpeech, abound with ſo many inſtances and ſo contraſted, as to awaken, one ſhould think, the moſt inattentive reader.

" *Bot* thy werke ſhall endure in laude and
glorie,
But ſpot or falt condigne eterne memorie."
Preface.

—" *Bot gif* the ſatis, *but* pleid,
At my pleſure ſuffer it me liſe to leid."
Book iv.

It may be proper to obſerve, that G. Douglas's language, where *bot* is very frequently found, though written about a century after, muſt yet be eſteemed more ancient than Chaucer's: even as at this day the preſent Engliſh ſpeech in Scotland is, in many reſpects, more ancient than that ſpoken in England, as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth. So Mer. Caſaubon, de Vet. Ling. Ang. ſays of his time, 'Scotica lingua Anglicâ hodiernâ purior;' where by *purior* he means nearer to the Anglo-Saxon. So Hickes, in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, ſays, 'Scoti in multis Saxonizantes.'—In five inſtances, which Mr. Locke has given us for five different meanings of the word *but*, there are indeed only two different meanings. Nor could he have added any other ſignifications of this particle, but what are to be found in *bot* and *but*, as above explained. Dr. Johnſon and others have miſtaken the expreſſion *to boot*, for a ſubſtantive: it is indeed the infinitive of the ſame verb, of which the conjunction is the imperative.

WITHOUT is *wyrth-utan*, of *weorthan utan*, to *be out*. *But*, as diſtinguiſhed from *bot*, and *without*, have both exactly the ſame meaning. They were both originally uſed indifferently, either as conjunctions or prepoſitions. But later writers, having adopted the falſe notions and diſtinctions of language, maintained by the Greek and Latin grammarians, have ſucceſſively endeavoured to make the Engliſh language conform more and more to the ſame rules. Accordingly *without*, in approved modern ſpeech, is now entirely confined to the office of a prepoſition, and

and *but* is generally, though not always, uſed as a conjunction.

AND is *an ad* the imperative of *unn-ad*, to *give or grant*, dare *concedere*.

LEST is the participle *leſed*, of *leſan*, to *diſmiſs*; and, with the article *that*, either expreſſed or underſtood, means no more than *hoc dimiſſo*, or *quo dimiſſo*. Example. 'You make uſe of ſuch indirect and crooked arts as theſe, to blaſt my reputation, and to poſſeſs men's minds with diſaffection to my perſon; *leſt* peradventure, they might with ſome indifference hear reaſon from me.' Chillingworth.—Here *leſt* is properly uſed. 'You make uſe of theſe arts:' why? The reaſon follows: *Leſed that*, i. e. *hoc dimiſſo*, 'men might hear reaſon from me: therefore you uſe theſe arts.'

Since, *ſiththan*, *ſyne*, *ſeand-es*, *ſith-the*, or *ſines*, is the participle of *ſeon*, to *ſet*. *Since* is a very corrupt abbreviation, confounding together different words, and different combinations of words. Where we now employ *ſince*,—*ſiththan*, *ſyne*, &c. according to their reſpective ſignification, were formerly uſed. In modern Engliſh it is uſed four ways: two, as a prepoſition, connecting, or rather affecting words; and two, as a conjunction, affecting ſentences. When uſed as a prepoſition, it has always the ſignification, either of the paſt participle *ſeen*, joined to *thence* (that is, *ſeen and thence forward*) or elſe it has the ſignification of *ſeen* only. When uſed as a conjunction, it has ſometimes the ſignification of the preſent participle *ſeeing* or *ſeeing that*, and ſometimes the ſignification of the paſt participle *ſeen*, or *ſeen that*.

THAT is the neuter article *that*. There is ſomething ſo very ſingular in the uſe of this conjunction, as it is called, that one ſhould think it would alone have been ſufficient to lead the grammarians to a knowledge of moſt of the other conjunctions, as well as of itſelf: *If that*, *an that*, *unleſs that*, *though that*, *but that*, *without that*, *leſt that*, *ſince that*, *ſave that*, *except that*, &c.

AS is an article, and means the ſame as *it*, *that*, *which*. In the German, where it ſtill evidently retains its original ſignification and uſe, as *ſo* alſo does, it is written, *es*. *Als*, in our old Engliſh, is a contraction of *al*, and *es* or *as*, and this *al* (which in compariſons uſed to be very properly employed before the firſt *es* or *as*, but was not employed before the ſecond) we now, in modern Engliſh, ſuppreſs, as we have done in numberleſs other inſtances. Thus,

"*As* ſwift *as* darts or feather'd arrows fly,"

In old Engliſh is written,

"*Als* ſwift *as* ganze or fedderit arrow fleis."

which means, With *all that* ſwiftneſs, with *which*, &c.

Theſe I apprehend are the only conjunctions in our language which can cauſe any difficulty; and it would be impertinent in me to explain ſuch as, *Be-it*, *Albeit*, *Notwithſtanding*, *Neverthelefs*, *Set**, *Save*, *Except*, *Out-cept*†, *Out-*

* "*Set* this my work full febill be of rent." G. Douglas.

† "I'l d play hun 'gaine a knight, or a good ſquire, or gentleman of any other countie i' the kingdome."—*Outcept* "Kent: for there they landed all gentlemen." B. Johnſon. Tale of a Tub.

take,

*take**, *to with Because*, &c. which are evident at first sight.

I hope it will be acknowledged that this is coming to the point; and is fairer than shuffling them over as all philosophers and grammarians have hitherto done; or than repeating after others, that they are not themselves any part of languages, but only such *Accessaries*, as *Salt* is to *Meat*, or *Water* to *Bread*; or that they are the mere *Edging*, or *Sauce* of language; or that they are like the *Handles* to *Cups*, or the *Plumes* to *Helmets*, or the *Binding* to *Books*, or *Harness* for *Horses*; or that they are *Pegs*, and *Nails*, and *Nerves*, and *Joints*, and *Ligaments*, and *Lime* and *Mortar*, and so forth.

In which kind of pretty similies philosophers and grammarians seem to have vied with one another; and have often endeavoured to amuse their readers and cover their own ignorance, by very learnedly disputing the propriety of the similie, instead of explaining the nature of the conjunction.

I must acknowledge that I have not any authorities for the derivations which I have given of these words; and that all former etymologists are against me. But I am persuaded that all future etymologists (and perhaps some philosophers) will acknowledge their obligation to me: for these troublesome conjunctions, which have hitherto caused them so much mistaken and unsatisfactory labour, shall save them many an error and many a weary step in future.

EPITAPHS.

An Inscription, taken from the Monument erected in Bussley-Church, Worcestershire, said to be written by Mr. Burke.

To the memory of
WILLIAM DOWDESWELL,
Representative in parliament for the county of Worcester,
Chancellor of the Exchequer in the years 1775 and 1776, and a member of the King's privy-council;
A senator for twenty years,
A minister for one,
A virtuous citizen for his whole life.
A man of unshaken constancy, inflexible integrity, unremitted industry.
His mind was generous, open, sincere,
His manners plain, simple, and noble;
Rejecting all sorts of duplicity and disguise, as useless to his designs, and odious to his nature.
His understanding
Was comprehensive, steady, vigorous,
Made for the practical business of the State.
In debate he was clear, natural, and convincing.
His knowledge, in all things which concerned his duty, profound.
He understood, beyond any man of his time, the revenues of his country;
Which he preferred to every thing—
Except its liberties.
He was a perfect master of the law of parliament,
And attached to its privileges until they were set up against the rights of the people.
All the proceedings
Which have weakened government, endangered freedom, and distracted the British empire, were by him strenuously opposed;
And his last efforts,
Under which his health sunk,
Were to preserve his country from a civil war,
Which being unable to prevent, he had not the misfortune to see.

He

* 'And also I resygne al my knyghtly dignitie, magesty and crowne, wyth al the lordes hyppes, powre, and privileges to the foresayd kingely dignitie and crown belonging, and al other lordshippes and possesyons to me in any maner of wyse pertaynynge, what name and condicion thei be of, *out-take* the lands and possessions for me and mine obyte purchased and broughte.'
Instrument of resignation of K. Richard II. in Fabian's Chronicle.

He was not more respectable on the public scene,
Than amiable in private life.
Immersed in the greatest affairs,
He never lost the ancient, native, genuine
English character of a Country Gentleman,
Disdaining and neglecting no office in life.
He was an ancient municipal magistrate,
With great care and clear judgment
Administering justice, maintaining the police, relieving the distresses, and regulating the manners of the people in his neighbourhood,
An husband and father,
The kindest, gentlest, most indulgent.
He was every thing in his family except what he gave up to his country.

His widow, who labours with life in order to form the minds of his eleven children to the resemblance of their father, erects this monument.

Epitaph on the late Mr. Markland, *in the Church of Dorking in Surrey. By Dr.* Wm. Hebberden.

Jeremiah Markland, A.M.

Was born the 29th of October, 1693;
Educated in the school of Christ's Hospital, London;
And elected fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Unambitious of the rewards and honours which his abilities and application might have obtained for him in the learned professions, he chose to pass his life in a liberal retirement. His very accurate knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages was employed in correcting and explaining the best antient authors, and more particularly in illustrating the sacred scriptures. To these rational pursuits he sacrificed every worldly view; contented with the inward pleasure resulting from such studies, and from the public and private assistance which they enabled him to communicate to others. But, above all, his uncommon learning confirmed in the highest degree his hopes of a happier life hereafter.

He died at Milton, in this parish, the 7th day of July, 1776.

On the late Mr. Bowyer, *Printer. By* E. C.

Memoriæ Sacrum
WILHELMI BOWYER,
Typographorum post Stephanos et Commelinos Longe doctissimi:
Linguarum Latinæ, Græcæ, et Hebraicæ Peritissimi:
Adeo ut cognovisse videatur
Naturæ atque Orbis alphabetum.
Quot et quanta Opera
Ab illius Prelo
Splendidè, nitidè, et, quod majus est,
Fide et integritate summâ,
Tanquam ex equo Trojano
Meri Principes exierint;
Annales Typographici et nunc et olim testati sunt:
Et præcipuè quod Acta Diurna
Superioris Cameræ
Britannici Parliamenti
Suo Prelo, suæ Fidei,
Honorificè commissa fuerant.
Hæc Typographo debentur:
Sed quod se semper gessit,
Ut Virum decuit honestissimum,
Amicissimum, et pium,
In sui ipsius et familiæ decus,
Majorem laudem cedet.
Tanti Typographi et Hominis
Memoriæ
Mœrens inscripsit Saxum
Olim Familiaris,
Et nunc Amicus.
Oblit . . . . . .
Annum agens . . . . . .
Æræ Christianæ 177 .

On the late Dr. Taylor. *By* E. C.

Plorate,
Linguarum, Artium, Scientiarum,
Vos O doctissimi Cultores!
Quotquot huic Marmori funereo
Aliquando accesseritis,
Desiderio quærentes lacrumabili
Quale quantumque Corpori caduco
Hic fiat superstes Nomen:
Quippe hic jacet Hellas propria,
Hic Lepos Atticus,
Hic Dorices ἁβρότης,
Hic suave Mel Ionicum.
Scriptores Græciæ veteris et Latii
Numerosos,
Jus Civile, Urbanum, Municipale,
Leges, Ritus, Cæremonias, Mores,
Recre-

Reconditiſſimæ Antiquitatis,
Quis illi Par ſic unquam expedivit?
Te ſublato! mancus, debilis ſemper jacet,
Ille tuus Demoſthenes *αναδυομενος*,
Imperfecta reſtant *τα Αισχινης σαζιμενα*
Solus integer et ſuperſtes Lyſias.
Hæc ſolummodo qui legerit
Nemo non poſſit non exclamare,
Hic ſitus eſt
JOHANNES TAYLORUS Salopienſis,
Eccleſiæ Lincolnienſis Cancellarius,
Sancti Pauli Canonicus.
Obiit annum agens
Sexageſimum tertium,
4° Aprilis, 1766.

On the late Dr. Goldſmith.

By Dr. S. Johnſon.

OLIVARII GOLDSMITH,
Poetæ, Phyſici, Hiſtoriçi,
Qui nullum fere ſcribendi genus
Non tetigit,
Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit;
Sive riſus eſſent movendi,
Sive lacrimæ,
Affectuum potens, at lenis, dominator;
Ingenio ſublimis, vividus, verſatilis,
Oratione grandis, nitidus, venuſtus;
Hoc monumento memoriam coluit
Sodalium amor,
Amicorum fides,
Lectorum veneratio.
*** in Hibernia natus,
Eblanæ literis inſtitutus.
Londini obiit MDCCLXXIV.

EPITAPH

By Dr. Lowth, *the preſent Biſhop of* London, *inſcribed on a Monument to the Memory of his Daughter, in the Church of Cudeſden, in Oxfordſhire.*

CARA, vale, ingenio præſtans, pietate, pudore,
Et pluſquam natæ nomine cara, vale:
Cara Maria, vale! at veniet felicius ævum,
Quando iterum tecum, ſim modo dignus, ero.
Cara redi, læta tum dicam voce, paternos
Eja age in amplexus, cara Maria, redi.

Fleetwood Shepheard's Epitaph, written by himſelf, in my Lord Dorſet's *Common Prayer-Book, at* Copt-Hall.

O, vos qui de ſalute veſtrâ ſecuri eſtis,
Orate pro animâ miſerrimi peccatoris
FLEETWOOD SHEPHEARD,
Etiamnum viventis et ubicunque eſt peccantis,
Qui fide exiguâ et tamen ſpe impudentiſſimâ optat et expectat,
Quam non meruit,
Felicem reſurrectionem,
Anno Religionis et libertatis reſtitutæ tertio,
Rerum potientibus
Fortiſſimo Willielmo et formoſiſſima Maria.

By another Hand.

Sta, Viator:
Sive tu Veneri ſeu Baccho vixeris idoneus,
Et ſi quando a ſcortis et poculis vacat,
Reminiſcere defuncti in Venere et Baccho fratris
FLEETWOOD SHEPHEARD,
Qui vitiis et (quod in ipſo vitioſiſſimum erat)
Ingenio piè renunciavit,
Apolline jam nullo, Venere nulla,
Et (quod magis dolendum) Baccho nullo.
Cui nihil non in vultu erubeſcit præter frontem,
Nec ulla meretrix diſplicuit præter Babylonicam,
Fortitudine et ſobrietate pari;
Quippe qui nulli hoſti bellum unquam indixerit,
Si excipias ſitim:
Qui Comiti Dorſetenſi à riſu,
Poetarum Mæcenati a dactylis et ſpondeis,
Et cubiculario regio a ſanctioribus Bibliis,
Nihil unquam facetè dixit quod ſalvo pudore, nec liberè quod ſalva religione dici potuit.
Promiſſorum uſque et uſque profuſus,
Mentes aureos pollicetur;
At ubi bonæ fidei hominem ſperabis
Poetam; ſed ſola illa vice verum induit
Anno paupertatis publicæ
Et (ſi paupertati Poëſis ſemper adhæreat)
Anno publicæ Po ſeos reſtauratæ tertio,
Cum de bicipite noſtro Parnaſſo certarent
Hinc bifrons Drydenus,
Inde bicornis Shadwellus,
Quorum hic de facto, ille de jure,
Archipoeta cluit.

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW-YEAR, 1778.

By W. WHITEHEAD, *Eſq. P. L.*

WHEN rival nations, great in arms,
Great in power, in glory great,
Fill the world with war's alarms,
And breathe a temporary hate,
The hoſtile ſtorms but rage awhile,
And the tir'd conteſt ends;
But ah! how hard to reconcile
The foes who once were friends!

Each haſty word, each look unkind,
Each diſtant hint, that ſeems to mean
A ſomething lurking in the mind
Which almoſt longs to lurk unſeen;
Each ſhadow of a ſhade offends
Th' embitter'd foes who once were friends.

That power alone who fram'd the ſoul,
And bade the ſprings of paſſion play,
Can all the jarring ſtrings controul,
And form on diſcord concord's ſway.

'Tis he alone, whoſe breath of love
Did o'er the world of waters move,
Whoſe touch the mountains bends;
Whoſe word from darkneſs call'd forth light,
'Tis he alone can re-unite
The foes who once were friends.

To him, O Britain! bow the knee;
His awful, his auguſt decree,
Ye rebel tribes adore!
Forgive at once, and be forgiven,
Ope in each breaſt a little heaven,
And diſcord is no more.

ODE

ODE *for His* MAJESTY's *Birth-Day.*

ARM'D with her native force, behold
How proudly thro' each martial plain
Britannia ſtalks! 'Twas thus, of old,
My warlike ſons, a gallant train,
Call'd forth their genuine ſtrength, and ſpread
Their banners o'er the tented mead;
'Twas thus they taught perfidious France to yield—
—(She cries)—and ſhews the lilies on her ſhield.

Yes, Goddeſs, yes! 'twas thus of old
(The Muſe replies) thy Barons bold
Led forth their native troops, and ſpread
Their banners o'er the tented mead.
But nobler now the zeal that warms
Each patriot breaſt! For freedom's reign
Has burſt the Norman's feudal chain,
And gives new force to glory's charms.

No vaſſal bands
Riſe at a tyrant Lord's commands;
'Tis for themſelves, with honeſt rage,
The voluntary youths engage;
To guard their ſacred homes they fight,
And in their own aſſert the public right.

Bound by choice, and choice alone,
Their leaders and their laws are both their own;
Laws obey'd, becauſe approv'd,
And chiefs that rule, becauſe belov'd.

'Tis hence that flaſh of virtuous pride
(Which Britain's ſons diſdain to hide)
Glows on their cheeks, and thro' their eyes,
In active fire, the foe defies.

'Tis hence, at home, they claim, and find,
Th' undoubted rights of human kind;
And, whilſt they own a juſt controul,
But yield a part, to guard the whole.

'Tis hence they ſpurn a ſervile chain,
While tyrant man's deſpotic reign
Enſlaves the peopled earth;
And hence, with equal zeal, obey
A Father-King, and hail the day
Which gave ſuch Monarch birth.

The CONTEST *of the* SEASONS; *or,* WINTER *triumphant.*

By J. H. *Esq;*

SPRING, Summer, and Autumn, had once a diſpute,
Which ſeaſon among them was moſt in repute.
Spring bragg'd of her nightingales ſinging all night,
And her lambkins that ſkip'd about, ſoon as 'twas light.
Old Summer grew warm, and ſaid, 'twas enough,
That too often he had heard ſuch common-place ſtuff:—
That to *Him* the bright ſun, all in ſplendor ariſing,
Was an object by far more ſublime and ſurprizing.
All your pleaſures, quoth Autumn, are nothing to mine;
My fruits are ambroſia, and nectar my wine.
'Twas thus that theſe three were by turns holding forth,
When rough Winter thus roar'd from the bleak froſty North.
Not one of you think Winter merits reward,
Or that Winter Amuſements are worthy regard.
You, Spring, brag of nightingales giving delight,
Han't I fiddlers like them that can warble all night?
You talk too, of lambkins that prettily ſkip it,
Don't my miſſes at Almack's as merrily trip it?
Then, good Summer, your ſun never ſhines but he ſcorches;
'Tis not ſo with my chandeliers, flambeaux, and torches:
Nay, they're better than ſunſhine, as ſome ſages ſay,
For they light us by night as well as by day.
For you, Autumn, your time on high flavours you waſte,
As if you alone monopoliz'd taſte.
Alas! in a ribband of mine, or a feather,
There's more taſte, than in all your fine fruits put together.
Add to this, I've ridottos, plays, operas, drums,
And aſſemblies quite private, where all the world comes;
I've fine ladies that bring me the *bon ton* from France,
And gentlemen grown, that are learning to dance.
All Time with the gay, but the Winter, is loſt,
As a Dutchman is never alive, but in froſt:
Beſides, my dear Seaſons, I'd have you remember,
We're now got as far as the month of December;
That you, Spring and Summer, are both ran away;
That you, Autumn, won't venture much longer to ſtay.
You can't then but own, if you hearken to reaſon,
No amuſements *but mine* are at preſent in ſeaſon.

Dec. 4, 1778.

EPILOGUE

EPILOGUE *to the Tragedy of* ALFRED.

Written by Mr. GARRICK, *and ſpoken by Mrs.* BARRY.

OUR bards of late ſo tragic in their calling,
Have ſcarce preſerv'd one heroine from falling:
Whether the dame be widow, maid, or wife,
She ſeldom from their hands eſcapes with life:
If this green cloth could ſpeak, would it not tell,
Upon its well worn nap how oft I fell?
To death in various forms deliver'd up,
Steel kills me one night, and the next the cup;
The tragic proceſs is as ſhort as certain;
With * this,—or † this, I drop—then drops the curtain;
No ſaint can lead a better life than I,
For half is ſpent in ſtudying how to die;
The learn'd diſpute, how tragedies ſhould end;
O, happily ſay ſome—Some death defend;
Mild criticks wiſh good fortune to the good;
While others, hot-brain'd, roar for blood! blood! blood!
The fair, tho' nervous, tragic to the ſoul,
Delight in daggers and the poiſon'd bowl:
"I would not give a black-pin for a play,
Unleſs in tenderneſs I melt away;
From pangs and death no lovers would I ſave,
They ſhould be wretched, and deſpair and rave;
And ne'er together lie—but in the grave!"
The brave rough ſoldier a ſoft heart diſcovers,
He ſwears and weeps at once, when dead the lovers:
As down his cheeks runs trickling nature's tide,
"Damn it—I wiſh thoſe young one's had not dy'd:"
Tho' from his eyes the drop of pity falls,
He fights like Cæſar, when his country calls:
In ſpite of critic laws our bard takes part,
And joins in concert with the ſoldier's heart:
O let your feelings with this party ſide,
For once forgive me that I have not dy'd;
Too hard that fate which kills a virgin bride!

* She makes the motion of ſtabbing.

† And here of drinking poiſon.

PROLOGUE *to the* BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

Written by RICHARD CUMBERLAND, *Esq.*

Spoken by Mr. HENDERSON.

TO Holy land in superstition's day,
When bare-foot pilgrims trod their weary way,
By mother church's unremitting law,
Scourg'd into grace, with shoulders red and raw;
Kneeling demure before the sacred shrine,
On the hard flint they beg'd the boon divine;
Pardon for what offending flesh had done,
And pity for the long, long course they'd run;
Fines, pains, and penalties, securely past,
Slow-pac'd forgiveness met their prayer at last;
Full absolution from conceding Rome,
Cancell'd all sin, past, present, and to come.
Your poet thus profanely led aside
To range o'er tragic land without a guide,
To pick, perhaps, with no invidious aim,
A few oak fallings from the tree of fame:
Damn'd, tho' untry'd, by the despotic rule
Of the stern doctor's in detraction's school;
Lash'd down each column of a public page,
And driv'n o'er burning plough-shares to the stage,
Be-rhim'd, be-ridicul'd with doggrel wit,
Sues out a pardon from his pope—*the Pit.*
Pensive he stands in penitential weeds,
With a huge rosary of untold beads;
Sentenc'd for past offences to rehearse
Ave Apollo's, to the god of verse;
And sure there's no one but an author knows
The penance which an author undergoes.
If then your worships a few stripes award,
Let not your beadles lay them on too hard;
For in the world there's not a thing so thin,
So full of feeling, as your poet's skin;
What if perchance he snatch'd a playful kiss
From that free-hearted romp, the comic Miss;
That frolick's past, he's turn'd to years of grace,
And a young sinner now supplies his place.
Sure you'll not grudge a little sober chat
With this demure old tabby tragic cat;
No charge lies here of conversation crim:
He hopes you'll think her fame no worse for him.

PRO-

PROLOGUE *to the New Comedy of the* SUICIDE.

By the AUTHOR.

Spoken by Mr. PALMER.

'TIS now the reigning taſte with belle and beau,
Their art and ſkill in coachmanſhip to ſhew;
Nobles contend who throws a whip the beſt;
From head to foot like hackney-coachmen dreſs'd:
Ducheſs and Peereſs too diſcard their fear,
Ponies in front, my Lady in the rear.
A female phaeton all danger mocks,
Half-coat, half-petticoat, ſhe mounts the box;
Wrapt in a duſty whirlwind ſcours the plains,
And cutting—jehu!—whiſtling—holds the reins.
Happy, thrice happy, Britain, is thy ſtate,
In the year ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-eight,
When each ſex drives at ſuch a furious rate.
The modiſh artiſt, playwright, or coach-maker,
In Grub-ſtreet ſtarv'd, or thriving in Long-Acre;
To ſuit the times, and tally with the mode,
Muſt travel in the beaten turnpike-road;
Wherefore our crane-neck'd manager to-day
Upon four acts attempts to run his play:
A fifth he fears you'll deem the bard's reproach,
A mere fifth wheel that would but ſtop the coach.
With two-act pieces what machines agree?
Buggies, tim-whiſkies, or ſqueez'd *vis-a-vis*,
Where two ſit face to face, and knee to knee.
What is a piece in one ſhort act compreſs'd?
A wheel-barrow, or ſulky at the beſt.
A ſcale ſo ſmall, the bard would ſuffer for't;
You'd ſay his farce was like himſelf—too ſhort;
Yet anxious with your ſmiles his work to crown,
In many a varied ſhape he courts the town.
Sometimes he drives—if brother bards implore;
Sometimes he in a prologue trots before,
Or in an epilogue gets up behind—
Happy in all, ſo you appear but kind.
His vehicle to-day may none reproach,
Nor take it for a hearſe, or mourning coach.
'Tis true, a gloomy outſide he has wrought,
That rather threatens than doth promiſe aught;
Yet from black fun'ral, like his brother Bayes,
A nuptial banquet he intends to raiſe.

We do but jeſt—*poiſon in jeſt*—no more—
And, thus *one Mercer* to the world reſtore,
But if a well-tim'd jeſt ſhould chance to ſave
One mercer from perdition and the grave,
All Ludgate-Hill be judge, if 'twere not hard,
Felo de ſe ſhould you bring in the bard.

EPILOGUE *to the Same.*

Written by Mr. GARRICK.

Spoken by Miſs FARREN.

THE critics ſay, and conſtantly repeat,
That woman acting man's a ſilly cheat,
That ev'n upon the ſtage it ſhould not paſs:
To which I ſay—a critic is an aſs.
As men, true man we could not well deceive,
But we, like modiſh things, may make believe.
Would it be thought I gave myſelf great airs,
To put my manhood on a foot with theirs?
Speak; you that are men, is my pride too great
To think you'd rather have with me—a *tête-à-tête*?
In this our play what dangers have I run!
What hair-breadth 'ſcapes! and yet the prize have won.
Is it a prize? He may prove croſs, or jealous,
In marriage-lotteries the knowing tell us,
Among our modern youths much danger lies;
There are a hundred blanks for one poor prize.
Was I not bold, ye fair, to undertake
To tame that wildeſt animal—a rake!
To lead a tyger in a ſilken ſtring,
Huſh the loud ſtorm, and clip the whirlwind's wing!
My pride was piqued, all dangers I would thro':
To have her way what would not woman do?
The papers ſwarm each day with patent puffers
For ſmoaky chimnies—powders—mouſe-traps—ſnuffers;
And I could fame as well as fortune raiſe,
To cure by patent, *la folie Angloiſe*.
I'm ſure you all my noſtrum will approve.
By Nature's guidance let your paſſions move,
Drive out that demon Gaming, by the angel Love.
But ladies, if you wiſh to know my plan,
By ſtratagem, not force, attack your man.
By open war the danger is increas'd;
Uſe gentle means to ſoothe the ſavage beaſt.
If when his blood boils o'er, your's bubbles too,
Then all is loſt, and there's the devil to do.

Piff,

Piff, puff, blown up at once the lover's part,
He ſnaps his chain,—and madam—breaks her heart—
Hymen puts out his torch, and Cupid blunts his dart.
Thus ends the farce, or tragedy of love;
But, ladies, if your ſparks are given to rove,
From my experience take one general rule—
Cool as he warms, and love will never cool.
If ſmoak prevails, and the choak'd flame is dying,
Then gently fan it with ſome little ſighing;
Then drop into the flame a tear or two,
And, blazing up like oil 'twill burn him thro';
Then add kind looks, ſoft words, ſweet ſmiles—no pout,
And take my word the flame will ne'er go out:
Theſe, with good humour mix'd, the balm of life,
Will be the beſt receipt for maid or wife.

PROLOGUE *to* BONDUCA.

Written by DAVID GARRICK, *Eſq.*

TO *modern* Britons let the old appear
This night to rouſe 'em for this anxious year:
To raiſe that ſpirit, which of yore, when rais'd,
Made even *Romans* tremble while they prais'd:
To rouſe that ſpirit, which thro' every age
Has wak'd the lyre, and warm'd th' hiſtorian's page:
That dauntleſs ſpirit, which on Creſſy's Plain,
Ruſh'd from the heart, through every Britiſh vein;
Nerv'd ev'ry arm the numerous hoſt to dare,
Whilſt Edward's valour ſhone the guiding ſtar,
Whoſe beams diſpers'd the darkneſs of deſpair.
Whate'er the craft, or number of the foes,
Ever from danger Britain's glory roſe;
To the mind's eye let the *fifth Harry* riſe,
And in that viſion boaſting France deſpiſe.
Then turn to later deeds your ſires have wrought,
When Anna rul'd, and mighty Marlb'rough fought.
Shall Chatham die, and be forgot?—O! no,
Warm from its ſource let grateful ſorrow flow;
His matchleſs ardor fir'd each fear-ſtruck mind,
His genius ſoar'd, when Briton's droop'd and pin'd;
Whilſt each *State Atlas* ſunk beneath the load,
His heart, unſhook, with patriot virtue glow'd;
Like Hercules, he freed 'em from the weight,
And on *his* ſhoulders fix'd the tottering ſtate;
His ſtrength the monſters of the land defy'd,
To raiſe his country's glory was his pride,
And for her ſervice, as he liv'd, he dy'd.

O! for his powers, thoſe feelings to impart,
Which rouſ'd to action every drooping heart.
Now, while the angry trumpet ſounds alarms,
And all the nation cries, to arms, to arms!
Then would his native ſtrength each Briton know,
And ſcorn the threats of an invading foe:
Hatching, and feeding every civil broil,
France looks with envy on our happy ſoil;
When miſchief's on the wing, ſhe cries for war,
Inſults diſtreſs, and braves her conqueror.
But Shakeſpeare ſung—and well this land he knew,
O! hear his voice—that nought ſhall make us rue,
If England to *itſelf* do reſt but true.

PROLOGUE *to the new Comedy of* THE FATHERS.

Written by Mr. GARRICK, *and ſpoken by Mr.* KING.

WHEN from the world departs a ſon of fame,
His deeds or works embalm his precious name,
Yet not content, the public call for art,
To reſcue from the tomb his mortal part:
Demand the painter's and the ſculptor's hand,
To ſpread his mimic form throughout the land;
A form, perhaps, which, living, was neglected,
And when it could not feel reſpect, reſpected.
This night no buſt or picture claims your praiſe,
Our claim's ſuperior, we his ſpirit raiſe:
From time's dark ſtorehouſe, bring a long-loſt play,
And drag it from oblivion into day.
But who the author? Need I name the wit?
Whom nature prompted as his genius writ;
Truth ſmil'd on *Fancy* for each well-wrought ſtory,
Where *characters* live, act, and ſtand before ye:
Suppoſe theſe characters various as they are,
The knave, the fool, the worthy, wiſe, and fair,
For and againſt the author pleading at your bar.
Firſt pleads *Tom Jones*—grateful his heart and warm;
Brave, gen'rous *Britons*—ſhield this play from harm,
My beſt friend wrote it; ſhould it not ſucceed,
Tho' with my *Sophy* bleſt—my heart will bleed——
Then from his face he wipes the manly tear;
Courage, my maſter, *Partridge* cries, don't fear;
Should envy's ſerpents hiſs, or malice frown,
Tho' I'm a coward, zounds! I'll knock 'em down:
Next, ſweet *Sophia* comes—ſhe cannot ſpeak——
Her wiſhes for the play o'erſpread her cheek;

In ev'ry look her ſentiments you read;
And more than eloquence her bluſhes plead.
Now *Bliſil* bows—with ſmiles his falſe heart gilding.
He was my foe—I beg you'll damn this FIELDING;
Right *Thwackum* roars—no mercy, Sirs, I pray,
—Scourge the dead author thro' his orphan play.
What words! (cries *Parſon Adams*) fie, fie, diſown 'em;
Good Lord!—*de mortuis nil niſi bonum:*
If ſuch are Chriſtian teachers, who'll revere 'em——
And thus they preach, the devil alone ſhould hear 'em.
Now *Slipſlop* enters—tho' this *ſcriv'ning vagrant*,
'Salted my virtue, which was ever *flagrant*;
Yet, like black *Othello*, I'd bear ſcorns and whips,
Slip into poverty to the very hips.
T' *exult* this play—may it *decreaſe* in favour;
And be it's fame *immoraliz'd* for ever!
'*Squire Weſtern*, reeling, with *October* mellow,
Tall, yo!—Boys!—Yoax—Critics! hunt the fellow!
Damn 'em, theſe wits are *varmint* not worth breeding.
What good e'er came of writing and of reading?
Next comes, brimful of ſpite and politics,
His *Siſter Weſtern*—and thus deeply ſpeaks:
Wits are arm'd pow'rs—like *France* attack the foe;
Negociate 'till they ſleep—then ſtrike the blow!
Allworthy laſt, pleads to your nobleſt paſſions——
Ye gen'rous leaders of the taſte and faſhions;
Departed genius left his orphan play,
To your kind care——what the dead wills obey:
O then reſpect the FATHER's fond bequeſt,
And make his widow ſmile, his ſpirit reſt.

EPILOGUE *to the ſame.*

Written by Mr. GARRICK, *and ſpoken by Miſs* YOUNG.

PROLOGUES and Epilogues—to ſpeak the phraſe
Which ſuits the warlike ſpirit of theſe days—
Are cannon charg'd, or ſhould be charged with wit,
Which, pointed well, each riſing folly hit;—
By a late *Gen'ral* who commanded here,
And fought our bloodleſs battles many a year!
'Mongſt other favours were conferr'd on me,
He made me Captain of artillery!——
At various follies many guns I fir'd,
Hit 'em point blank, and thought the foe retir'd.——
But vainly thought—for to my great ſurprize,
They now are rank and file before my eyes!

Nay

Nay to retreat may even *me* oblige;——
The works of folly ſtand the longeſt ſiege!
With what briſk firing, and what thunder-claps,
Did I attack thoſe high-built caſtles—caps!
But tow'ring ſtill, they ſwell in lofty ſtate,
Nor ſtrike one ribband to capitulate;—
Whilſt beaux behind, thus peeping, and thus bent,
Are the beſieg'd, behind the battlement:
But you are conquerors, ladies have no dread,
Henceforth in peace enjoy the *Cloud cap'd head!*
We ſcorn to ape the *French*, their tricks give o'er,
Nor at your rigging fire one cannon more!
And now, ye *Bucks*, and *Bucklings* of the age,
Tho' caps are clear, your hats ſhall feel my rage;
The high-cock'd, half-cock'd, Quaker, and the ſlouch,
Have at ye all!—I'll hit you, tho' ye crouch.
We read in hiſtory—one *William Tell*,
An honeſt *Swiſs*, with arrows ſhot ſo well
On his ſon's head, he aim'd with ſo much care,
He'd hit an apple, and not touch one hair:
So I with ſuch like ſkill, but much leſs pain,
Will ſtrike your hats off, and not touch your brain:
To curſe our head dreſs! an't you pretty fellows!
Pray who can ſee thro' your broad-brim'd umbrellas?
That pent houſe worn by ſlim Sir *Dainty Dandle!*
Seems to extinguiſh a poor farthing candle—
We look his body thro'—But what fair ſhe
Thro' the broad cloud that's round his head can ſee?
Time was, when *Britons* to the boxes came,
Quite ſpruce, and *Chapeau bas!* addreſs'd each dame.
Now in flapp'd hats, and dirty boots they come,
Look knowing thus—to every female dumb;
But roar out—Hey, *Jack!* ſo, *Will!* you there *Tom?*
Both ſides have errors, that there's no concealing;
We'd low'r our heads, had but men's hearts ſome feeling.
Valence, my ſpark, play'd off his modiſh airs,
But nature gave his wit to cope with theirs;
Our ſex have ſome ſmall faults won't bear defending,
And tho' near perfect, want a little mending;
Let *Love* ſtep forth, and claim both from allegiance,
And bring back *caps* and *bats* to due obedience.

PROLOGUE

PROLOGUE *and* EPILOGUE *to the New Comedy of the* SLEEP-WALKER.

(Tranſlated from the French.)

Performed at the Seat of Lord CRAVEN, *near* Newberry, *in* Berkſhire

The Prologue and Epilogue are the Production of Lady CRAVEN.

PROLOGUE.

FROM the Green-room I've juſt eſcap'd to tell
What ſad confuſion and what tremors dwell,
On each young Actor's face; by turns appear
Gleams of ſweet hope, and pangs of anxious fear.
I come your pity and applauſe t' intreat,
And lay our weak endeavours at your feet.
We ne'er were taught to rant, to weep, to ſtare;
Or tread poetic ground, with comic air;
So, if we deviate from dramatic rule,
Good folks, remember, we were ne'er at ſchool.
One Actor, trembling, bites his nails and ſwears
He ne'er can get the better of his fears;
Another wipes his brow in mighty fuſs,
And, like a tea-pot, ſtands exactly thus:
Each to their different parts make ſome objection,
All cling to me, for knowledge or protection,
To me they truſt, whoſe knowledge is ſo ſmall;
To me, the greateſt coward of them all.
Laſt night, indeed, as thro' old Chaucer's grove,
In ſolitary mood, I chanc'd to rove;
A reverend form addreſs'd my liſt'ning ear,
And thus adviſ'd me to ſuppreſs each fear:
'Welcome, thrice welcome, to this beauteous ſpot,
Fam'd Donington! this once my happy lot;
Chaucer, by name; I firſt attun'd the lyre,
And gave to Britiſh ſounds poetic fire;
The praiſe of Berkſhire, erſt the woods among,
Inſpir'd my lays, and cheer'd my tuneful ſong;
Berkſhire, whoſe ſcenes might rouſe a Poet's thought,
Berkſhire, with every pleaſing beauty fraught,
Demands thy foſt'ring hand, thy daiſy pray'r,
And let the poor and aged be thy care;
Employ thy genius, and command each friend,
Turn mirth and pleaſure to ſome pious end.'
He ceas'd, the Poet's ſhade diſſolv'd in air,
His ſage advice is deeply written here;

I joy-

I joyfully obey—and this night's gain
Is to relieve the voice of want or pain;
Our Play alone is acted with this view,
Our Players happy if approv'd by you.
Your gracious ſmiles will juſtify the parts,
Which, as they pleaſe the mind, revive the hearts.

EPILOGUE.

IS all our audience quite awake, I wonder?
Methinks I ſee one in that corner yonder
That droops his head: alas! as if to ſay,
This is, I vow, a ſoporific play.
I thought 'twould be ſo: our young Tranſlator
Call'd me a croſs old grumbling woman-hater,
Becauſe I ſaid, dear Ma'am, 'twill never do,
Your plot, your ſleeper, why 'tis very true,
Together with the Actors, all are new,
But then new things but ſeldom ſit with eaſe;
Stop here, ſhe ſaid, why I am ſure to pleaſe;
Then gave me ſuch a look from her black eyes,
As might inſpire a ſtatue with ſurpriſe.
Tell them, ſaid ſhe, then toſs'd her little head,
We're dreamers all, both in and out of bed.
Look at our modern beau, who ſleeps till noon,
Then yawns all day, as if got up too ſoon.
The ſwain, who dreams of lilies and of roſes,
Pines for thoſe ſweets o'er which a huſband doſes;
The love-ſick maid is ſurely in a dream,
Whene'er male conſtancy's her fav'rite theme.
See Politicians, deep! tremendous number!
O'er half-form'd projects, how demure they ſlumber!
To form, reform, reject, chuſe, mend and make,
Theſe are the dreams of good men broad awake.
Behold, our Miniſters who make a fuſs,
When knotty points, aſſembled, they diſcuſs;
Who talk of peace, of taxes, and ſtarvation,
They only dream they can retrieve the nation.
One out of ten of each proteſting Peer
Dreams, faintly dreams, he's what he wou'd appear.
Phyſicians dream ill health they can controul,
And Quacks divine that they can ſave the ſoul.
I dream, my neighbours, as myſelf I love,
I dream, this night's performance they approve;
Tell them this dream appears to me ſo clever,
That, if it is not true,——I'll ſleep for ever.

VERSES

VERSES *by the late Earl of* CHATHAM, *to* DAVID GARRICK, *Esq. when on a Visit ſome Years ago at* Mount Edgecomb.

LEAVE, Garrick, the rich landſcape, proudly gay,
Docks, forts, and navies bright'ning all the bay:
To my plain roof repair, primæval ſeat!
Yet there no wonders your quick eyes can meet,
Save ſhould you deem it wonderful to find
Ambition cur'd, and an unpaſſion'd mind;
A Stateſman without pow'r, and without gall,
Hating no Courtiers, happier than them all;
Bow'd to no yoke, nor crouching for applauſe,
Vot'ry alone to freedom and the laws;
Herds, flocks, and ſmiling Ceres deck our plain,
And, interſpers'd, an heart-enlivening train
Of ſportive children frolic o'er the green;
Mean time pure love looks on and conſecrates the ſcene.
Come then, immortal ſpirit of the Stage,
Great Nature's proxy, glaſs of ev'ry age;
Come taſte the ſimple life of Patriarchs old,
Who, rich in rural peace, ne'er thought of pomp or gold.

Mr. GARRICK's ANSWER.

WHEN Peleus' ſon, untaught to yield,
Wrathful forſook the hoſtile field;
His breaſt ſtill warm with heav'nly fire,
He tun'd the lay, and ſwept the lyre.

So Chatham, whoſe exalted ſoul
Pervaded and inſpir'd the whole;
Where, far by martial glory led,
Britain her ſails and banners ſpread,
Retires, (tho' Wiſdom's God diſſuades)
And ſeeks repoſe in rural ſhades.
Yet thither comes the God confeſs'd;
Celeſtial form! a well known gueſt.

Nor ſlow he moves with ſolemn air,
Nor on his brow hangs penſive care;
Nor in his hand th' hiſtoric page
Gives leſſons to experienc'd age,
As when in vengeful ire he roſe,
And plann'd the fate of Britain's foes;
While the wing'd hours obedient ſtand,
And inſtant ſpeed the dread command.

Chearful

Chearful he came, all blithe and gay,
Fair blooming like the ſon of May;
Adown his radiant ſhoulder hung
A harp, by all the Muſes ſtrung;
Smiling he to his friend reſign'd
This ſoother of the human mind.

A POETICAL EPISTLE *to Dr.* GOLDSMITH; *or, the Supplement to his* RETALIATION, *a* POEM.

DOCTOR! according to our wiſhes,
You've character'd us all in *diſhes*,
Serv'd up a ſentimental treat
Of various emblematic meat:
And now it's time, I truſt, you'll think
Your company ſhould have ſome *drink*;
Elſe, take my word for it, at leaſt
Your *Iriſh* friends won't like your feaſt.
Ring then, and ſee that there is plac'd
To each according to his taſte.
To *Douglas*, fraught with learned ſtock
Of critic *lore*, give ancient *Hock*;
Let it be genuine, bright, and fine,
Pure unadulterated wine;
For if there's fault in taſte, or odour,
He'll ſearch it, as he ſearch'd out *Lauder*.
To *Johnſon*, philoſophic ſage,
The moral *Mentor* of the age,
Religion's friend, with ſoul ſincere,
With melting heart, but look auſtere,
Give liquor of an honeſt ſort,
And crown his cup with prieſtly *Port!*
Now fill the glaſs with gay *Champagne*,
And friſk it in a livelier ſtrain;
Quick! Quick! the ſparkling nectar quaff,
Drink it, dear *Garrick!*—drink, and laugh!
Pour forth to *Reynolds*, without ſtint,
Rich *Burgundy*, of ruby tint;
If e'er his colours chance to fade,
This brilliant hue ſhall come in aid,
With ruddy lights refreſh the faces,
And warm the boſoms of the *Graces!*
To *Burke* a pure libation bring,
Freſh-drawn from clear *Caſtalian* ſpring;
With civic oak the goblet bind,
Fit emblem of his patriot mind;

Let

Let *Clio*, as his taſter, ſip,
And *Hermes* hand it to his lip.
Fill out my friend, the *D*** of D***y*,
A bumper of conventual *Sherry!*
Give *Ridge* and *Hitky*, generous ſouls!
Of *whiſky punch* convivial bowls;
But let the kindred *Burkes* regale
With potent draughts of *Wicklow Ale*;
To *C****k* next, in order turn you,
And grace him with the vines of *Ferney!*
Now, Doctor, thou'rt an honeſt ſticker,
So take your glaſs, and chuſe your liquor;
Will't have it ſteep'd in *Alpine* ſnows,
Or damaſk'd at *Silenus'* noſe:
With *Wakefield's Vicar* ſip your tea,
Or to *Thalia* drink with me?
And, Doctor, I would have you know it,
An honeſt, I, tho' humble poet:
I ſcorn the ſneaker like a toad,
Who drives his cart the *Dover* road;
There, traitor to his country's trade,
Smuggles vile ſcraps of *French brocade:*
Hence with all ſuch! for you and I
By *Engliſh wares* will live, and die.
Come, draw your chair, and ſtir the fire:
Here, boy!—a pot of *Thrale's Entire!*

VERSES *by Sir* JOHN DENHAM *(not printed in his Works), inſcribed to the Hon.* EDWARD HOWARD, *on "The* BRITISH PRINCES;" *a Performance which drew ironical Commendations from* Butler, Dryden, *and the moſt eminent of their Contemporaries.*

WHAT mighty gale hath rais'd a flight ſo ſtrong?
So high above all vulgar eyes? ſo long?
One ſingle rapture ſcarce itſelf confines
Within the limits of four thouſand lines:
And yet I hope to ſee this noble heat
Continue, till it makes the piece compleat,
That to the latter age it may deſcend,
And to the end of time its beams extend.
When poeſy joins profit with delight,
Her images ſhould be moſt exquiſite,
Since man to that perfection cannot riſe,
Of always virtuous, fortunate, and wiſe;
Therefore the patterns man ſhould imitate
Above the life our maſters ſhould create.
Herein, if we conſult with Greece and Rome,
Greece (as in war) by Rome was overcome;

Though

Though mighty raptures [illegible] in Homer find,
Yet, like himself, his characters were blind;
Virgil's sublimed eyes not only gaz'd,
But his sublimed thoughts to Heaven were rais'd.
Who reads the honours which he paints the gods,
Would think he had beheld their blest abodes;
And, that his hero might accomplish'd be,
From divine blood he draws his pedigree.
From that great judge your judgment takes its law,
And by the best original does draw
Bonduca's honour, with those heroes time
Had in oblivion rapt, his fancy crime;
To them and to your nation you are just,
In raising up their glories from the dust;
And to Old England you that right have done,
To shew, no story nobler than her own.

The following Extracts are made from a Poem, whose Merit is already too universally acknowledged to require our Testimony. We are, however, happy in this opportunity of acquainting the Publick, that the Author, we are told, designs to prosecute his Plan in two other Poetical Epistles, addressed to the Bishop of London *and to Mr.* Gibbon, *on the Subjects of Poetry and History.*

THINK not, my friend, with supercilious air,
I rank the portrait as beneath thy care.
Blest be the pencil! which from death can save
The semblance of the virtuous, wise, and brave;
That youth and emulation still may gaze,
On those inspiring forms of ancient days,
And, from the force of bright example bold,
Rival their worth, "and be what they behold."
Blest be the pencil! whose consoling pow'r,
Soothing soft Friendship in her pensive hour,
Dispels the cloud, with melancholy fraught,
That absence throws upon her tender thought.
Blest be the pencil! whose enchantment gives
To wounded Love the food on which he lives,
Rich in this gift tho' cruel ocean bear
The youth to exile from his faithful fair,
He in fond dreams hangs o'er her glowing cheek,
Still owns her present, and still hears her speak:
Oh! Love, it was thy glory to impart
Its infant being to this sweetest art!
Inspir'd by thee, the soft Corinthian maid,
Her graceful lover's sleeping form portray'd:
Her boding heart his near departure knew,
Yet long'd to keep his image in her view.

Pleas'd

Pleas'd she beheld the steady shadow fall,
By the clear lamp upon the even wall.
The line she trac'd, with fond precision true,
And, drawing, doated on the form she drew:
Nor, as her glow'd with no forbidden fire,
Conceal'd the simple picture from her sire;
His kindred fancy, like to nature just,
Copied her line, and form'd the mimic bust.
Thus from thy inspiration, Love, we trace
The modell'd image, and the pencil'd face!
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

When Britain triumph'd, thro' her wide domain,
O'er France, supported by imperious Spain,
And, sated with her laurels' large increase,
Began to cultivate the plants of Peace;
Fixt by kind Majesty's protecting hand,
Painting, no more an alien in our land,
First smil'd to see, on this propitious ground,
Her temples open'd, and her altars crown'd:
And Grace, the first attendant of her train,
She, whom Apelles wooed, nor wooed in vain,
To Reynolds gives her undulating line,
And judgment doats upon his chaste design.
Tho' Envy whispers in the ear of Spleen,
What thoughts are borrow'd in his perfect scene,
And with glee marks them on her canker'd scroll,
Malicious fiend! 'twas thus that Virgil stole,
To the bright image gave a brighter gloss,
Or turn'd to purest gold the foreign dross.
Excelling artist! long delight the eye!
Teach but thy transient tints no more to fly,
Britain shall then her own Apelles see,
And all the Grecian shall revive in thee.
Thy manly spirit glories to impart
The leading principles of lib'ral art;
To youthful genius points what course to run,
What lights to follow, and what rocks to shun:
So Orpheus taught by Learning's heavenly sway
To daring Argonauts their doubtful way,
And mark'd, to guide them in their bold career,
Th' unerring glories of the starry sphere.
Thy hand enforces what thy precept taught,
And gives new lessons of exalted thought,
Thy nervous pencil on the canvass throws
The tragic story of sublimest woes:
The wretched sons, whom Grief and Famine tear,
The parent petrified with blank despair,
Thy Ugolino gives the heart to thrill,
With Pity's tender throbs, and Horror's icy chill.

SENTIMENTAL POETRY.

From the WREATH *of* FASHION.

FIRST, for true grounds of ſentimental lore,
The ſcenes of modern comedy explore;
Dramatic Homilies! devout and ſage,
Stor'd with wiſe maxims, "both for youth and age."
Maxims, that ſcorning their old homely dreſs,
Shift from plain proverbs to ſpruce ſentences,
But chief, let *Cumberland* thy muſe direct,
High prieſt of all the tragic-comic ſect!
Mid darts and flames his lover *coolly* waits;
Calm as a hero, caſ'd in *Hartley's plates*;
'Till damp'd, and chill'd, by ſentimental ſighs,
Each ſtifled paſſion in a vapour dies.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

On a ſpruce pedeſtal of *Wedgwood ware*,
Where motley forms, and tawdry emblems glare,
Behold ſhe conſecrates, to cold applauſe,
A petrefaction, work'd into a *vaſe*;
The vaſe of ſentiment!—to this impart
Thy kindred coldneſs, and congenial art.
Here, (as in humbler ſcenes, from *cards* and *gout*,
Millar convenes her literary rout)
With votive ſong, and tributary verſe,
Faſhion's gay train, her gentle rites, rehearſe.
What ſoft poetic incenſe breathes around!
What ſoothing hymns, from Adulation ſound!
Here, placid *Carliſle* breathes his gentle line,
Or haply, gen'rous Hare, re-echoes thine:
Soft flows the lay; as when, with tears, he paid
The laſt ſad honours to his—ſpaniel's ſhade!
And lo! he graſps, the badge of wit, a wand;
He waves it thrice, and *Storer* is at hand;
Famiſh'd as penance, as devotion pale,
Plaintive, and pert, he murmurs a love-tale.
Fitzpatrick's muſe waits for ſome lucky hit;
For, ſtill the ſlave of chance, he *threws* at wit.
While *Townſhend* his pathetic bow diſplays,
And princely Boothby ſilent homage pays.
With *chips* of wit, and mutilated lays,
See *Palmerſton* fineer his *Boat's Rhimes*,
Fav'rite of ev'ry muſe, elect of Phœbus,
To ſtring charades, or fabricate a rebus.

Bereft of ſuch a guide, old Ocean, mourn
Thy fading glories, and thy laurels torn!
'Twas *Palmerſton* repell'd each hoſtile wrong,
Like Ariel, wrecking navies with—a ſong;
But ſee, by pitying fate his loſs ſupplied;
For *Mulgrave* joins where ſenſe and *Sandwich* guide.
Mulgrave! whoſe muſe nor winds nor waves controul;
Could bravely pen Acroſtics—on *the Pole*.
Warm with poetic fire the northern air,
And ſoothe with tuneful raptures—*the great Bear*;
Join but his poetry to *Burgoyne*'s proſe,
Armies ſhall *fall aſleep*, and Pyrates *doze*.
So when the rebel-winds on Neptune fell,
They ſunk to reſt, at ſound of Triton's ſhell.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Others, reſolv'd more ample fame to boaſt,
Plant their own laurels in the *Morning Poſt*.
Soft *Evening* dews refreſh the tender green:
Paſs but a month, it ſwells each *Magazine*;
'Till the luxuriant bows ſo wildly ſhoot,
The *Annual Regiſter* tranſplants the root—
But theſe are ſpurious honours, not the true,
Who ſhall obtain *The Wreath of Faſhion*.—who?

A DESCRIPTION *of* TYME.

From HARINGTON'S *Remains*.

UPON the hill Olympiade,
Where Hercules begonne,
Firſt myghtie theetreſs to be made,
Wheare noble deeds weare done.

Depayntede theare with pencil fine,
At lardge aboute the ſame
There ſaw I ſtande hymſelf Syr TYME,
And at his back Dame FAME.

In charret ſhynynge ſonnyſhe bright
Thys ſyre ſat on throne,
Ydrawne with wylde harte freſh and whyght,
Well ſeeminge they had flowne.

* Upon Lord Palmerſton's appointment to the treaſury, Lord Mulgrave ſucceeded to his place at the Admiralty board.—"*Mira canam; Sol occubuit, nox nulla ſecuta eſt.*"

On whiche thys winged geste he went
The whole worlde for to survey,
Each creature how his tyme had spente,
A note to take anewe.

And with him, as I ſaid before,
He brought tryumphante FAME,
For to rewarde RENOWNE the more
Whoſo deſervede the ſame.

Thus haſtinge over holte and hyll,
Firſte gan he them beholde
That toyl and travaile ever ſtyll;
To whom Syr TYME thus tolde:

In ſweate of browes, you ſymple men,
Whyle lyfe in you remaynes,
Haſte on, and your rewarde be, then,
Your travail for your pains.

In princelie pallace prowdlie pyght,
Syr TYME a whyle gan ſtay;
For theare Dame FAME would view aright,
How each one ſpent the day.

Theare ſownde they preſt a noble bande,
In armour bright and brave;
On ſtartlynge ſteedes with ſtaves in hand,
Nought elſe but tyme they crave.

In luſtie lyſtes at lardge they lay
On bold rebutant blowes;
The Knyght on counter gyns to ſwaye,
And to the grownde he goes.

Hym to receave, then cometh faſte
Another, to wynne prayſe;
Amonge the worthies to be placed,
He ſtryves at all aſſayes.

To whom Dame FAME, with ſmyling grace,
Gave thanckes unto them then;
And in their ſyght, before each face,
Their prayſes did ſhee pen.

Then ſaid Syr TYME, beholde herebye
A nombre infinite
Of idle ones, lo! wheare they lye,
Lyving in foule delyght.

Cut off their tyme, FAME cryed then,
Who to conſume their dayes;
Suche ſlothfull race of ſluggiſh men,
Nought worthie are of prayſe.

Then glyded forth thys great god TYME,
Till he approchede neare
A multitude of men divyne,
'Twas heaven ſuche to heare.

For, of each ſcience callede ſeaven,
A nombre there were mett,
Wyth faces fixed up to heav'n,
Whoſe hartes wear firmlie ſett.

In ſtudie onlie tyme to ſpende,
Knowledge aye to encreaſe;
No envious cares gan them offende,
Ne ſought they worldlie prayſe.

Among which bleſſyde people good,
Wyth heavenlie harp in hande;
Sweet Orpheus, lo! that glee man ſtood
Trew muſycke thear he ſckan'd.

In tyme and tune with notes aye new,
JEHOVA's prayſe he ſange;
So did the reſte with reaſon due,
Whearof the whole earth range.

Of tyme well-ſpent, ſaid Syr TYME then,
To ev'ry one by name,
Receave you ſhall, you mortal men,
For this—immortal Fame.

Then ſtretcht he out his golden plumes
Forthwith to take his flight;
Both wynd and weather he conſumes,
And ſoon fades out of ſight.

Where I, and manie a mazede man,
Remayneth ſtyll in place,
To ſee hereafter, yf we can,
And veiw TYME's golden face.

A SONNET *made on* ISABELLA MARKHAME, *when I firſte thought her fayer as ſhe ſtood at the Princeſſe's Windowe in goodlye Attyre, and talkede to dyvers in the Courte-Yard.*

From a MS. of JOHN HARINGTON, *dated* 1564.

WHENCE comes my love, O hearte, diſcloſe,
'Twas from cheeks that ſhamed the roſe;
From lips that ſpoyle the rubies prayſe;
From eyes that mock the diamond's blaze.
Whence comes my woe, as freely owne,
Ah me! 'twas from a hearte lyke ſtone.

The bluſhynge cheek ſpeakes modeſt mynde,
The lipps befitting wordes moſte kynde;
The eye does tempte to love's deſyre,
And ſeems to ſay, 'tis Cupid's fire;
Yet all ſo faire, but ſpeake my moane,
Syth nought dothe laye the hearte of ſtone.

Why thus, my love, ſo kynde beſpeake,
Sweet lyppe, ſweet eye, ſweet bluſhynge cheeke,
Yet not a hearte to ſave my paine,
O Venus, take thy giftes again;
Make not ſo faire to cauſe our moane,
Or make a hearte that's lyke our owne.

The VIOLET.

By THEOPHILUS SWIFT, *Eſq.*

THEE, Flora's firſt and favourite child,
By Zephyr nurſt on Green-bank wild,
And cheer'd by vernal ſhowers!——
Thy fragrant beauties let me ſing,
Cerulean harbinger of ſpring,
Chaſte Violet, Queen of flowers!

Thy velvet birth, in golden groves,
The roſy hours and laughing loves
With genial kiſſes fed:
And o'er thee *Peace*, as on a day
In early innocence you lay,
Her ſylvan mantle ſpread,

When you in azure ſtate appear,
Thy preſence ſpeaks the purple year;
And promis'd Summer nigh.——
Thus kiſſes blow the lover's fire,
Till the warm ſeaſon of deſire
Mature the Spring of joy.

Blue ſkirts the Rain-bow's arch in air,
Blue melts the maſs of colours there,
The Heavens are hung with *blue*.——
And ſhe, the nymph that charms my ſoul,
Her eyes celeſtial azure roll,
And beſt reſemble you.

What though in humble ſhades you dwell,
And lurk in thicket, brake, or dell,
Waſting your ſweets away?
Yet ſhalt thou live embalm'd in ſong,
And there ſhalt reign, diſtinguiſh'd long,
The blooming Queen of May.

Then quit the wild, leſt ſome rude thorn
Invade thy beauty's tender morn,
All-lovely as thou art!
So ſhall thy Poet lift his voice,
And to confirm his annual choice,
Still lodge thee next his heart.

A SONG. *By the ſame.*

WHEN clouds that angel face deform,
Anxious I view the growing ſtorm;
When angry lightnings arm thine eye,
And tell the gathering tempeſt nigh;
I curſe the ſex, and bid adieu
To female friendſhip, love, and you.

But when ſoft paſſions rule your breaſt,
And each kind look ſome love has dreſt;
When cloudleſs ſmiles around you play,
And give the world a holiday;
I bleſs the hour when firſt I knew
Dear female friendſhip, love, and you.

To a LADY, *who said the Author flattered her in his Verses.*
By the same.

WHEN Phœbus shoots his radiant beams,
Where silver Avon strays,
Less glorious in reflecting streams
We mark the solar blaze.

The bordering flowers, that lovely blow
Along yon fountain's side,
Less graceful in that mirror show,
And half their beauties hide.

Thus in my rhymes thy graces shone
With less attractive power.—
Verse gives not glory to the sun,
Nor beauty to the flower.

VERSES *written by a Gentleman at the* LEASOWES.

FROM the bold summit, where Ierne's shore
Frowns o'er the western wave, the pilgrim came
To visit Albion's sons, and hear their lore,
And catch those sounds which fill her trump of fame.

And many a vale with rich embroidery gay,
And many a hill with spreading foliage dreft,
Had the lone pilgrim travers'd in his way,
Ere the green Leasowes gave him wish'd for rest.

O'er the green Leasowes as he freely rov'd
The groves, the bowers, the winding walks among,
Soon Fancy call'd the spirit which he lov'd,
And wak'd the mem'ry of her Shenstone's song.

For here the Bard, true Nature's fav'rite child,
Attun'd his oaten reed, and lyric shell;
And here, with easy grace and manners mild,
He taught the swains the art of living well.

For well his life had answer'd to his song,
And simple ease adorn'd his flowing strain;
Friend to the harmless, artless, rural throng;
Foe to the rude, the vicious, and the vain.

As o'er the fairy ground the pilgrim stray'd,
Bright forms arose, and caught his eager eye,
Of such as whilom lov'd this solemn shade,
But now adorn the mansions of the sky.

There

There *Somerville* was heard, in ruſtic chear,
To call his hounds, and wind the jocund horn;
There *Thomſon* ſang, and caught the liſt'ning ear
With praiſe of dewy eve, or bluſhing morn;

And round him danc'd the *Hours* with printleſs tread,
And ever and anon the *Seaſons* gay
With flowers adorn'd their fav'rite poet's head,
And ſprightly wood-nymphs caught the rural lay.

And there, where Faunus near his cuſtom'd ſeat
Attunes the doric pipe to paſtoral ſtrains,
The gentle *Dodſley* ſought the cool retreat,
And woo'd the ſtillneſs of theſe lonely plains;

And there, where rev'rend oaks acroſs the ſtream
Throw their wide arms, and mock the tempeſt's rage,
Muſing on many a learn'd and virtuous theme,
Was ſeen the form of *Lyttelton* the ſage;

The tendereſt graces ſported in his train;
Hymen, the ſacred God of chaſte deſires,
To him conſign'd his torch, and bade his ſtrain
Sing Lucy dead, and Love's myſterious fires:

The Muſe of Hiſtory was ſeen unfold
Th' inſtructive page, and o'er his favour'd head
Religion wav'd her croſs of heavenly gold,
And round his brows her radiant glory ſpread.

" Hail to theſe honour'd forms," the pilgrim cry'd,
" And ſacred be the walks in which they rove!
" Oh! flouriſh long ye bowers, the Poet's pride,
" Spread wide, ye branches of his favourite grove.

" Thou Naiad fair, whoſe gently-flowing rill,
" In lulling murmurs ſeems his loſs to mourn;
" May copious dews and ſhowers thy current fill,
" And pureſt ſprings o'erflow thy chryſtal urn!

" And you, ye monarchs of the waving wood,
" Tall oaks who tower your verdant heads on high,
" Long may ye ſtand, and brave the ruſhing flood,
" And ſcorn the fury of the wint'ry ſky!

" And you, ye humbler plants of gentler mien,
" Wild ſhrubs, or hazels rude, or flowery thorn,
" Long may your artleſs foliage here be ſeen,
" And long your native bloom theſe hills adorn!

" And

" And you, ye tenants of thoſe ſacred glades,
" Dryads and Oreads! may your guardian care
" Still unremitted watch your Shenſtone's ſhades,
" And deck his upland lawns with verdure fair!

" And o'er each bough, each leaf, each ſwelling mead,
" Each tufted hill in vernal beauty's prime,
" May Heaven, indulgent, all its bleſſings ſpread,
" And long protect them from the waſte of time!"

VERSES *on ſeeing Mrs.* CREWE *at* Drury-Lane *Theatre.*

'TWAS but a look! and, ſhepherd, thou'rt undone!
Ah, ſilly heart! that, with ſuch deſp'rate haſte,
Could'ſt on the point of certain danger run,
And in wild dreams of hope deluſive waſte
Thy fruitleſs ſighs! Ah, me! ſo low a ſwain,
That ſcarce the ſhades, or winding hills among,
Scarce to the dying gale that fans the plain,
Hath my weak pipe attun'd its paſt'ral ſong;
Whence ſhould I hope, that from her dazzling height
Of unaffected beauty, where ſhe ſtands
Nature's ſweet work, and to the raviſh'd ſight
Of wondring mortals, ſpreads her roſeate bands;
That me ſelecting from the croud below,
O arrogance of more than common ſize!
On me one caſual glance ſhe ſhould beſtow,
Or heed the timid bluſh of wild ſurprize!
No, ſhepherd, no! as far from thee remov'd
Glows the fond object of Dione's care,
As is, by tender melting virgins lov'd,
The radiant brightneſs of yon evening ſtar!

An

An Account of Books for 1778.

The History of English Poetry, from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century. To which are prefixed two Dissertations: 1. On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe. *2. On the Introduction of Learning into* England. *Volumes 1st and 2d. By* Thomas Warton, *B. D. Fellow of* Trinity College, Oxford, *and of the Society of Antiquaries. Quarto.*

THE publick has already been some years in the poſſeſſion of the former of theſe volumes, which brings the hiſtory of our poetry down to the death of Chaucer. Notwithſtanding the diſadvantages which a work of this nature muſt unavoidably labour under, from the remoteneſs and obſcurity of its ſubject, and from the great changes which have taken place in our cuſtoms and language, and which have rendered the productions of the three firſt centuries ſubſequent to the conqueſt, unintelligible to the generality of readers; yet the reception this volume met with, and the impatience with which the proſecution of his enquiries were and ſtill are expected, might have been flattering to a writer, whoſe abilities were leſs univerſally known than Mr. *Warton's*.

The progreſs of the arts is perhaps one of the nobleſt and moſt intereſting objects in the hiſtory of mankind. As they owe their origin, their character, and their gradual improvement, to a great variety of political and perhaps ſometimes of natural cauſes, it requires the united efforts of laborious reſearch and philoſophical ſagacity to trace out and inveſtigate their connexion. Poetry being the picture, and, as it were, the mirrour of life and manners, is of all the arts the moſt ſuſceptible of that variety which at the different periods of hiſtory is ſo conſpicuous in national characters, and conſequently is the moſt apt to be affected by the revolutions that take place in religious or civil eſtabliſhments. It is on this account that our author has found it neceſſary to prefix to his work two diſſertations, in which ſome points of a more general and hiſtorical nature are diſcuſſed, and of which we ſhall now proceed to give our reader a ſhort abſtract.

It has hitherto been a received opinion amongſt modern critics, that the fictions of romance were communicated to the Weſtern World by means of the Cruſades. Our author is of opinion that they were introduced at a much earlier period by the Saracens, who came from Africa and ſettled in Spain about

about the beginning of the eighth century. From Spain he imagines they found an eaſy paſſage into France and Italy; and the cloſe connection which ſubſiſted for many centuries between the Welch and their coloniſts the Armoricans, might have been the means of bringing them from France into this iſland.

Our author in the next place examines the hypotheſis of Dr. Percy and M. Mallet, who derive theſe fictions in a lineal deſcent from the ancient hiſtorical ſongs of the Gothic Bards and Scalds. This opinion Mr. Warton allows to be in ſome meaſure well founded, and that ſo far it is alſo reconcileable with his own ſyſtem. The ſcaldic inventions, he ſays, had undoubtedly taken deep root in Europe, and prepared the way for the more eaſy admiſſion of the Arabian fabling, about the ninth century, by which they were, however, in a great meaſure ſuperſeded. As a proof of which he obſerves, "that the "enchantments of the Runic poe"try are very different from thoſe "in our romances of chivalry. "The former chiefly deal in ſpells "and charms, ſuch as would pre"ſerve from poiſon, blunt the "weapons of an enemy, procure "victory, allay a tempeſt, cure "bodily diſeaſes, or call the dead "from their tombs; in uttering "a form of myſterious words, or "inſcribing Runic characters. "The magicians of Romance are "chiefly employed in forming and "conducting a train of deceptions. "There is an air of barbaric hor"ror in the incantations of the "ſcaldic fablers: the magicians "of romance often preſent viſions "of pleaſure and delight; and, "although not without their "ſtarting terror, ſometimes "lead us through flowery foreſts, "and raiſe up palaces glittering "with gold and precious ſtones. "The Runic magic is more like "that of Canidia in Horace, the "romantic reſembles that of Ar"mida in Taſſo. The operations "of the one are frequently but "mere tricks, in compariſon of "that ſublime ſolemnity of necro"mantic machinery which the "other ſo awfully diſplays."

He adds, "It is alſo remark"able, that in the earlier Scaldic "odes we find but few dragons, "giants, and fairies. Theſe were "introduced afterwards, and are "the progeny of Arabian fancy. "Nor indeed do theſe imaginary "beings often occur in any of the "compoſitions which preceded the "introduction of that ſpecies of "fabling."

That the ideas of chivalry, the appendage and the ſubſtance of romance, ſubſiſted among the Goths our author readily allows, but not without certain limitations. It was under the feudal eſtabliſhments, which were ſoon afterwards erected in Europe, that it received new vigour and was inveſted with the formalities of a regular inſtitution.

From the whole of his obſervations the author deduces the following general concluſion.

"Amid the gloom of ſuperſti"tion, in an age of the groſſeſt "ignorance and credulity, a taſte "for the wonders of oriental fic"tion was introduced by the Ara"bians into Europe, many coun"tries of which were already ſea"ſoned to a reception of its extra"vagancies by means of the poe"try

try of the Gothic Scalds, who, perhaps, originally derived their ideas from the same fruitful region of invention. These fictions, coinciding with the reigning manners, and perpetually kept up and improved in the tales of trowbadours and minstrels, seem to have centered about the eleventh century in the great histories of Turpin and Geoffrey of Monmouth, which record the supposititious atchievements of Charlemagne and King Arthur, where they formed the ground-work of that species of fabulous narrative called romance. And from these beginnings, or causes, afterwards enlarged and enriched by kindred fancies fetched from the Crusades, that singular and capricious mode of imagination arose, which at length composed "the marvellous machineries of the more sublime Italian poets, and of their disciple Spenser."

In the second dissertation, the author, after lamenting the destruction of the arts by the irruption of the Goths into Italy, observes, that they were, however, kept from total extinction partly by the prelates of the church and religious communities, and partly by the humanity of some of the Gothic kings, who were far from being invariably such enemies to literature as they are generally represented.

In the sixth century things began to put on a different face. The Gothic tribes, which had possessed themselves of the several provinces of the Roman empire, had attained a tolerable degree of political union and stability. Most of the northern nations of Europe were converted to christianity. Religious controversy turned the minds of men to literary pursuits, and, lastly, the authority and example of many of the popes were happily exerted in forwarding the revival of every species of learning and science.

The greatest obstruction which this revival met with, arose from the extreme paucity of valuable books. Of this circumstance the author has given a number of curious anecdotes. As a specimen of the author's style, we shall present our readers with an extract from this part of his work.

"The libraries, particularly those of Italy, which abounded in numerous and inestimable treasures of literature, were every where destroyed by the precipitate rage and undistinguishing violence of the northern armies. Towards the close of the seventh century, even in the papal library at Rome, the number of books was so inconsiderable, that Pope Saint Martin requested Sanctamand bishop of Maestricht, if possible, to supply this defect from the remotest parts of Germany. In the year 855, Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres in France, sent two of his monks to Pope Benedict the third, to beg a copy of *Cicero de Oratore*, and *Quintilian's Institutes*, and some other books: "for, says the abbot, although we have part of "these books, yet there is no "whole or complete copy of them "in all France." Albert abbot of Gemblours, who with incredible labour and immense expence had collected an hundred volumes on theological, and fifty on profane subjects, imagined he had formed a splendid library. About the year 790, Charlemagne granted an unlimited right of hunting to the abbot

bot and monks of Sithiu, for making their gloves and girdles of the skins of the deer they killed, and covers for their books. We may imagine that these religious were more fond of hunting than reading. It is certain that they were obliged to hunt before they could read: and at least it is probable, that under these circumstances, and of such materials, they did not manufacture many volumes. At the beginning of the tenth century books were so scarce in Spain, that one and the same copy of the Bible, Saint Jerom's Epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices and martyrologies, often served several different monasteries. Among the constitutions given to the monks of England by Archbishop Lanfranc, in the year 1072, the following injunction occurs. At the beginning of Lent, the librarian is ordered to deliver a book to each of the religious: a whole year was allowed for the perusal of this book: and at the returning Lent, those monks who had neglected to read the books they had respectively received, are commanded to prostrate themselves before the abbot, and to supplicate his indulgence. This regulation was partly occasioned by the low state of literature which Lanfranc found in the English monasteries. But at the same time it was a matter of necessity, and is in great measure to be referred to the scarcity of copies of useful and suitable authors. In an inventory of the goods of John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester, contained in his capital palace of Wulvesey, all the books which appear are nothing more than "*Septendecem pecie librorum de diversis Scienciis.*" This was in the year 1294. The same prelate, in the year 1296, borrows of his cathedral convent of St. Swithin at Winchester, *Bibliam bene glossatam*, that is, the Bible with marginal annotations, in two large folio volumes: but gives a bond for due return of the loan, drawn up with great solemnity. This Bible had been bequeathed to the convent the same year by Pontissara's predecessor, Bishop Nicholas de Ely: and in consideration of so important a bequest, that is, "*pro "bona Biblia dicti episcopi bene "glosata,*" and one hundred marks in money, the monks founded a daily mass, for the soul of the donor. When a single book was bequeathed to a friend or relation, it was seldom without many restrictions and stipulations. If any person gave a book to a religious house, he believed that so valuable a donation merited eternal salvation, and he offered it on the altar with great ceremony. The most formidable anathemas were peremptorily denounced against those who should dare to alienate a book presented to the cloister or library of a religious house. The prior and convent of Rochester declare, that they will every year pronounce the irrevocable sentence of damnation on him who shall purloin or conceal a Latin translation of Aristotle's *Physics*, or even obliterate the title. Sometimes a book was given to a monastery on condition that the donor should have the use of it during his life: and sometimes to a private person, with the reservation that he who receives it should pray for the soul of his benefactor. The gift of a book to Lincoln cathedral, by Bishop Repingdon, in the year 1422, occurs in this form and under these

these curious circumstances. The memorial is written in Latin, with the bishop's own hand, which I will give in English, at the beginning of Peter's *Breviary of the Bible*. "I Philip of Repyndon, late bishop of Lincoln, give this book called Peter de Aureolis to the new library to be built within the church of Lincoln: reserving the use and possession of it to Richard Tryfely, clerk, canon and prebendary of Milton, in fee, and to the term of his life: and afterwards to be given up and restored to the said library, or the keepers of the same, for the time being, faithfully and without delay. Written with my own hand, A. D. 1422." When a book was bought, the affair was of so much importance, that it was customary to assemble persons of consequence and character, and to make a formal record that they were present on this occasion. Among the royal manuscripts, in the book of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, an archdeacon of Lincoln has left this entry. "This book of the *Sentences* belongs to master Robert, archdeacon of Lincoln, which he bought of Geoffrey the chaplain, brother of Henry vicar of Northelkington, in the presence of master Robert de Lee, master John of Lirling, Richard of Luda, clerk, Richard the almoner, the said Henry the vicar and his clerk, and others: and the said archdeacon gave the said book to God and Saint Oswald, and to Peter abbot of Barton, and the convent of Barden." The disputed property of a book often occasioned the most violent altercations. Many claims appear to have been made to a manuscript of Matthew Paris, belonging to the last-mentioned library: in which John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, thus conditionally defends or explains his right of possession. "If this "book can be proved to be or to "have been the property of the "exempt monastery of Saint Alban in the diocese of Lincoln, "I declare this to be my "mind, that, in that case, I "use it at present as a loan under favour of those monks who "belong to the said monastery. "Otherwise, according to the "condition under which this book "came into my possession, I will "that it shall belong to the college of the blessed Winchester "Mary at Oxford, of the foundation of William Wykham. "Written with my own hand at "Bukdane, 1 Jan. A. D. 1488. "*Jo. Lincoln.* Whoever shall obliterate or destroy this writing, "let him be anathema." About the year 1225, Roger de Insula, dean of York, gave several Latin bibles to the university of Oxford, with a condition that the students who perused them should depose a cautionary pledge. The library of that university, before the year 1300, consisted only of a few tracts, chained or kept in chests in the choir of St. Mary's church. In the year 1327, the scholars and citizens of Oxford assaulted and entirely pillaged the opulent Benedictine abbey of the neighbouring town of Abingdon. Among the books they found there, were one hundred psalters, as many grayles, and forty missals, which undoubtedly belonged to the choir of the church: but besides these, there were

were only twenty-two *codices*, which I interpret books on common subjects. And although the invention of paper, at the close of the eleventh century, contributed to multiply manuscripts, and consequently to facilitate knowledge, yet even so late as the reign of our Henry the Sixth, I have discovered the following remarkable instance of the inconveniences and impediments to study, which must have been produced by a scarcity of books. It is in the statutes of St. Mary's college at Oxford, founded as a seminary to Oseney abbey in the year 1446, "Let no "scholar occupy a book in the li-"brary above one hour, or two "hours at most; so that others "shall be hindered from the use of "the same." The famous library established in the university of Oxford, by that munificent patron of literature Humphrey duke of Gloucester, contained only six hundred volumes. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were only four classics in the royal library at Paris. These were one copy of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius. The rest were chiefly books of devotion, which included but few of the fathers: many treatises of astrology, geomancy, chiromancy, and medicine, originally written in Arabic, and translated into Latin or French: pandects, chronicles, and romances. This collection was principally made by Charles the Fifth, who began his reign in 1365. This monarch was passionately fond of reading, and it was the fashion to send him presents of books from every part of the kingdom of France. These he ordered to be elegantly transcribed, and richly illuminated; and he placed them in a tower of the Louvre, from thence called, *la tour de la librairie*. The whole consisted of nine hundred volumes. They were deposited in three chambers, which, on this occasion, were wainscotted with Irish oak, and cieled with cypress curiously carved. The windows were of painted glass, fenced with iron bars and copper wire. The English became masters of Paris in the year 1425. On which event, the Duke of Bedford, regent of France, sent this whole library, then consisting of only eight hundred and fifty-three volumes, and valued at two thousand two hundred and twenty-three livres, into England; where perhaps they became the ground-work of Duke Humphrey's library just mentioned. Even so late as the year 1471, when Louis the Eleventh of France borrowed the works of the Arabian physician Rhasis, from the faculty of medicine at Paris, he not only deposited by way of pledge a quantity of valuable plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed, by which he bound himself to return it under a considerable forfeiture. The excessive prices of books in the middle ages, afford numerous and curious proofs. I will mention a few only. In the year 1174, Walter, prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester, afterwards elected abbot of Westminster, a writer in Latin of the lives of the bishops who were his patrons, purchased of the monks of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Bede's Homilies, and Saint Austin's Psalter, for twelve measures of barley, and a pall on which was embroidered in silver the history

ney of Saint Birinus converting a Saxon king. Among the royal manuscripts in the British museum there is *Gaucester's Scholastic History* in French; which, as it is recorded in a blank page at the beginning, was taken from the King of France at the battle of Poitiers; and being purchased by William Montague earl of Salisbury for one hundred marks, was ordered to be sold by the last will of his countess Elizabeth for forty livres. About the year 1400, a copy of John of Meun's *Roman de la Rose*, was sold before the palace-gate at Paris for forty crowns or thirty-three pounds six and six-pence."

For our first acquaintance with the ancient philosophical sciences we are indebted to the Arabians. In ravaging the Asiatic provinces they had found many Greek books, which they read and translated with infinite avidity. Their frequent incursions into Europe, and their absolute establishment in Spain, where they founded many universities, imported these seeds of knowledge into Europe. In the time of Charlemagne most of these books were by the orders of that emperor translated from the Arabic into Latin; they were quickly disseminated over his extensive dominions, and by that means soon became familiar to the Western World.

As the sciences, to which the Arabians were more particularly addicted, were those of astrology, medicine, and chemistry, our author thence deduces the causes of that love of the abstruse arts which distinguishes the literature of those early ages.

About the close of the ninth century, the politer arts, under the successive patronage of Charlemagne and Charles the Bald, had made a very considerable progress. Many celebrated universities were founded, which produced men, before the year 1000, distinguished not only for their knowledge of the sciences, but their attention to polite learning and an acquaintance with the classics.

Our author, in the next place, reverts to the state of literature in England, which he observes was not without its share of these improvements in knowledge, and derived them chiefly from the same sources. The Anglo-Saxons were converted to christianity in the year 570. The communication which this event opened with Rome, and the ardour with which the new converts visited the holy see, soon made the Latin language familiar to them, and gave them a taste for the sciences, which began about the same time to flourish in that capital. Many learned men were also sent by the popes into Britain, who founded many, what were then called, noble and copious libraries.

The best writers amongst the Saxons lived about the eighth century. These were Aldhelm, Ceolfrid, Alcuine, and Bede; and at their head is placed, with great justice, King Alfred, as no contemptible author, and as one of the most celebrated patrons and proficients in every kind of literature. Of all these our author has given a circumstantial and critical account, for which we are under the necessity of referring our readers to the work itself.

Though many of the Saxon scholars were certainly acquainted with Greek, yet it does not appear

that that language was ever familiar to them. Nor indeed were many of the Latin claſſics much known or ſtudied by them. Thoſe with which they were moſt acquainted, either in proſe or verſe, were the writers of the lower empire. It was even reckoned the moſt abominable hereſy to have any concern with the pagan fictions.

To this dawn of ſcience, a long night of ignorance and confuſion ſucceeded from the irruption of the Danes and the diſtraction of national affairs. At length, in the beginning of the eleventh century, England received from the Normans thoſe ſeeds of cultivation which have been gradually improving to their preſent maturity. The Conqueror himſelf loved and patronized letters. Many of the Norman prelates preferred by him in England were polite ſcholars; but what our author thinks was chiefly inſtrumental in promoting the progreſs of literature, was, that about this period ſchools were opened by many learned men of the laity as well as clergy, and the important charge of education, which before had entirely been entruſted to monaſtick teachers, was ſhared by men, whoſe courſe of ſtudy was more comprehenſive, and their method of teaching more full, perſpicuous, and rational. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that moſt of the eminent ſcholars which England produced, both in philoſophy and humanity, before and even below the twelfth century, were educated in our religious houſes.

Our author in the next place proceeds to give an account of the moſt celebrated Engliſh writers, down to the fourteenth century, about which time the Greek language began to be more univerſally ſtudied both in England and on the continent. The manuſcripts of the Greek authors, he is inclined to think, found their way into Europe from Conſtantinople in the time of the cruſades. About the ſame period the Jews, who had been ſuffered to eſtabliſh themſelves in England by the Conqueror, were baniſhed the kingdom; and by the ſuddenneſs of their diſmiſſion, immenſe ſtores of Hebrew manuſcripts came into the hands of the eccleſiaſticks, and became the means of circulating the knowledge of that language and of rabbinical learning.

In this proſperous ſtate of things, the progreſs of literature was ſoon after checked by the introduction of ſcholaſtic divinity. This art was firſt invented and taught by Peter Lombard, archbiſhop of Paris, and the celebrated Abelard. The number of Engliſh ſtudents which then filled the univerſities of France ſoon imported it into England, where it was received and cheriſhed with ſuch zeal and ardour, that before the reign of Edward the Second, no foreign univerſity could boaſt ſo conſpicuous a catalogue of ſubtle and invincible doctors.

The profeſſion of the civil and canonical laws, Mr. Warton alſo imagines, was no ſmall impediment to the progreſs of the politer arts. This effect he is, however, far from aſcribing to any thing hoſtile to cultivation in the imperial code, but to the mode in which that invaluable ſyſtem of juriſprudence was ſtudied. "It "was treated," he ſays, "with "the ſame ſpirit of idle ſpecula-

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tion, which had been carried into philoſophy and theology; it was overwhelmed with endleſs commentaries which diſclaimed all elegance of language, and ſerved only to exerciſe genius, as it afforded materials for framing the flimſy labyrinths of caſuiſtry. But," as he afterwards obſerves, "perhaps inventive poetry loſt nothing by this relapſe." Had claſſical taſte and judgment been now eſtabliſhed, imagination would have ſuffered, and too early a check would have been given to the beautiful extravagancies of romantic fabling. In a word, truth and reaſon would have chaced before their time thoſe ſpectres of illuſive fancy, ſo pleaſing to the imagination, which delight to hover in the gloom of ignorance and ſuperſtition, and which form ſo conſiderable a part of the poetry of the ſucceeding centuries.

We are now arrived at the *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, which the author commences with an account of the different epochs of the Saxon language, ſpoken in this kingdom. Of the language of the firſt epoch, which contains a ſpace of three hundred and thirty years, down from the firſt entrance of the Saxons, to the irruption of the Danes, and which is called Britiſh Saxon, no remains are left, except a ſmall metrical fragment of Caedmon's in Alfred's verſion of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. The ſecond epoch is the Daniſh Saxon, and cloſes with the Conqueſt. Many conſiderable ſpecimens of the language in this ſtage, both in proſe and verſe, are ſtill preſerved. The third is the Norman Saxon, with which our author's hiſtory commences, and which continued beyond the reign of Henry the Second.

It may eaſily be imagined how much the Saxon language, which even in its ſecond ſtage ſtill retained a conſiderable degree of perſpicuity, ſtrength, and harmony, muſt have ſuffered from the admixture of that confuſed jargon which the Normans brought into England. Accordingly we find the language of our poets, during the two firſt centuries after the Conqueſt, extremely barbarous, irregular, and intractable. We muſt refer our readers, for the numerous and very curious ſpecimens, which Mr. Warton has ſelected with equal induſtry and diſcernment for the elucidation of his hiſtory, to the work itſelf, and content ourſelves with a few general obſervations on the poetry of that age. It is remarkable that the bulk of the compoſitions of this period are legendary and religious. From the feudal manners and magnificence of our Norman anceſtors, from their military enthuſiaſm, and, above all, from the known fact, that their retinues abounded with minſtrels and harpers, and that it was their chief entertainment to liſten to the recital of romantic adventures, one would naturally have expected to find ſome conſiderable remains of the metrical tales which muſt have prevailed in thoſe times. But the caſe is quite otherwiſe. There is only one metrical romance which our author can aſcribe to an earlier period than the thirteenth century. Mr. Warton accounts for this ſingular circumſtance in a very ſatisfactory manner on the following grounds. He imagines that they ſtill exiſt in the

English metrical romances of the later ages, "divested of their original form, polished in their style, adorned with new incidents, and successively modernized by repeated transcription and recitation." That this would not be the case of the legendary and other religious poems written soon after the Conquest, is equally probable. From the nature of their subject they were less popular and common; and, being less frequently recited, became less liable to perpetual innovation or alteration. The satirical compositions of this age are pretty numerous. It is probable, that our English rhymers got their turn for this species of poetry from the French and Provençal Troubadours, who were very much addicted to satirical invective, and from whom they also borrowed the art of clothing their satire in allegories. The earliest love-song our author met with, he does not place higher than the year 1200. Most of these ditties are alliterative, and not destitute of imagination and poetical expression.

In the succeeding century the character of our poetry began a little to change. A taste for ornamental and exotic expression gradually prevailed, and the increase of the tales of chivalry and the improvements of romance; the rise of the crusades, and the intercourse that was opened between the French and English minstrels, contributed to give an advantageous turn both to our poetry and language. In this part of his work our author has introduced a short account of the origin of our drama. It abounds in antiquated learning and ingenious criticism, and may be very useful to any future author, who may be inclined to make this branch of our poetry the peculiar object of his enquiries.

In the reign of Edward the Third, a new æra in English poetry commences with the illustrious Chaucer. Our author, on this occasion, stops the course of his narrative in order to take a retrospect of the general manners. "The tournaments, he says, and carousals of our ancient princes, by forming splendid assemblies of both sexes, while they inculcated the most liberal sentiments of honour and heroism, undoubtedly contributed to introduce ideas of courtesy, and to encourage decorum. Yet the national manners still retained a great degree of ferocity, and the ceremonies of the most refined courts in Europe had often a mixture of barbarism, which rendered them ridiculous. This absurdity will always appear at periods when men are so far civilised as to have lost their native simplicity, and yet have not attained just ideas of politeness and propriety. Their luxury was inelegant, their pleasures indelicate, their pomp cumbersome and unwieldy. In the mean time it may seem surprising, that the many schools of philosophy which flourished in the middle ages, should not have corrected and polished the times. But as their religion was corrupted by superstition, so their philosophy degenerated into sophistry. Nor is it science alone, even if founded on truth, that will polish nations. For this purpose, the powers of imagination must be awakened and exerted, to teach elegant feelings, and to heighten our natural sensibilities. It is not

the head only that muſt be informed, but the heart muſt alſo be moved. Many claſſic authors were known in the thirteenth century, but the ſcholars of that period wanted taſte to read and admire them. The pathetic or ſublime ſtrokes of Virgil would be but little reliſhed by theologiſts and metaphyſicians."

He afterwards proceeds in the following manner:—"The moſt illuſtrious ornament of the reign of Edward the Third, and of his ſucceſſor Richard the Second, was Jeffrey Chaucer; a poet with whom the hiſtory of our poetry is by many ſuppoſed to have commenced; and who has been pronounced, by a critic of unqueſtionable taſte and diſcernment, to be the firſt Engliſh verſifier who wrote poetically. He was born in the year 1328, and educated at Oxford, where he made a rapid progreſs in the ſcholaſtic ſciences as they were then taught: but the livelineſs of his parts, and the native gaiety of his diſpoſition, ſoon recommended him to the patronage of a magnificent monarch, and rendered him a very popular and acceptable character in the brilliant court which I have above deſcribed. In the mean time, he added to his accompliſhments by frequent tours into France and Italy, which he ſometimes viſited under the advantages of a public character. Hitherto our poets had been perſons of a private and circumſcribed education, and the art of verſifying, like every other kind of compoſition, had been confined to reclaſe ſcholars. But Chaucer was a man of the world: and from this circumſtance we are to account, in great meaſure, for the many new embelliſhments which he conferred on our language and our poetry. The deſcriptions of ſplendid proceſſions and gallant carouſals, with which his works abound, are a proof that he was converſant with the practices and diverſions of polite life. Familiarity with a variety of things and objects, opportunities of acquiring the faſhionable and courtly modes of ſpeech, connections with the great at home, and a perſonal acquaintance with the vernacular poets of foreign countries, opened his mind and furniſhed him with new lights. In Italy he was introduced to Petrarch, at the wedding of Violante, daughter of Galleazzo duke of Milan, with the duke of Clarence: and it is not improbable that Boccacio was of the party. Although Chaucer had undoubtedly ſtudied the works of theſe celebrated writers, and particularly of Dante, before this fortunate interview; yet it ſeems likely, that theſe excurſions gave him a new reliſh for their compoſitions, and enlarged his knowledge of the Italian fables. His travels likewiſe enabled him to cultivate the Italian and Provencial languages with the greateſt ſucceſs; and induced him to poliſh the aſperity, and enrich the ſterility of his native verſification, with ſofter cadences, and a more copious and variegated phraſeology. In this attempt, which was authoriſed by the recent and popular examples of Petrarch in Italy, and Alain Chartier in France, he was countenanced and aſſiſted by his friend John Gower, the early guide and encourager of his ſtudies. The reviſal of learning in moſt countries appears to have firſt

owed its riſe to tranſlation. At rude periods the modes of original thinking are unknown, and the arts of original compoſition have not yet been ſtudied. The writers therefore of ſuch periods are chiefly and very uſefully employed in importing the ideas of other languages into their own. They do not venture to think for themſelves, nor aim at the merit of inventors, but they are laying the foundations of literature: and while they are naturaliſing the knowledge of more learned ages and countries by tranſlation, they are imperceptibly improving the national language. This has been remarkably the caſe, not only in England, but in France and Italy. In the year 1387, John Treviſa canon of Weſtbury in Wiltſhire, and a great traveller, not only finiſhed a tranſlation of the Old and New Teſtaments, at the command of his munificent patron Thomas Lord Berkley, but alſo tranſlated Higden's *Polychronicon*, and other Latin pieces. But theſe tranſlations would have been alone inſufficient to have produced or ſuſtained any conſiderable revolution in our language: the great work was reſerved for Gower and Chaucer. Wickliffe had alſo tranſlated the Bible: and in other reſpects his attempts to bring about a reformation in religion at this time proved beneficial to Engliſh literature. The orthodox divines of this period generally wrote in Latin: but Wickliffe, that his arguments might be familiariſed to common readers and the bulk of the people, was obliged to compoſe in Engliſh his numerous theological treatiſes againſt the papal corruptions. Edward the Third, while he perhaps intended only to baniſh a badge of conqueſt, greatly contributed to eſtabliſh the national dialect, by aboliſhing the uſe of the Norman tongue in the public acts and judicial proceedings, as we have before obſerved, and by ſubſtituting the natural language of the country. But Chaucer manifeſtly firſt taught his countrymen to write Engliſh; and formed a ſtyle by naturaliſing words from the Provencial, at that time the moſt poliſhed dialect of any in Europe, and the beſt adapted to the purpoſes of poetical expreſſion.

It is certain that Chaucer abounds in claſſical allufions: but his poetry is not formed on the antient models. He appears to have been an univerſal reader, and his learning is ſometimes miſtaken for genius: but his chief ſources were the French and Italian poets. From theſe originals two of his capital poems, the *Knight's Tale*, and the *Romaunt of the Roſe*, are imitations or tranſlations."

The ſeven laſt ſections of the firſt volume are entirely dedicated to Chaucer, and contain a complete analyſis and critical hiſtory of the principal of his poems.

Our author begins his ſecond volume, which has been given to the public in the courſe of the preſent year, with an account of Gower the cotemporary of Chaucer. His poems are in general of a grave and ſententious caſt, not deſtitute of harmony, and ſome of the few, which are of a higher turn, have even a conſiderable degree of ſimplicity and elegance.

The poetic ſpirit of England ſeems, by making too vigorous an exertion,

exertion, to have almoſt exhauſted itſelf in Chaucer. The reign of Henry the Fourth affords but the name of one ſolitary miſerable poet: that of his ſucceſſor was not much more happily diſtinguiſhed either in number or merit. Even Lydgate, who flouriſhed in the time of Henry the Sixth, falls very ſhort of Chaucer, both in imagination, judgment, and the powers of poetical expreſſion. In addition to the extract containing the character of this poet, which we have given in another part of our volume, (ſee p. 21.) we will preſent our readers with the following ſpecimens of his talent at deſcription in two different ſtyles. They are taken out of a poem of his called *Troy Boke*.

"This poem, ſays Mr. Warton, is replete with deſcriptions of rural beauty, formed by a ſelection of very poetical and pictureſque circumſtances, and cloathed in the moſt perſpicuous and muſical numbers. The colouring of our poet's morning, is often remarkably rich and ſplendid."

When that the rowes * and the rayes redde
Eaſtward to us full early ginnen ſpredde,
Even at the twylyght in the dawneynge,
Whan that the larke of cuſtom ginneth ſynge,
For to ſaluè † in her heavenly laye,
The luſty goddeſſe of the morowe graye,
I meane Aurora, which afore the ſunne
Is won't t' ‡ enchaſe the blackè ſkyès dunne,
And al the darkneſſe of the dimmy night:
And freſhe Phebùs, with comforte of his light,
And with the brightnes of his bemès ſhene,
Hath overgylt the huge hyllès grene;
And flourès eke, agayn the morowe tide,
Upon their ſtalkes gan playn ‖ their leavès wide.

Again, among more pictures of the ſame ſubject:

When Aurorà the ſylver droppès ſhene,
Her teares, had ſhed upon the freſhè grene;
Complaynyng aye, in weping and in ſorowe,
Her chyldren's death on every ſommer-morowe:
That is to ſayè, when the dewe ſo ſoote,
Embawmed hath the floure and eke roote
With luſtie lycoùr in Aprill and in Maye:
When that the larke, the meſſenger of daye,
Of cuſtom aye Aurora doth ſalûe,
With ſundry notes her ſorowe to § tranſmuè.

The ſpring is thus deſcribed, renewing the buds or bloſſoms of the groves, and the flowers of the meadows:

And them whom winter's blaſtes have ſhaken bare
With ſotè bloſomes freſhly to repare;
And the meadòws of many a ſundry hewe,
Tapitid ben with divers flourès newe
Of ſundry motleſs ⸸, luſty for to ſene;
And holſome balme is ſhed among the grene.

Frequently in theſe florid landſcapes we find the ſame idea differently expreſſed. Yet this circumſtance, while it weakened the deſcription, taught a copiouſneſs of diction, and a variety of poetical phraſeology. There is great ſoftneſs and facility in the following delineation of a delicious retreat:

Tyll

* Streaks of light. A very common word in Lydgate. Chaucer, Kn. T. v. 579. col. 2. Urr. p. 455.
And while the twilight and the *rowis* red
Of Phebus light ———

† Salute. ‡ Chaſe. ‖ Open. § Change. ⸸ Colours.

Tyll at the laſt, among the bowes glade,
Of adventure, I caught a pleſeant ſhade;
Ful ſmothe, and playn, and luſty for to
ſene,
And ſofte as velvette was the yonge grene:
Where from my hors I did alight as faſt,
And on a bowe aloft his reyne caſt.
So fayre and mete of creyneſſe I was,
That I, me layd adowne upon the gras,
Upon a brincke, ſhortly for to telle,
Beſyde the river of a criſtall welle;
And the water, as I reherſe can,
Like quicke-ſylver in his ſtreames yran,
Of which the gravell and the bryghte
ſtone,
As any golde, agaynſt the ſun yſhone.

There is much elegance of ſentiment and expreſſion in the portrait of Creſeide weeping when ſhe parts with Troilus.

And from her eyn the teares round drops
tryll,
That all fordewed have her blacke wede;
And eke untruſs'd her haire abrode gan
ſprede,
Lyke golden wyre, ſorrent and alto torn.
And over this, her freſhe and roſey hewe,
Whylom ymeynt * with white lylyes
newe,
Wyth wofull wepyng pitcouſly diſteynd;
And lyke the herbes in April all bereynd,
Of floures freſhe with the dewes ſwete,
Ryght ſo her chekes moyſte were and
wete.

The following verſes are worthy of attention, in another ſtyle of writing, and have great ſtrength and ſpirit. A Knight brings a ſteed to Hector in the midſt of the battle.

And brought to Hector. Sothly there he
ſtoode
Among the Grekes, al bathed in their
blood:
The which in haſte ful knightly he be-
ſtrode,
And them amonge like Mars himſelfe he
rode.

The ſtrokes on the helmets, and thus expreſs'd, ſtriking fire amid the plumes.

But ſtrokys felle, that men might herden
ryngen,
On baſſenetts, the fieldes rounde aboute,
So cruelly, that the fyre ſprang oute.
Amonge the toftes brode, bright and
ſhene,
Of foyle of golde, of fethers white and
greene.

Mr. Warton next proceeds to the reign of Edward the Fourth, which he introduces with a very elaborate account of the French tranſlations of the ancient claſic authors, and other writers of a more modern date, with which that century abounded. By means of theſe tranſlations he believes that our countrymen became acquainted with ancient literature at a much earlier period than is imagined. "How greatly our poets, he adds, in general availed themſelves of theſe treaſures, we may collect from this circumſtance only: even ſuch writers as Chaucer and Lydgate, men of education and learning, when they tranſlate a Latin author, appear to execute their work through the medium of a French verſion."

In the ſame reign, our author finds the firſt mention of the King's *Poet Laureate*; his account of the origin of which office we have already given our readers under the head of *Antiquities* †.

The reign of Richard the Third and Henry the Seventh, furniſh a long catalogue of obſcure verſifiers. Barclay, the author of a popular ſatyrical poem on thoſe

* Mingled.

† See p. 139.

times,

times, called *the Ship of Fooles*, is the most considerable. His language is more cultivated than that of many of his cotemporaries, and he certainly contributed his share to the improvement of the English phraseology.—Our author is also of opinion that his *Egloges* are the first that appeared in the English language! They are all, he says, like Petrarch's and Mantuan's, of a moral and satirical kind; and contain but few touches of rural description and bucolic imagination.

Having brought the history of English poetry down to the sixteenth century, the author takes a view of the cotemporary state of poetry in Scotland, and has given us an account at large of some of the most celebrated productions of the Scotch poets of that age. These are, the *Thistle and the Rose* and the *Golden Terge* of *William Dunbar*—the translation of the Eneid, and some original poems, by *Gawen Douglas*—the poems of Sir David Lindesay, and some anonymous pieces. The merit of these poems, in the opinion of Mr. Warton, is very considerable, and inferior in no respect to the productions of the English muse of the same age, those of Chaucer only excepted.

* We are now arrived at the end of the historical part of the second volume, which brings the history of our poetry down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The period in which the author has been hitherto engaged, though it be not so brilliant and splendid as that which succeeded, has nevertheless been productive of abundance of matter extremely interesting and curious to an English reader. It exhibits (to use the author's words) the gradual improvement of our poetry and the formation of our taste, at the same time that it uniformly represents the progression of our language.—Nor must our obligations to Mr. Warton be forgotten, for having brought out of their obscurity the remains of so many of our early and almost unknown poets.—Some of their writings, from their intrinsic worth, deserved a better fate; even those of an inferior cast have their merit, and deserve to be known, as they transmit pictures of familiar manners, and preserve popular customs.

In the two last sections our author takes a general view of the

* The fifteenth section of this volume appears to us to be a little misplaced. *Skelton*, who is the principal subject of it, was the cotemporary of *Hawes*, (who appears in the 10th sect.) and ought therefore to have preceded Barclay and the Scotch poets. This would also have prevented the series of his history from being broken by this northern digression, and have thrown that subject into its proper place, the end of this volume. If we may be allowed to find any fault with a work so replete with instruction and amusement, we could have wished that the author had attended a little more to the arrangement of his materials. The history of the origin of the English drama, in particular, which is professedly treated of in the first volume, is again resumed in the 9th sect. of the second; and lastly, begun over again in the 15th and 16th. This desultory mode of writing, may be very convenient to the needy compilers of the age, but is not suited to the κτημα ες αει which we expect from the hands of so respectable a literary character as Mr. Warton.

revival

revival of claſſical learning in Europe, of the reformation of religion, and of its effects on literature in England. The great revolution which theſe events produced in our poetical compoſition, is reſerved for the argument of ſome future volume, in which the fine taſte and critical judgment of Mr. Warton may exert themſelves with freedom, diſencumbered of the weight of his archiological labours.

Miſcellaneous State Papers. From 1501 to 1726. 2 vol. 4to.

THERE are perhaps no books that are read with a more general curioſity than thoſe hiſtorical compilations, which appear under the name of State Papers: and indeed, when their authenticity is unqueſtionable, and the ſelection made with candour and judgment, there are no works more uſeful, or that deſerve more eminently the attention and encouragement of the public. The very high and reſpectable name * that has been given to the world as the publiſher of theſe volumes, leaves us nothing to ſay with reſpect to their merit on any of thoſe heads: the introductions, prefixed to the ſeveral diviſions of theſe papers, and the notes, with which they are occaſionally elucidated, are ſufficient proofs of the noble writer's judgment, and extenſive knowledge of hiſtory. As we have already given our readers ſeveral extracts from this curious and valuable collection, we ſhall content ourſelves at preſent with giving them the heads of the different articles that compoſe it in the order they occur.

VOLUME I.

No. I.

Certain notes taken out of the entertainment of Katherine, wife of Arthur, Prince of Wales, Oct. 1501. [*From the Harleian Collection.*]

[This is a curious picture of the manners of thoſe times, and, as the editor very well obſerves, may be thought a good companion to the picture of the *Champ de Drap d'Or* in Windſor Caſtle.]

No. II.

Original Letter of Thomas Leigh, one of the viſitors of the Monaſteries, to Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, dated from the Monaſtery of Vale Royal, Aug. 22, 1536†. [*From the Harleian Collection.*]

No. III.

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Exeter, and Sir Anthony Brown, Knt. Inſtructions for the levying men to go againſt the rebels in the north, 1536. [*From the Harleian Collection.*]

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk, and the Marquis of Exeter, being in their march toward Doncaſter, againſt the rebels, Oct. 20, 1536.

The Privy Council to the Duke. Inſtructions about dealing with the rebels, and offering them pardon, Dec. 2, 1536.

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk, Dec. 6, 1536.

* Lord Hardwicke.

† See this letter in our article of *Characters*, p. 8. of this volume.

The

The Privy Council to the Duke, Feb. 4, 1536-7.
The Privy Council to the Duke, Feb. 4, 1536-7.
The Privy Council to the Duke, Feb. 25, 1536-7.
The Privy Council to the Duke, March 3, 1536-7.
The Privy Council to the Duke, March 12, 1536-7.
The Privy Council to the Duke March 17, 1536-7.
The Privy Council to the Duke, April 7, 1537.
The Privy Council to the Duke, April 8, 1537.

No. IV.

Roger Aſcham's communication with Monſieur d'Arras, at Landau, Oct. 1, 1552. To Sir Richard Moryſon. [*From the Paper Office.*]
Sir Richard Moryſon to the Lords of the Council, Oct. 7, 1552.

[The author of this laſt letter was a man of conſiderable learning in thoſe times. There is ſomething exceedingly peculiar in his ſtyle; but his letter is chiefly valuable, for ſome curious particulars it contains reſpecting the court and manners of Charles the Fifth.]

No. V.

The Journey of the Queen's Ambaſſadors unto Rome, Anno 1555. The Reverend Father in God the Biſhop of Ely, and Viſcount Montague, then Ambaſſadors; who ſet out of Calais in Picardy, on Wedneſday, being Aſh Wedneſday, the 27th of February. [*From the Harleian Collection.*]

[An Engliſh traveller may here have a curious opportunity of comparing the ſtate of Italy, and the cuſtoms of its inhabitants, at ſo early a period as 1555, with thoſe of the preſent time.]

No. VI.

Letters concerning Calais. [*From the Paper Office.*]
The Council of Calais to the Queen, May 23, 1557.
Lord Wentworth, Lord Grey, &c. to the Queen, Dec. 27, 1557.
Their conſultation, Dec. 27, 1557.
The Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Calais, to the Queen, Jan. 1, 1557-8.
Lord Wentworth to the Queen, Jan. 2, 1557-8.
Lord Grey to the Queen, Jan. 4, 1557-8.
Mr. Highfield's account of the ſiege and loſs of Calais.

No. VII.

Letters from Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, Ambaſſador in France. [*From the Paper Office.*]
To Secretary Cecil, Oct. 28, 1560.
To Secretary Cecil, Oct. 31, 1560.
To the Queen, Nov. 17, 1560.
To Secretary Cecil, Nov. 17, 1560.
To Secretary Cecil, Nov. 18, 1560.
To the Queen, Nov. 28, 1560.
To Secretary Cecil, Nov. 28, 1560.
To the Queen, Nov. 28, 1560.
To Secretary Cecil, Nov. 29, 1560.
To the Queen, Nov. 29, 1560.
To Secretary Cecil, Dec. 1, 1560.

No. VIII.

Mr. Jones to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, Ambaſſador in France*. [*From the original, in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

No. IX.

Letters from Sir William Cecil, and from the Earl of Bedford, to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, Ambaſſador in France. [*From*

*. See this letter, p. 9. preceding.

the

the originals, in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.]

From Sir William Cecil to Sir N. Throkmorton, May, 1561.

From the Same to the Same, July 14, 1561.

Earl of Bedford to Throkmorton, July 8, 1561.

From Cecil to Throkmorton, Aug. 26, 1561.

From the Same to the Same, Dec. 22, 1561.

No. X.

A note of conſultation had at Greenwich, *primo* May 1561, by the Queen's Majeſty's commandment, upon a requeſt made to her Majeſty by the King of Spain's Ambaſſador, that the Abbot of Martinengo being Nuntio from the Pope, and arriving at Bruxells, might come into the realm with letters from the Pope and other Princes to the Queen. [*Copied from the Advocates Library at Edinburgh.*]

No. XI.

Henry Earl of Huntingdon, to the Earl of Leiceſter, April, 1563. [*From the original in the Britiſh Muſeum.*]

No. XII.

Letters from the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk *. [*From Dr. Forbes's Collection, in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

From the Queen of Scots to the D. of Norfolk, Jan. 31, 1569-70.

From the Same to the Same, March 19, 1569-70.

From the Same to the Same, May 17, 1570.

From the Same to the Same, June 14, 1570.

From the Same to the Same.

No. XIII.

Letters from Sir Edward Stafford, Ambaſſador in France. [*From the originals in the Paper Office.*]

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen, Dec. 1, 1583.

Sir Ed. Stafford to Secretary Walſingham, Dec. 1, 1583.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen, Dec. 10, 1583.

Sir Edward Stafford to Lord Burleigh, Dec. 19, 1583.

Copy of a private letter to Mr. Secretary, about the anſwer of that he writ to me of my Lord Paget.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen.

No. XIV.

From the Queen of Scots to Charles Paget, May 20, 1586. [*From Dr. Forbes's Collection, in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

No. XV.

Evidence againſt the Q. of Scots. [*From a copy of the trial, in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

[The noble editor is of opinion, from the evidence contained in this article, that the crime of compaſſing and imagining Queen Elizabeth's death, ſeems fully proved againſt her.]

No. XVI.

A letter from Sir Edward Stafford, Ambaſſador in France, to the Queen, with one to Ld. Treaſurer Burleigh, incloſing it. [*From the original in the Paper Office.*]

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen, Feb. 25, 1587-8.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Lord Treaſurer, Feb. 26, 1587.

No. XVII.

A brief diſcourſe, containing the true and certain manner how the late Duke of Guiſe, and the

* See theſe letters, p. 11. & ſeq. of this volume.

Cardinal

Cardinal of Lorraine his brother, were put to death at Blois, the 24th of December 1588, for ſundry conſpiracies and treaſons practiced by them againſt their Sovereign the French King; wherein is farther declared the impriſonment of ſome other of the conſpirators and leaguers, with divers other circumſtances and matters happening thereupon. Written unto our late Queen Elizabeth, by Sir Edward Stafford, at that time her Ambaſſador in the court of France. [*From the Harleian collection.*]

No. XVIII.

Letters to and from Lord Leiceſter, in the Low Countries. [*From the originals in the Cotton library.*]

Lord Burleigh to Lord Leiceſter, Feb. 7, 1586.

Mr. Thomas Duddeley to Lord Leiceſter, Feb. 11, 1586.

Mr. Daviſon to the Earl of Leiceſter, Feb. 17, 1586.

Earl of Leiceſter to Sir Francis Walſingham, Feb. 8.

Earl of Leiceſter to the Lords of the Privy Council, Feb. 8, 1585-6.

Earl of Leiceſter's letter to Mr. Daviſon, expoſtulating with him, and Mr. Daviſon's notes in the margin upon it, March 10. 1585-6.

The anſwer of the Council of State to the Queen of England's letter of the 13th of Feb. 1585.

Earl of Leiceſter to the Lords of the Council, March 27, 1586.

Extract of my Lord of Leiceſter's letter of the 5th of April, 1586.

Lord Burleigh to the Earl of Leiceſter.

[The character of Leiceſter, as the editor juſtly obſerves, is ſtrongly marked in theſe letters; paſſionate and vindictive, but with more conſiderable talents for buſineſs than Camden and other hiſtorians allow him.]

No. XIX.

Letters from Sir Philip Sidney to the Earl of Leiceſter. [*From the originals in the Cotton library.*]

Sir Philip Sidney to Lord Leiceſter, Feb. 2, 1586.

The Same to the Same, Feb. 2, 1586.

No. XX.

Papers about a private treaty with Spain. [*From the originals in the Cotton library.*]

Lord Burleigh to Andreas de Loo.

Earl of Leiceſter to Lord Burleigh, Sept. 30, 1587.

Earl of Leiceſter to Lord Burleigh, Oct. 30, 1587.

Earl of Leiceſter to the Lords of the Council, Nov. 6, 1587.

Sir Francis Walſingham to the Earl of Leiceſter, Oct. 9, 1587.

Sir Francis Walſingham to the Earl of Leiceſter, Nov. 12, 1587.

No. XXI.

Letters from Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Ambaſſador at the court of France. [*From the originals in the Paper Office.*]

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Sept. 8, 1588.

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Sept. 30.

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Oct. 19.

The Same to the Same, Oct. 20.

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Nov. 10.

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Nov. 28.

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Dec. 10.

No. XXII.

No. XXII.

Letter of Henry Cuffe, Secretary to Robert Earl of Eſſex, to Mr. Secretary Cecil, declaring the effect of the inſtructions framed by the Earl of Eſſex, and delivered to the Ambaſſador of the King of Scots, touching his title to the crown of England; which letter was written after Cuffe's condemnation. [*From a copy in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

No. XXIII.

Two letters of Sir Dudley Carleton, afterwards Viſcount Dorcheſter, concerning Sir W. Raleigh's plot; incloſed in the following letter from Mr. Dudley Carleton to Philip Lord Wharton*. [*From the Wharton Papers.*]

Mr. Dudley Carleton to Lord Wharton, Feb. 14, 1651.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. John Chamberlain, Nov. 27, 1603.

The Same to the Same, Dec. 11, 1603.

[We cannot paſs over this article without giving our readers the laſt of theſe letters; it proves but too clearly what mankind have hitherto been unwilling to believe, that a King may be ſo far hurried away by private paſſions and ſelfiſh intereſts, as ſecretly to betray even his own ſubjects and ſervants to a foreign power. It is introduced by the noble editor with the following obſervations.]

'Sir Walter Raleigh accuſed King 'James of having diſcloſed the 'whole deſign of his voyage to 'Gundomar. How far the 'following letter confirms this 'charge, is left to the reader's 'judgment. Winwood, who 'was a great enemy to the Spa'niſh intereſt, muſt have exe'cuted this commiſſion with re'luctance.'

"Sir, I have acquainted his "Majeſty with your letter, and "that which came incloſed from "Sir Henry Wotton, of whoſe "opinion his Majeſty is, touch"ing the advertiſement given "therein, that this diſcovery is "like to unite the duke and the "Venetian cloſer together, and "bring on better conditions for a "peace with Spain. His Ma"jeſty perceiveth by a letter he "hath received from the Spaniſh "Ambaſſador, that you have not "been yet with him to acquaint "him with the order taken by "his Majeſty about Sir Walter "Raleigh's voyage; and there"fore would have you go to him "as ſoon as you can poſſible, to "relate unto him particularly his "Majeſty's care of that buſineſs, "and the courſe he hath taken "therein. And ſo I reſt

"Your very loving friend,

"Buckingham."

No. XXIV.

Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton at Turin, March 15, 1614. [*From the Paper Office.*]

[We could wiſh, for the ſake of the regal as well as miniſterial character, to paſs by this curious correſpondence; in which it is difficult to ſay which is more contemptible, the puerile weakneſs of the King, or the mean obſequiouſneſs of the favourite.]

* See before, p. 13. where part of this number is inſerted.

No. XXV.

No. XXV.

The Earl of Buckingham to Mr. Secretary Winwood, March 28, 1617. [*From a copy taken by Mr. Sawyer.*]

No. XXVI.

Papers relative to the Spaniſh match. [*From the Harleian MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum.*]

King James to the Prince and D. of Buckingham, Feb. 26, 1622-3.
The Prince and Duke to King James, March 10.
The Prince and Duke to K. James.
King James to the Prince and Duke, March 15.
King James to the Prince and Duke, March 17.
The Prince and Duke to King James, March 17.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.
King James to the Prince and Duke, March 25, 1623.
The Prince and Duke to King James, March 27.
King James to the Prince and Duke, April 10.
The Prince and Duke to King James, April 22.
The Prince and Duke to King James, April 27.
Pr. Charles to K. James, April 29.
Duke of Buckingham to King James, April 29.
King James to the Prince and Duke, May 11.
The Prince and Duke to King James, June 6.
King James to the Prince and Duke, June 14.
Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, June 26.
Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, June 27.
Duke of Buckingham to Secretary Conway, June 29.
Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, June 29.
Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, July 15.
King James to the Prince and Duke, July 21.
Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, July 23.
Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, July 29.
Duke of Buckingham to King James, July 30.
Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, Aug. 5.
Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, Aug. 6.
King James to the Prince and Duke, Aug. 5.
Secretary Calvert to Secretary Conway, Aug. 8.
K. James to the Prince, Aug. 10.
Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, Aug. 20.
Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, Aug. 30.
The Infanta to K. James, Aug. 30.
Duke of Buckingham to King James, Sept. 1.
Prince Charles to the Pope.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.
Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, April 26, 1624.
Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.
K. James to the D. of Buckingham.
Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.
Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

No. XXVII.

The Spaniſh match continued; the Earl of Briſtol's letters. [*From the original in the Paper Office.*]

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Earl of Briſtol to Secretary Calvert, Oct. 24, 1623.
E. of Briſtol to the King, Aug. 29.
The Same to the Same, Sept. 9.
The Same to the Same, Sept. 24.
The Same to the Same, Oct. 24.
The Same to the Same, Nov. 26.
Earl of Briſtol and Sir Walter Aſton to the Same, Dec. 26.
The anſwer to the Earl of Briſtol to certain interrogatories intended for his Majeſty's private ſatisfaction, with a reſerve for a permiſſion of making recourſe to ſuch other things as may be farther neceſſary to his clearing.

No. XXVIII.

Papers relative to the French match. [*From the original in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]
From Secretary Conway to Lord Carliſle and Lord Holland, Aug. 12, 1624.
From Walter Montague to the Earl of Carliſle.
From Lord Carliſle to the Duke of Buckingham, Oct. 2.
—— In the Earl of Carliſle's handwriting.
From Secretary Conway to the Ambaſſadors, Oct. 5.
From Lord Carliſle to the Prince, Oct. 7.
From Lords Carliſle and Holland to Secretary Holland, Oct. 18.
From Mr. Lorkin to the Lords Carliſle and Holland, Oct. 21.
From the ſame to the Same, Oct. 21.
Copy of the Secret Eſcript preſented by the French Ambaſſadors, and avowed to be the ſame agreed on between them and his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors in France, Nov. 18.
From Secretary Conway to Lords Carliſle and Holland, Dec. 23.
From Lords Carliſle and Holland to Secretary Conway.
From Lords Carliſle to the D. of Buckingham, Feb. 16, 1624-5.
From Mr. Thomas Lorkin to the Lords Carliſle, &c. Feb. 12.
From Secretary Conway to Lord Carliſle, Feb. 24.
The Duke of Buckingham to Lord Carliſle, March 15.
From Secretary Conway to the Same, March 16.
From the Same to the Same, March 24.
From the Same to the Same, March 24.
From the Same to the Same, April 12, 1625.
From the Same to the Same, April 28.
From the Same to Lords Carliſle and Holland, May 5.
Account of the vaſtly rich clothes of the Duke of Buckingham, the number of his ſervants, and of the noble perſonages in his train, when he went to Paris, A. D. 1625, to bring over Queen Henrietta Maria.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Letter of Richard the Third to the Biſhop of Lincoln. [*From the Harleian Library.*]

No. II.

The Earl of Leiceſter to Q. Elizabeth, July 27, 1588. [*From the originals in the Paper Office.*]

No. III.

Letters from the commanders of the fleet, about the Spaniſh Armada. [*From the originals in the Paper Office.*]
From Sir Francis Drake to Secretary Walſingham, from aboard the Revenge, June 24, 1588.

From

From the Lord Admiral to the Same, July 6, 1588.
Sir Francis Drake to the Lord Henry Seymour, July 21.
From the Same to Secretary Walſingham, July 31, 1588.
From the Same to the Queen, Aug. 8, 1588.
From the Same to Secretary Walſingham, Aug. 10, 1588.

VOLUME II.

No. I.

Letters of King Charles I. Lord Carliſle, and Secretary Conway, to the Duke of Buckingham. [*From the Harleian Collection.*]
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Nov. 20, 1625.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Nov. 20.
Lord Carliſle to the Duke of Buckingham, Nov. 20.
Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, Nov. 30.
Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, Dec. 16.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, 1626.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Aug. 13, 1627.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Aug. 25.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Sept. 2.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Sept. 20.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Oct. 1.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Oct. 13.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Nov. 6.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Feb. 23.
King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Feb. 23.

No. II.

Iſle of Rhé expedition. [*From the Paper Office.*]
Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, July 27, 1627.
Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway, July 28.
Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, Aug. 14.
Duke of Buckingham to Edward Nicholas, Eſq;
Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, Aug. 24.
Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway, Aug. 24.
Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway.
Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, Sept. 4.
Mr. De Vic to Ld. Conway, Sept.
Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway, Sept. 19.
Sir William Beecher to Lord Conway, Sept. 27.
Sir William Beecher to Lord Conway, Oct. 3.
Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, Oct. 22.

No. III.

Papers about a ſecret treaty with the Flemings. [*From the Paper Office.*]
Extracts from Mr. Gerbier's account given to his Majeſty of the ſtate of the Catholic States, Aug. 14, 1632.
Copy of his Majeſty's letter, which he wrote to Mr. Gerbier, agent at Bruſſels, all with his own hand, and was ſent preſently by an expreſs, Aug. 21, 1632.
Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier.
Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier, Sept. 24.
Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier, Oct. 6.
Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier, Oct. 30.
Heads propoſed to the King's conſideration, May 15, 1633.
Mr. Gerbier to Secretary Coke, June 24.

Mr. Garbier to Secretary Coke, July 1.

[This project of the unfortunate Charles has not been mentioned, as far as we recollect, by any of the historians of those times. It seems to have failed from the uncertain state of his politicks at home, and the consequent want of sufficient weight and credit abroad.]

No. IV.

Scotch troubles, 1637-41. [*From the Archives of the Hamilton family, not Paper Office, &c.*]

The Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton, Oct. 19, 1637.

Earls of Traquair and Roxburgh to the Marquis of Hamilton, Feb. 17, 1637-8.

Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton, Feb. 26.

The Same to the Same, March 5.

The Same to the Same, March 22.

The Same to the Same.

The Same to Lord Justice Clerk.

The Same to the Marquis of Hamilton, May 17, 1638.

The Same to the Same, July 13.

The Same to the Same, July 20.

Marquis of Hamilton to King Charles I. Nov. 27.

Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton, Nov. 30.

The Same to the Same, Jan. 5, 1638-9.

Lord St. Albans and Clanricarde to Secretary Windebank, Apr. 9.

The Same to the Same, April 14.

Countess of Westmorland to Francis Windebank, May 6.

Pacification of Berwick, June 8, 1639.

Private warrant from K. Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton, to converse with the Covenanters, July 17.

A relation concerning the Scots proceedings, their natures and present estates, with their intentions, and some ways to animate this country against them, and divide themselves. By one who hath long resided there, Feb. 10, 1639-40.

Secretary Windebanke to the Lord Conway, Aug. 14, 1640.

Minutes of Cabinet Council, August 16, 1640.

Mr. Treasurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke, Aug. 23.

The Same to the Same, Aug. 23.

Copy of the Lord Conway's letter to Mr. Treasurer, sent to the Lord Cottington, by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Aug. 21.

Sir H. Vane to Windebanke, August 26.

The Same to the Same, Aug. 28.

The Lord Conway's letter to Mr. Treasurer, Aug. 24.

Lord Conway's letter to Mr. Treasurer, Aug. 26.

Mr. Treasurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke, Aug. 29.

The Same to the Same, Aug. 30.

The Same to the Same, Aug. 30.

Extract of the Lord Lieutenant's letter to his Majesty, Aug. 30.

Mr. Treasurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke, Sept. 1.

Memorial, Council and Committee, Sept. 2.

Lord Conway to Secretary Windebanke, Sept. 9.

Sir H. Vane to Secretary Windebanke, Sept. 11.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 13.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 14.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 16.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 18.

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The

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The Same to the Same, Sept. 29.
The Same to the Same, Oct. 1.
The Same to the Same, Oct. 6.
The Same to the Same, Oct. 9.
Lord St. Albans and Clanricarde to the Same, Oct. 9.
Mr. Treasurer Vane to the Same, Oct. 11.
The Same to the Same, Oct. 13.
Secretary Windebanke to the Earl of Northumberland, Oct. 13.
Mr. Treasurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke, Oct. 17.
The Same to the Same, Oct. 20.
The Same to the Same, Oct. 21.
The Same to the Same, Oct. 23.
Lord Keeper Finch to the Queen, Oct. 23.
Earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde to Sec. Windebanke, Oct. 26.
Minutes of the Great Council of the Peers at York, Tuesday 25th Sept. 1640, in the afternoon.
Ditto, 25th Sept. in the afternoon.
Ditto, 26th Sept. in the morning.
Ditto, 26th Sept. in the afternoon.
Ditto, 28th Sept. in the forenoon.
Ditto, 28th Sept. in the afternoon.
Ditto, 29th Sept. in the forenoon
Ditto, 29th Sept. in the afternoon.
Ditto, 6th Oct. in the afternoon.
Ditto, 7th Oct. in the forenoon.
Ditto, 9th Oct. in the afternoon.
Ditto, 11th Oct. in the afternoon.
Ditto, 12th Oct. in the afternoon.
Ditto, 13th Oct. in the forenoon.
Ditto, 13th Oct. in the afternoon.
Ditto, 18th Oct. in the afternoon.
Ditto, 28th Oct. in the afternoon.
A relation of the incident, 1641, by Lord Lanerick.

[These papers the editor justly considers as some of the most important of the whole collection. They contain a number of interesting anecdotes relating to the state of the King's affairs, and to the disposition and views of the different parties of those times.]

No. V.

Papers relating to Monmouth's rebellion. [*From the Harleian MSS.*]
King James's account of the battle of Sedgmoor.
Mr. Wade's further information, Oct. 11, 1685.

No. VI.

Partition treaty. [*Translated from the Dutch.*]
Extracts from King William's letters, relative to the Partition Treaty. To Pensionary Heinsius.

No. VII.

The Somers papers. [*In the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]
Notes of what passed in the Convention upon the day the question was moved in the House of Commons, concerning the abdication of King James II. the 28th of January 1688-9.
——Mr. Hampden in the chair, 29th January.
Lord Nottingham to Lord Keeper Somers, March 1693.
Lord Keeper Somers to King William, March 27th, 1693.
Letter from the Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers, with the warrant to be a Baron, May 8, 1695.
Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers, April 14, 1697.
Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers, Oct. 15, 1698.
Lord Somers to the D. of Shrewsbury.
Mr. Montagu to Lord Somers, May 2, 1700.
Duke of Bolton to Lord Somers, Sept. 1700.

Duke of Shrewsbury to Ld. Somers, June 17, 1701.
Princess Sophia to Mr. Stepney.
King William to Lord Sunderland, Oct. 1, 1701.
Answer by Lord Sunderland, September 11.
From Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers, Sept. 15.
Lord Somers to Lord Sunderland, Sept. 28.
Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers, Oct. 1.
Lord Somers to Lord Sunderland, Oct. 3.
The King to Ld. Somers, Oct. 16.
Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers, Oct. 21.
Heads of Lord Somers's arguments to induce the King to call a new parliament.
Lord Sunderland's advice to Lord Somers.
Lord Sunderland to Lord Galway.
Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers, December 27.
Lord Haversham to Lord Somers, Feb. 19, 1703.
Lord Somers to Lord Haversham.
Duke of Argyle to Lord Somers.
Lord Somers to Lord Halifax, May 28, 1706.
Ld. Halifax to Ld. Somers, July.
Lord Somers's Answer.
Lord Halifax to Lord Somers, Oct. 3, 1706.
Minutes of Lord Somers's speech in the House of Lords, on the bill for abolishing the Privy Council of Scotland, and the amendment proposed in that house to give it a continuance of several months after the passing of the bill, 1707-8.
Charles Earl of Sunderland to Lord Somers, Aug. 8, 1709.
Duke of Marlborough to Lord Somers, Sept. 30, 1709.

The books which contained, that [illegible] of Lord Somers, the greatest part of which were [illegible] in the fire at Lincoln's-Inn, in 1752, filled upwards of sixty volumes in 4to, and did not contain a paper from Lord Somers's pen, which the most intimate friend would have wished to secrete, or the bitterest enemy could have fairly turned to his prejudice.]

No. VIII.

Papers relative to Lord Oxford's administration, and the treaty of Utrecht. [*From the Paper Office.*]

Robert Harley to the Duke of Marlborough, Sept. 16, 1707.
Mr. Harley's plan of administration, Oct. 30, 1711.
Mr. Prior to Lord Bolingbroke, Dec. 28, 1712.
From the Same to the Same, Dec. 29.
From the Same to the Same, Jan. 8, 1713.
Draught of a letter from Lord Bolingbroke to Mr. Prior, Jan. 19.
Lord Bolingbroke to the Duke of Shrewsbury, Feb. 17.

No. IX.

Lord Stair's embassy in France, 1714, &c. [*In the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

Draught of a memorial to the Duke of Marlborough, Captain-General of the army.
Extracts from Lord Stair's Journal at Paris in 1715 and 1716.
Heads of a Conference with Mareschal d'Huxelles, Apr. 16, 1716.
Questions qu'on me fait d'Angleterre sur lesquelles il faut consulter, S. A. R. pour pouvoir repondre.
Letters and extracts of letters from Ld. Stair to James Craggs, Esq;
Ld. Mar to Ld. Stair, May 6, 1719.

Lord

[Having now gone through the contents of this valuable collection, we cannot recommend it to the attention of the publick in better terms than those which the noble editor himself makes use of. "Whoever looks into these volumes will be better prepared for his future entertainment, if he pleases to consider the work before him as an historical picture gallery, where the different modes and fashions of upwards of two centuries are exhibited in regular succession. The politics and sentiments of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's time differ as much from those of William III. and of George I. as the ruff and farthingale in the habits of the former, from the hoop-petticoat and long pockets of the latter. There may be pieces of inferior masters in the gallery, but doubtless some Titians and Vandykes will be distinguished."]

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ERRATUM.

Page 130. col. 2. line 7. for *Anecdotes* read *Antidotes*